This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 06170647 3

AUG 26 1914

U.S Lab...
SEB

J.S

CHARGES AGAINST MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND LOBBY ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHERS

HEARINGS

BEFORE

THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES APPOINTED UNDER HOUSE RESOLUTION 198

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

SEPTEMBER 9 TO SEPTEMBER 19, 1913

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. 4

(INCLUDING APPENDICES AND INDEX)

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1913

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
R 1915 L

THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES APPOINTED UNDER HOUSE RESOLUTION 198.

FINIS J. GARRETT, Tennessee, *Chairman.*

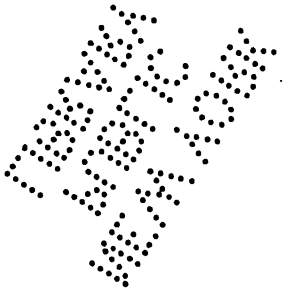
CYRUS CLINE, Indiana.
JOSEPH J. RUSSELL, Missouri.
SCOTT FERRIS, Oklahoma.
WILLIAM H. STAFFORD, Wisconsin.
FRANK B. WILLIS, Ohio.
WILLIAM J. MacDONALD, Michigan.

CHARLES F. RIDDELL, *Clerk.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page.
Correspondence with committee—	
Fairchild, Hon. George W.	2933
New York World and Chicago Tribune, articles referring to—	
McDermott, Hon. James T.	2809
Statement by—	
Emery, James A.	2235
Wight, Fred W. (under oath)	2741
Testimony of—	
Cole, Hon. Ralph D.	2651
Emery, James A.	2239, 2271, 2337, 2681
Frawley, David L. (before Senate committee)	2909
Gardner, Hon. John J.	2779
Gompers, Samuel	2395, 2465
Littlefield, Hon. Charles E.	2687
Littlepage, Thomas P.	2262
Morrison, Frank	2534
Neal, Henry	2618
Parker, Harry	2631
Rainey, Hon. Henry T.	2676
Schwedtman, F. C. (before Senate committee)	2819
Taff, Henry F.	2335
Watson, Hon. James E.	2559

(See index, p. 2937.)



CHARGES AGAINST MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE, AND LOBBY ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHERS.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBY INVESTIGATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, September 9, 1913.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Finis J. Garrett (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Cline, Russell, Ferris, Stafford, Willis, and MacDonald.

STATEMENT OF MR. JAMES A. EMERY.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, there appeared generally in the press on Sunday, September 7, a statement to the effect that Mr. D. L. Frawley, employed by the Senate lobby committee to audit the books of the National Association of Manufacturers, found that between 1903 and 1911 the association had paid $245,000 to Col. Mulhall for legislative and campaign work, and that the association had expended more than $2,000,000 in these 10 years for all activities of that organization.

There was submitted by Mr. Bird, as a part of his testimony, to be found in the record of the House lobby investigating committee of the hearing of Friday, September 5, 1913, part 23, beginning at page 4298, a statement and summary showing the moneys paid by the National Association of Manufacturers to M. M. Mulhall during the 10 years in which he was an employee of that association, from 1902 to the end of 1911, and the total amount so shown was $48,976.27, embracing salary and all expenditures for all purposes charged to Mr. Mulhall's account during that period of time.

On Saturday last, at the hearing before the Senate lobby investigating committee, to be found in their record of Saturday, September 6, 1913, Mr. Frawley testified as to the expenditures of the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Council for Industrial Defense to M. M. Mulhall during the period covered by his services, and from the record on page 39 of Saturday, September 6, 1913, before the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee I take the following:

Senator WALSH. Did you make from the books a record of the various amounts paid to Mulhall while he was in the service of the association?
Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.
Senator WALSH. Have you the sheets there?
Mr. FRAWLEY. I think it is right here; yes, sir. Do you want to put any of these in the record?
Senator WALSH. No.

Mr. FRAWLEY. Before I put that in the record I want to say there is a slight discrepancy between these and the figures that were put in the record by Mr. Bird or some other person from the National Association of Manufacturers, showing the total amount paid to Mr. Mulhall. The discrepancy amounts to only a couple thousand dollars or such a matter. The figures I made were made with the assistance of Mr. Crane, and I do not know just what made the difference. I think the difference must have occurred on items for the time during which Mr. Cushing was secretary, because we are not able to make the figures agree exactly.

Senator WALSH. Is this statement, the pages of which I have now had marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 3" and "Frawley Exhibit No. 3-a," there being two pages thereof, a statement of the Mulhall account?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir. The statement marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 3" is a statement of the moneys paid to Mulhall by the National Association of Manufacturers, while the statement marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 3-a" is a statement of money paid to Mulhall by the National Council for Industrial Defense.

I now wish to turn to the Frawley Exhibit No. 3, which is found on page 46-a of the Senate lobby investigating committee's record of Saturday, September 6, 1913, and which continues on the three following pages, and is headed "The National Association of Manufacturers to M. M. Mulhall." The total shown on page 46-d is $41,004.90.

The CHAIRMAN. I should like for that to be inserted in full in our record. Can you let us have that copy?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; I shall be glad to do it.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

FRAWLEY EXHIBIT No. 3.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS—M. M. MULHALL.

1906–1907.

1906.	
Sept. 30, cash	$100.00
Oct. 31, cash	1,520.29
Nov. 30, cash	1,336.44
Dec. 31, cash	80.00
1907.	
Jan. 31, cash	240.00
Feb. 28, cash	150.00
Mar. 30, cash	200.00
Apr. 30, cash	160.00
May 31, cash	160.00
June and July, cash	1,319.78
Aug. 31, cash	317.00
Sept. 30, cash	800.00
Oct. 31, cash	400.00
Nov. 30, cash	706.07
Dec. 31, cash	700.55
1908.	
Jan. 31, cash	650.00
Feb. 9, cash	95.76
Feb. 29, cash	900.00
Mar. 31, cash	1,125.00
Apr. 13, cash	300.00
Apr. 30, cash	600.00
May 30, cash	900.00
June 30, cash	950.00
June 30, cash	950.00
July 31, cash	250.00
Aug. 31, cash	250.00
Mar. 30, L. & G	$3,636.73
Mar. 31, 1908, L. & G	7,334.16
Mar. 31, 1909, L. & G	5,000.00
P. O.	
Mar. 31, 1909	5,017.12
Mar. 31, 1910	6,427.40
Mar. 31, 1911	9,766.39
Mar. 31, 1912	3,823.10

FRAWLEY EXHIBIT No. 3—Continued.

P. O.[1]	
June 30, cash	$300.00
P. O.	
July and August, cash	1,000.00
Sept. 30, cash	250.00
Oct. 31, cash	250.00
P. O.	
Oct. 31, cash	2,362.30
Nov. 30, cash	250.00
P. O.	
Nov. 30, cash	379.20
Dec. 31, cash	250.00
P. O.	
Dec. 31, cash	185.25
1909.	
Jan. 30, cash	250.00
P. O.	
Jan. 30, cash	141.85
Feb. 27, cash	250.00
P. O.	
Feb. 27, cash	267.10
Mar. 31, cash	250.00
P. O.	
Mar. 31, cash	381.42
May 29, cash	1,456.75
June 30, cash	250.00
July 31, cash	511.90
Aug. 31, cash	495.40
Sept. 30, cash	566.25
Oct. 30, cash	532.60
Nov. 30, cash	600.20
Dec. 31, cash	439.60
1910.	
Jan. 31, cash	546.50
Feb. 20, cash	628.20
Mar. 31, cash	400.00
Apr. 30, cash	400.00
May 31, cash	508.15
June 30, cash	860.78
July 30, cash	970.42
Aug. 31, cash	808.75
Sept. 30, cash	1,322.90
Oct. 31, cash	1,317.17
Nov. 30, cash	909.85
Dec. 31, cash	300.00
1911.	
Jan. 31, cash	551.25
Feb. 28, cash	1,189.86
Mar. 31, cash	627.26
Apr. 29, cash	422.89
May 31, cash	420.35
June 30, cash	450.00
July 31, cash	511.20
Aug. 31, cash	300.00
Sept. 30, cash	300.00
Oct. 31, cash	300.00
Nov. 30, cash	531.17
Dec. 30, cash	478.64
1912.	
Jan. 31, cash	108.85
Total	41,004.90

[1] "P. O." indicates items charged to president's office, but properly a Mulhall charge.

Total $41,004.90

Mulhall complete from September, 1906, to January, 1912, salary and expenses.

FRAWLEY EXHIBIT No. 3a.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR INDUSTRIAL DEFENSE—M. M. MULHALL.

		Payment on account Associated Hat Manufacturers, Orange, N. J.	
1909.			
Apr. 3, cash	$700.00	By L & Gain	$5,418.80
Apr. 9, cash	100.00	General expenses.	
Apr. 10, cash	100.00	General expenses.	
Apr. 16, cash	168.80	Expenses.	
Apr. 21, cash	125.00	Services.	
Apr. 21, cash	325.00	Account expenses, Portsmouth, Ohio.	
May 22, cash	400.00	Expense.	
1910.			
Sept. 23, cash	500.00	For organization expense.	
Oct. 4, cash	500.00	For organization expense.	
Oct. 18, cash	500.00	For organization expense.	
Oct. 27, cash	1,000.00	For organization expenses.	
Nov. 1, cash	1,000.00	For organization expenses.	
Total	5,418.80	Total	5,418.80

There is attached to that as Frawley Exhibit No. 3–a, being "National Council for Industrial Defense to M. M. Mulhall," showing payments to him during the term of his service to be $5,418.80, or substantially $46,423.

Mr. WILLIS. How does that compare with the statement made by Mr. Bird?

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Bird's statement was $48,976.27, and this accounts for the statement made by Mr. Frawley in his testimony at page 40 that there was a discrepancy between his computation and that made by Mr. Bird, and he says, "The discrepancy amounts to only a couple thousand dollars, or such a matter." Mr. Bird's figures are $48,976. Mr. Frawley's figures are $46,424, or thereabouts. The error made by the press was no doubt due to the fact that Mr. Frawley testified that there was an account known as the "public affairs" account, showing a total expenditure during the 10 years of $245,337.39.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Emery, that $46,000 that he reports there is the amount that was paid to Mr. Mulhall for all purposes, is it?

Mr. EMERY. For all purposes during the 10 years he was in the service of the association.

The CHAIRMAN. That includes his salary and expenses?

Mr. EMERY. And all expenses which he received or were paid through him.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that include any moneys that might have been given to him to use in campaigns, if any were given?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; if any were so given. It shows the total expenditures of Mr. Mulhall, or for Mr. Mulhall, or through Mr. Mulhall, or by Mr. Mulhall during the period of his services to the association.

The CHAIRMAN. And he handled no part of that $245,000?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; beyond the amount indicated.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that $46,000 come out of the $245,000?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that "public affairs fund" then include the entire fund of the association?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; the entire fund under that head. The expenditures are all listed in here; the various amounts that are comprehended under the term "public affairs" are all set forth in Mr. Frawley's testimony. They have nothing whatever to do with matters political, most of them; they are expenditures in the so-called public activities of the association.

Mr. STAFFORD. How were you able to arrive at the amounts expended by Mr. Mulhall during the Cushing régime?

Mr. EMERY. That is where the discrepancy of $2,000 occurred. Mr. Frawley made one estimate and Mr. Bird made one.

Mr. STAFFORD. How are you able to arrive at any estimate during that period, when Mr. Mulhall testifies that expenditures were made by Cushing and there was no check on him as to the amount?

Mr. EMERY. I am not familiar with the books, Mr. Stafford. I can only say that the testimony showed that the expenditures, instead of being differentiated in our other accounts, were lumped during the period of the Cushing accounts, and they derived their figures from the estimate made from the Cushing books.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you know whether there are any accounts that show the amounts expended by Cushing during his activity with the N. A. M.?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know; I am not familiar with the books, Mr. Stafford, and the Senate record of Saturday, September 6, is given up to an analysis of accounts by Mr. Frawley?

Mr. STAFFORD. Who is this Frawley?

Mr. EMERY. He is the expert of the Senate investigating committee, to whom our books were turned over and by whom they were examined.

Mr. STAFFORD. And could Mr. Frawley testify as to whether the books showed the total expenditures made by Cushing?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; sir; he can give you all the information that he has given the Senate committee with reference to the books.

Mr. WILLIS. What are some of the items included in this public affairs expenditure? No doubt that will show in the printed record.

Mr. EMERY. I could not testify as to that; I am not familiar with the books at all.

Shall I take the stand now, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; Mr. Emery.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES A. EMERY.

Mr. STAFFORD. This is in rebuttal, I assume, of the statement made by Mr. Mulhall in his narrative as published in the New York World of Sunday, June 29, 1913, as follows:

> I believe that my accounts will show for the period I was employed by the organization that I, myself, handled close on to $200,000, and this money was strictly used in corrupting voters and in doing lobby work in Washington and in State capitals.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. You said something about a showing of $2,000,000. I think you read it from a newspaper clipping. What was that, Mr. Emery?

Mr. EMERY. That referred to the total income of the association during the 11 years covered by the examination of its books, from all sources.

Mr. WILLIS. That was not expended, you say, by Mr. Mulhall—this $2,000,000?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, no; the books showed that the income of the association during the 11 years ran from—I am just giving you average figures—I think, $180,000 to $225,000 gross. I am giving you a very rough estimate. The relation of Mr. Mulhall to those activities is shown by the fact that of a gross income of from $180,000 to $230,000 a year, Mr. Mulhall's salary and expenses were in the neighborhood of $5,000 or less.

Mr. WILLIS. Does this statement which is being incorporated into our records from the Senate hearings show how this $2,000,000 has been expended?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir. Well, the annual reports of the treasurers show that. There is an annual report of the treasurer published in the volume of the proceedings there which will give you a general idea, and then, of course, the detail is shown by the books of the association, which have been fully analyzed by the Senate committee.

Mr. STAFFORD. Is each member of the association furnished with a copy of the annual proceedings?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; and I think it is quite widely distributed outside of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Emery, I will just ask you to proceed in your own way to make such statement as you desire, avoiding of course argument on the merits of the legislation in which these associations have been interested.

When did you become connected with the organization?

Mr. EMERY. With the National Council for Industrial Defense, I became formally connected on November 1, 1908. Prior to that time and from about January, 1908, while I was secretary of the Citizens Industrial Association of America, I had acted as counsel jointly for the Citizens Industrial Association of America and for the National Association of Manufacturers; that is, during the period between January, 1908, and November, 1908, at which time I resigned as secretary of the Citizens Industrial Association of America and became counsel for the National Council for Industrial Defense.

If you will permit me, Mr. Chairman, I should like to give the committee, if I can, an idea of the movement out of which these associations have grown, since they did not spring full grown, like Minerva from the brain of Jove, but were rather the outgrowth of a continuous movement having its origin in the perceived necessity of cooperation among business men throughout the United States and particularly the employers who were interested in the principles of the open shop.

I presume that the committee will take judicial notice of the fact that there has been in this country for the past 25 years, growing each year in numbers, in power, in influence, and in perfection of organization, a very powerful combination of workingmen, known as the American Federation of Labor, embracing within its membership some 28,000 local unions, 115 international unions, about 680 city

federations, or city labor councils, and substantially about 640 federal unions which are organizations formed directly from the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor and drawing their charters therefrom. This great body is committed to the principle of what we term the closed shop; that is, it undertakes to say that none but its members shall be employed in the shops of those with whom it makes collective contracts for the sale of labor. And it endeavors by every power at its command to cause the making of such contracts in large numbers.

Those employers of labor who do not agree to the acceptance of such conditions and desire to maintain what are termed "open shops," in which no discrimination of employment is made between men on account of membership or nonmembership in a labor organization, if they reject the terms of the federation, find themselves at a decided disadvantage in a contest which may grow out of such declination. As a result of such contests the country has become familiar with what we term labor disputes and labor controversies. The right of an individual to operate his business under the conditions that please him best, provided it is a lawful business and operated in a lawful way, is, of course, one of the most fundamental rights of a citizen in this country. And I assume the committee will take notice of the fact that the principles which may be said substantially to underlie controversies of this kind are very fully set forth in a very famous document which I should like to call to the attention of the committee, known as the Report of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission of 1902, which may be said to be the bible of industrial principle in this country.

That, you will recall, was a commission appointed by President Roosevelt in 1902, at the time of the great anthracite coal strike which paralyzed the coal regions of Pennsylvania, and as an indirect result because of the inability to secure coal had caused the shutting down of a vast number of factories and had been accompanied not only by great distress and inconvenience and loss, but by a very considerable amount of violence, the outgrowth of the bitter feeling engendered by it. The President appointed a commission to inquire into the causes of the anthracite coal strike, the claims of the participants thereto, and to this body was submitted a vast amount of testimony, and out of it grew the findings of this commission.

The commission itself was a very notable body, including representatives of both employers and laborers, and a very distinguished churchman, its chairman being the former Senator from Delaware, Mr. George Gray, now a United States judge of distinguished reputation. They not only undertook to settle the particular controversy that was before them at that time, but they undertook to formulate certain definite principles, and these principles were indorsed by all parties to the agreement, including the representatives of organized labor on that commission, who was the present Interstate Commerce Commissioner, Mr. Clark, then grand chief of the Order of Railway Conductors, I believe.

Those principles were very succinctly set forth, were indorsed by Mr. Roosevelt, and apparently acquiesced in by all the parties to the

controversy. They are substantially set forth in the conclusion arrived at in its award:

> That no person shall be refused employment, or in any way discriminated against, on account of membership or nonmembership in any labor organization; and that there shall be no discrimination against, or interference with, any employee who is not a member of any labor organization by members of such organization. (P. 79, Report Anthracite Coal Strike Commission.)

And you will recollect that the black list, the boycott, and the sympathetic strike, and the principles therein exhibited, were very sharply condemned.

I refer to that because the principles that were vindicated in that finding and acquiesced in by the parties to it have frequently been appealed to in great industrial controversies in this country from that time to this. And while it is true that there is nothing more serious to a nation or State than controversies between employer and employee, it is, I think, equally true that no man can be compelled to surrender a principle of private or public conduct that can not——

Mr. CLINE. And it does not make any difference from which side it comes.

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; none whatever. These are principles that are not subject to the whims or caprices of either employer or employee, and every one, standing upon his rights, is entitled, as I understand it, to the protection of his individual rights and property and property rights when they are threatened in such a dispute. As the result of such feeling there have grown up the organizations I have referred to of employees, and no man questions the right of such organizations to exist or to pursue their purposes provided they are lawful and are accomplished by means lawful in themselves.

The same is equally true of organizations of employers, and as a result of this controversy waged in industrial fields there has come also a great legislative controversy, in which, following the decisions of the courts of the United States and of the various States—in which the principles I have alluded to in the anthracite coal strike findings have been fully vindicated; in which the boycott and the sympathetic strike have been condemned, and in which violence has been set down—there has followed what the associations I represent conceive to be a very powerful and systematic effort to secure the repeal of these decisions of State and Federal courts by legislation, the purpose and effect of which would be to deprive employer and employee of the equal protection of the law by giving to combinations of labor engaged in labor disputes a new rule and principle of law to be applied to them which would not be applied either to them or to any other except when they were engaged in labor disputes.

Secondly, there is a very deliberate and systematic effort, as we see it, to weaken the power of the equity courts of the United States and withdraw from rights of property and of person the protection which they enjoy in a labor dispute as they do in any other dispute, and this is sought to be accomplished chiefly by defining away those rights of property which by the common consent of English-speaking people have been recognized as such since time immemorial.

Mr. CLINE. Won't you digress there enough to say what those rights are they are trying to define away?

Mr. EMERY. Those rights are chiefly expressed in the so-called Pearre bill; they were expressed at a later date in the so-called Wilson bill; and they are expressed to-day in the Bacon-Bartlett bill now pending before the House and Senate. The chief purpose of that is to provide, first, that the right to do business or to employ or be employed or the good will of a business, shall be a property right and protected as such; secondly, that no act of two or more persons, done in furtherance of a trade dispute, shall be unlawful unless the act, if done by one person, shall be unlawful—thereby repealing, as we understand it, the principle of conspiracy itself.

The effort of the American Federation of Labor to secure the recognition of these principles in law, and to secure, if not a validation, at least a withdrawal of the judicial condemnation of the boycott, has been exhibited in the variety of bills introduced during the last 15 or 18 years, and the activity of the federation with respect to them. That excited an activity on the part of employers in defense of what they conceive to be their rights and the rights of their employees, as exhibited in the history of the Federation of Labor from year to year.

The committee will understand that I call this to your attention merely for the purpose of supplying a background from which you will be able to measure the origin, purpose, and method of operation of associations of employers, which I have represented, in counteraction to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor, to obtain these certain principles in legislation.

Mr. CLINE. I want to be sure I am right on one proposition. My understanding is that the most strenuous fight has been waged against the proposed limitation of the equity powers of a court with reference to issuing injunctions and restraining orders. Is that right?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; a very strenuous fight in that respect.

Mr. CLINE. Now, Mr. Emery, you do not contend, do you, that that limitation is for the sole benefit of a member of the American Federation of Labor? In other words, that limitation, if it is effective, must extend to all persons irrespective of whether they belong to organized labor or not?

Mr. EMERY. Well, what I do contend, Judge Cline, is that the purpose of the limitation is to apply a new rule of law and to limit the protection which can be given in labor disputes, since it is to labor disputes only that it is sought to apply this rule of law.

Mr. CLINE. But you do not answer my question. I want to know of you whether, in your opinion, that was for the exclusive benefit, practically applied, of the labor organizations of the country?

Mr. EMERY. The effect of that would have been most beneficial to them when engaged in a labor dispute, because the repeal of the remedy would, of course, permit an organization—and an organized effort is, of course, far more effective than individual effort; it would apply not only to the American Federation of Labor but to any organized effort. And, as Justice Brewer said in one of his opinions, the moment the door was opened to the deluded unionist the anarchist would be the first man to enjoy the entrance.

Mr. CLINE. It is applicable to the individual member, irrespective of his labor affiliations?

Mr. EMERY. It is, so far as the labor dispute itself is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I think we have a very fair statement placed in the record of the purposes of the organization. Will you now describe the organization itself?

Mr. EMERY. The National Association of Manufacturers was organized, I believe, in 1899—I was not present at its organization, and my knowledge with respect to that is entirely historic.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it was stated it was organized in 1895.

Mr. EMERY. I may be wrong about that. The purpose of the organization was the promotion, advancement, and defense of the general interests of the American manufacturer. The organization did not take so strong and active a part in labor controversies, legislative or otherwise, until about the year 1903, but during all this period of time there had sprung up in the United States local organizations of employers, manufacturers' associations, industrial associations, employers' associations, business men's associations, one or more of whose functions, or whose exclusive function, was the protection of the rights and interests of employers and employees in the immediate locality, whether it be a city or State, or whether it be within a trade, because there have been small trade organizations formed for the purpose either of dealing collectively with labor organizations, or of defending members who do not choose to deal collectively with them and who prefer to maintain open shops.

The result of that was that there was brought together a very great number of such organizations, and when legislation of the kind we have had under discussion here appeared in Congress and in State legislatures, there were sporadic movements of business men, who appeared before legislatures to argue in behalf of their interests.

There was a general perception throughout this period of the fact that since the labor organizations were systematically organized and constantly increasing their strength, and devoting themselves to secure legislation which would repeal the judicial decisions which gave a defense to the individual employers and workingmen, that it was to the immediate interest of the employers to present a great united front and secure national cooperation among organizations of that character.

That is to say, this occurred as far back as 1903 and 1904, and again in 1905. I first personally came in contact with it in 1904, when I attended a meeting of the Citizens' Industrial Association held at the Hotel Astor in New York, in which there were present representatives of the industrial organizations, chambers of commerce, boards of trade, manufacturers' associations, National, State, and local organizations; all men who believed in those principles. Out of that—at that time there was in existence a Citizens' Industrial Association of America, which was made up of a large number of local associations, and whose chief purpose was the conduct of a national campaign on the subject of the open shop, and which had itself carried on through pamphlets, lectures, and platform work, and through the publication of a magazine, and through every media by which public opinion could be reached and informed. Then, at a later date, in 1907, because it was apparent that this organization did not affectuate the practical purposes which business men had in mind, so far as protection against a constantly increasing demand

for this legislation was concerned, which in the year 1906 had assumed its most threatening form, because it was then we had especially concrete evidence of the determination of organized labor to defeat Congressmen who did not accept and vote for their legislative program and carry it through, and with the beginning of that movement there was a decidedly stronger effort on the part of business men to endeavor to get these industrial organizations to cooperate and join forces in the movement.

In the meantime, there had also been organized other associations for the purpose of testing the legal rights involved by appropriate litigation. The National Council for Industrial Defense then grew out of a series of conferences which were held in New York at the invitation of Mr. Van Cleave, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, beginning in August, 1907, and ending in January, 1908. There were four conferences held there, the first in August, the second in September, the third in October, and the fourth in January, 1908. Out of these conferences grew what may be termed a standing committee, consisting of the chairman, secretary, and counsel, who were authorized by these associations to represent them in the matters of labor organization in which they were interested, and which were pending before Congress and before State legislatures. These conferences, I say, began in August, 1907, and the last one was in January, 1908. Mr. Van Cleave was chosen chairman of that conference and Mr. Schwedtman was chosen secretary of the Council that grew out of it, and I accepted the position in November, 1908, of counsel to the council. This movement began with some 10 or 12 national organizations which met in this conference.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. That is your sole business now, is it not?

Mr. EMERY. Practically so.

The CHAIRMAN. You do have no general law practice, do you, or anything of that kind?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I have some private clients, but very few.

Mr. WILLIS. How extensive were these conferences and how largely attended?

Mr. EMERY. I thought I had the minutes of the conference here, but I do not find them just at the moment.

Mr. Van Cleave, as president of the National Association of Manufacturers, in June, 1907, sent out a circular letter addressed to the various industrial organizations—I think it was confined to national organizations—inviting them to meet in New York and consider methods of cooperation by which—each organization preserving its independence—they could cooperate in matters of mutual interest. At the first conference—I shall be very glad to supply the memorandum to the committee; I thought I had it with me. The first conference, held on August 19, 1907, was attended by the following associations: The National Association of Employing Lithographers, American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, National Association of Agricultural Implement and Vehicle Manufacturers, Merchant Tailors' National Protective Association, National Association of Master Plumbers, American Anti-Boycott Association, National Erectors' Association, Citizens' Industrial Association of America, National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, National

Founders' Association, National Wagon Manufacturers' Association, National Association of Manufacturers, National Plow Association, United Typothetæ of America, which is the organization of employing printers.

Mr. WILLIS. Making in all how many different organizations?

Mr. EMERY. Twelve at this first meeting. They were each represented by three representatives.

Mr. STAFFORD. Were those 12 organizations all national in their scope?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; they were all of them national in their scope.

Mr. KIRBY. The National Metal Trades Association was also represented at this conference. I believe Mr. Emery did not mention them.

Mr. EMERY. They were represented in the conference, but not at the first meeting. There were four meetings, and some other organizations came in at a later meeting, but the Metal Trades Association came in at a later meeting, but the Metal Trades Association was not represented in the first meeting. There were stenographic reports of the proceedings of the first and either the second or third conferences. I think in the other conferences only the minutes of the meetings were preserved and certain resolutions adopted. The time was chiefly taken up with the expression of views on the part of all the representatives of the various organizations who were present as to the necessity for cooperation, the extent to which such cooperation could be carried, the methods of meeting expenses, and the business to which they would devote their attention. It became apparent to those engaged therein that no new organization could be or would be formed and that these organizations desired each to protect—I would like, Mr. Chairman, at this point to insert the letter which Mr. Van Cleave sent out inviting the various associations to attend this conference. It sets forth at length the proposition which he had in mind, and the contents of the letter may enlighten the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that will be inserted at this point, provided you can supply it to us.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

JUNE 28, 1907.

Mr. S. B. TANNER,
President American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, Caroleen, N. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Closer cooperation among the various organizations of employers and citizens would be of immeasurable value to all. There is nothing new in this thought. It has been expressed many times and in many forms, but it has never taken definite shape.

There has been a great amount of cooperation between many of the national organizations in Washington work in the handling of eight-hour, anti-injunction, and other legislation. There has been cooperation in other directions also, but it has been more or less haphazard, and not worthy of the great interests which our organizations represent. We can not expect to work to the greatest efficiency and to accomplish the best results possible unless we assist each other more systematically and more definitely than we have in the past.

Accomplishments might be worked out by a central committee which are too great to be undertaken by any one association or by us all acting without coordination and independently.

All this has been discussed informally with the officers of the various large organizations, and it was decided to establish a council in which the various National and State organizations might deal jointly with many of the objects they have in common. Such a council is not in any way to affect the independence of purpose and action of any existing organization, but is simply to

give to each the advice and experience of all, and to all the power, convenience, and economy of effort and expense that would follow saving of reduplication of effort and expenditure of each.

It seems to me of the greatest importance that some definite understanding should be reached among all organizations interested in this movement at the earliest possible moment. Congress will again be in session in a short time, and it is more essential than ever to give the most careful attention to Federal and State legislation. The National Association of Manufacturers proposes to give the same earnest effort to this subject and contribute *financially*, if necessary, even more generously than in the past, but it is perfectly evident that with complete and harmonious cooperation with the other great organizations *very much better results can be attained with the same, or less, total expenditure of time and energy* in the furtherance of sound legislation and in opposition to the many measures which have been successfully opposed in the past, and which are sure to come up again in future; measures that cover issues larger than parties and creeds, and which go down to the fundamental principles upon which representative government and civilized society are based.

In addition to legislative work there are other directions in which greater success can be secured by more systematic cooperation. There should be a carefully organized legal department which will do all the work of the council, advise local organization, assist interstate business organizations in the prosecution in every part of the country of labor organizations which violate interstate and antitrust acts, carry on prosecution of every case of lawlessness during strikes, the proper prosecution of attempted boycotts, of assault and intimidation, and a careful compilation and distribution of all work handled by the legal department.

In addition there is need of close cooperation in the direction of publicity and education. Occasional pamphlets are being printed now for limited circulation, and there has been some praiseworthy effort on the part of associations and individuals to educate the people generally, but there is not enough of it to offset even in a small measure the wonderful amount of information being disseminated by the remarkably competent press bureaus of labor organizations. These organizations are recognized by those of us who have looked into them as far more capable and efficient in some respects than we are, because of their having more complete organization.

Remember that Horace Greeley said "The way to resume is to resume," and I believe that the way to start this council is to start it. We must at once decide upon proper representation in Washington and choose the man, or men, best qualified for this most important work. We should also take up the other propositions without delay.

This proposition is receiving at this time the careful consideration of 12 National organizations, and 4 State associations. What is your idea? Can you and will you take this up for prompt action with the executive committee of your organization? In order that no time may be lost I suggest that definite action be taken on the following points by your organization:

First. Do you approve of the plan of federation of associations; that is, cooperation for the common advancement of the interests of all with perfect independence preserved in each?

Second. Does my outline of the directions in which the council should do effective work—namely, in the direction of legislation, legal work and educational work—find your approval; and if not, which points, in your opinion, could be covered to better advantage by concerted action such as is contemplated in this council than by the individual action of your organization?

Third. Will you appoint a committee of three with power to act to represent your organization in a council consisting of three representatives of each federated organization, and can this be done with the least possible delay, so that a meeting of the council can be called at a very early date?

Trusting I shall be honored by your early reply, I am,

Very truly, yours,

_____,

President.

Mr. EMERY. As I said, it was apparent that an organization—any attempt to resolve all these organizations into a new organization was impossible, and they all desired to cooperate with each other, and they desired to do that in such a way that each would secure such

cooperation, and, at the same time, carefully preserve its own independent action. So the organization became a loose federation which finally expressed itself in the standing committee, the counsel for which was authorized to represent these organizations in matters of labor legislation at Washington, and to compile and distribute information respecting legislation in which they were interested, and to represent them in arguments before all committees, and to keep them fully informed in respect to all legislation of this character which was pending here from time to time. This was a matter of development, to advise and inform the organizations in the different parts of the country with respect to legislation before their own legislatures of similar character. In such cases the bills would be sent to the counsel, who would analyze them, render an opinion upon them, and return them to them, and if the principle at issue was considered one of such importance that it deserved argument, he would appear before the proper committee of the State legislature and argue the matter at length.

In the meantime, he carried on, likewise, a very wide distribution of literature involving an analysis of these various proposals, and this was widely distributed all over the country, and was the basis of magazine and newspaper articles and lectures and addresses delivered before the various associations, or various public gatherings at which there were discussions of these matters.

The CHAIRMAN. In regard to those organizations you have mentioned as being present at the first meeting, you have mentioned the National Association of Manufacturers as one of them?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I will ask you whether or not it was true that a number of those other associations were also members of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. No——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). They were separate?

Mr. EMERY. Separate and distinct organizations, each performing its own function. For instance, take some of the organizations I have mentioned, and you will see they were organizations in their own respective industries or trades. The National Association of Agricultural Implement and Vehicle Manufacturers was an organization for the purpose of furthering the best interests of its own particular industry.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you happen to know whether it was an incorporated institution, similar to the N. A. M.?

Mr. EMERY. I do not. It is a trade organization, of which there are a great number in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose there are a great number of members of that organization, for instance, who are also members of the N. A. M.?

Mr. EMERY. That is quite likely. Of course, the National Association of Manufacturers, including in its membership, firms, individuals, and corporations, includes representatives of every industry of the country, so that it would be almost impossible to have a gathering of manufacturers in some particular line or trade in which there would not be representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers, but they would not be members, as such.

The CHAIRMAN. None of those organizations ever figured in the activities in Washington, did they, as did the N. A. M., or do you know how that is?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir. They figured to this extent—of course, the word "activities" is very broad.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean along the same lines as the N. A. M.

Mr. EMERY. These various organizations, in some of these contests over matters of legislation here were fully informed with respect to the legislation pending. Take the sundry civil bill, which was pending before the House or the Senate. They were informed fully with respect to it, and they were requested to call it to the attention of their respective Senator or Representative, and undoubtedly many of them did so.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom would it be informed, by the representative——

Mr. EMERY (interposing). By the representative of the council, by myself, sending out a bulletin. I want to give to the committee a full set of the bulletins which have been issued from our office covering all these matters of legislation. They are all public bulletins. Thousands of them were circulated among individuals and organizations throughout the country, and they would give to you at a glance the extent and the very character of our activities; but the papers have been so mixed in their handling in the Senate committee that I can not get my hands on them at the present moment. I would like very much to include at this point, for the information of the committee, copies of the bulletins which I can give to your clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be inserted if they are not too long.

(The papers referred to, when supplied, will be hereafter inserted in the record.)

Mr. DAVENPORT. Of those associations which were represented at the initial meeting, did not some of them fail to go into the National Council for Industrial Defense.

Mr. EMERY. Oh, yes.

Mr. DAVENPORT. And did the American Antiboycott Association go in or out?

Mr. EMERY. No; it did not join the council. Neither did the National Metal Trades nor the National Founders Association.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to the organization of this National Council for Industrial Defense, it is in evidence here that there were certain activities of the association here—I mean of the National Association of Manufacturers—under Mr. Cushing's administration, and on down. I wanted to ask whether any of those other organizations—I am now speaking of the time prior to the formation of the National Council for Industrial Defense—whether any of those other organizations had representatives here, in the same capacity in which Mr. Cushing was here frequently, when he was here representing the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. Not as far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not. Prior to the time of the organization of the council the National Association of Manufacturers, which took the lead in the formation of the council, being the largest trade organization in the world and the source of information for manu-

facturers and business men, used to send out letters and bulletins digesting legislation in which the members were interested. A great many of the organizations turned naturally to the National Association of Manufacturers for information on these subjects, and in that way it did distribute information on these subjects, subjects of legislation pending, and I assume that Mr. Cushing, as its secretary, distributed information of that character.

Mr. WILLIS. Who directed the issuance of these bulletins that the National Association of Manufacturers distributed prior to the creation of the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. EMERY. I assume the greater part of them were included in the matter turned over to the Senate committee. We turned over about 150,000 letters and circulars.

Mr. WILLIS. Who turned over?

Mr. EMERY. The National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. WILLIS. And who prepared the bulletins that were distributed to manufacturers throughout the country, giving a general idea of the activities, as to the character of legislation pending in Washington?

Mr. EMERY. I prepared those for the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. WILLIS. I mean prior thereto, because, I believe, you stated that prior thereto the National Association of Manufacturers had sent these out quite generally.

Mr. EMERY. I prepared a number during the year 1908, and prior to that time I think Mr. Cushing did. I know I have personally received bulletins from him when I was secretary of the Citizen's Industrial Association, calling my attention to legislation, and I assume they were prepared by him.

Mr. WILLIS. How specific would the matter in them be? Would it state what committee had the legislation, give a description of the legislation; how specific would it be?

Mr. EMERY. Generally, it would give a description of the bill by its title, an analysis of its contents, its status before the committee in which it was pending; whether hearings were to be held, and if so, when they were to be held, and generally the names of the members of the committee before which the argument was to be had, if any, and sometimes accompanied by a circular request or individual request to participate in the argument.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me see if I understand the status prior to the organization of the National Council for Industrial Defense. While these separate organizations that finally became members of the National Association of Manufacturers, such as the National Wagon Manufacturers' Association, and the National Founders' Association, and others—while they were not represented, so far as you know, as organizations, is it a fact that they were represented, indirectly, through the membership of their individual members in the National Association of Manufacturers; is that a fact?

Mr. EMERY. Why, so far as they were members of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. WILLIS. That is what I mean. They were not all members of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. None of them were members as associations.

Mr. WILLIS. I understand that; but while they were not members as associations, some of them were possibly members of the N. A. M. as individuals, and in that way they were represented here?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. But not as separate associations?

Mr. EMERY. There was no continuous representation here. The National Association of Manufacturers, during Mr. Cushing's régime, was not continuously represented in Washington, apparently. I have heard this testimony to the effect that Col. Mulhall was here a great deal, but I knew nothing about its activities, personally. The idea that was behind the council was to give systematic organization and direction to the examination of these matters, and the information would proceed from a common source to all persons interested in it, and they would consider action in respect to such legislation. The idea of the council was to give the same careful attention to these particular matters of legislation, on account of the principles which underlaid them, that was being given to their enactment by the various labor organizations, with the idea of getting united action upon the part of all organizations and individuals who were interested in opposing them as a matter of principle.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, then, there were already large numbers of members, individuals. or firms throughout the country that were represented here to some extent, anyway, through membership in the National Association of Manufacturers, and through the organization of the National Council for Industrial Defense, made up as it was of these separate national associations, who were kept informed of the legislative situation?

Mr. EMERY. To get all the organizations to support them with it. You will understand that the National Association of Manufacturers was composed only of individuals.

Mr. WILLIS. I understand that.

Mr. EMERY. Whereas there were a great number of organizations which could not be members of the National Association of Manufacturers, but which had a united interest with it, whose members had a strong belief in these principles. They desired to advance and support them, and it was sought that by systematically organizing all the various associations into a group which would receive this information from a common source and act under a common leadership they would be in a better position to carry on this fight than by acting sporadically, individually, and separately. By the time they had received such information as the National Association of Manufacturers distributed, they were supporting it to whatever extent they did; that is, the individuals were. As to what the different organizations did, I do not know anything. In the various meetings it was developed that while there was a great deal of interest among all these associations, there was no central source for the distribution of information, and a great lack of efficiency, and there was also duplication to a considerable extent.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any very great difference in the work done by the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. EMERY. Well——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). The National Association of Manufacturers had no attorney here, no counsel, no one who was acting

in the capacity that you are acting in now for the National Council for Industrial Defense, and I will ask you if the information sent out was not substantially the same as the information—I mean along the same lines—as the information sent out by the National Council for Industrial Defense? Is there any very great difference in the work done by the National Council for Industrial Defense and the work done by the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. I think there is a very great difference in the method of distribution.

The CHAIRMAN. There may be a difference in the method of distribution.

Mr. EMERY. Some of these organizations to which I refer, either were those who were members of the council through organizations which had participated in arguments before committees of Congress from a very early period, like the American Anti-Boycott Association, which, in addition to litigation which they had instituted in the courts at that time, also argued many of these important matters before committees of Congress. The idea was to unite as much as possible by an organized responsibility influences that could be brought to bear in protecting these highly important principles, as these men saw them.

Mr. CLINE. You were converging all of these matters to the same point by these organizations; is that not true?

Mr. EMERY. In what respect, Judge Cline?

Mr. CLINE. In respect to legislation.

Mr. EMERY. Yes; in defense of the same principle.

Mr. CLINE. They all moved in one direction?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. You prepared the bulletins for the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Do you prepare any bulletins for the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. The National Association of Manufacturers receives those bulletins as any other member of the council does. I prepare none separately.

Mr. CLINE. Do you prepare bulletins for the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. None separately from those.

Mr. CLINE. You prepare these primarily for the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. EMERY. They are distributed among the various associations.

Mr. CLINE. Then they filter out through these organizations and are read by all the members?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DAVENPORT. I would like to inquire of Mr. Emery whether it is not a fact that the National Antiboycott Association was represented here by myself during the winter of 1903–4, 1904–5, 1905–6, 1906–7, and 1907–8, before the formation of the National Council for Industrial Defense?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how that is?

Mr. EMERY. I know that personally from 1906 on, and historically prior to that time.

Mr. CLINE. I do not think the members of the committee—I am speaking for myself in particular—have a clear understanding of just how this National Council for Industrial Defense was organized. I wish the witness, if it is agreeable to the chairman and the other members of the committee, would just tell us something about that.

Mr. EMERY. As I said, the National Council for Industrial Defense grew out of a perceived necessity on the part of all the gentlemen interested who attended conferences in New York in 1907 and 1908.

Mr. CLINE. I understand that. Let me ask you a question or two, and perhaps we can get at it quicker and save some time. Did you have a regularly called meeting for organizing the council?

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

Mr. CLINE. When was that?

Mr. EMERY. The first meeting, I said, was called August 19, 1907.

Mr. CLINE. What did you do at that meeting?

Mr. EMERY. We discussed ways and means of cooperation and obtained an expression of opinion from all the representatives present.

Mr. CLINE. Was that all you did at that meeting?

Mr. EMERY. No; we adopted several resolutions; and all the representatives expressed themselves as perceiving the necessity for closer cooperation.

Mr. CLINE. Did you form the organization at that time?

Mr. EMERY. No; we did not.

Mr. CLINE. When was the next meeting?

Mr. EMERY. The next meeting was September 23, which was really an adjourned meeting of the first.

Mr. CLINE. And you had your by-laws and constitution and articles——

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE (continuing). For the conduct of this National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; it was conducted under resolutions adopted at that time.

Mr. CLINE. Who were the officers in that organization? I mean, what officers does the organization provide for?

Mr. EMERY. It provides for a chairman, a secretary-treasurer, and counsel.

Mr. CLINE. Council. Does that council perform the duties of a board of directors?

Mr. EMERY. It authorized the chairman to proceed with the selection of counsel, and such other officers as were necessary to execute its purposes.

Mr. CLINE. The council is not elected?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; he was selected by the chairman.

Mr. CLINE. The chairman selects the council?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And then the council selects the others?

The CHAIRMAN. I think you are confusing c-o-u-n-s-e-l with c-o-u-n-c-i-l there.

Mr. EMERY. I am using the word in two meanings. C-o-u-n-c-i-l refers to the organization as a council, and c-o-u-n-s-e-l refers to the individual selected to perform its individual functions.

Mr. CLINE. You do not have anything like a board of directors in the council?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; a standing committee.

Mr. CLINE. Just a standing committee?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; just a standing committee.

Mr. CLINE. How often is that committee selected?

Mr. EMERY. The chairman was elected in 1908, and held office until his death in 1910, and his successor was selected to fill the office at the time of his death and is still holding the office.

Mr. CLINE. Who selected him?

Mr. EMERY. His successor?

Mr. CLINE. Yes.

Mr. EMERY. His successor was selected by the standing committee.

Mr. CLINE. The standing committee that was selected in 1908?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And that standing committee—it is just a continuous performance, is it? You do not elect any new members; you do not have any annual election, or anything of that kind?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE. It is a life office with the members of that committee? Is it constituted that way?

Mr. EMERY. That is, until their successor is selected.

Mr. CLINE. How?

Mr. EMERY. It is until their successor is selected.

Mr. CLINE. It is until their succesor is selected?

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

Mr. CLINE. There is no call of the organization to select a council?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, the chairman can call a meeting whenever he pleases. There have been frequent conferences of the representatives of those associations at the different gatherings of the industrial organizations from time to time, but there has been no called meeting for the specific purpose you mentioned.

Mr. CLINE. There never has been a called meeting of the standing committee of the council?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; there has not.

Mr. CLINE. That exists just as it did exist when it was originally constituted?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Except that if a man dies another one is appointed?

Mr. EMERY. Or when a man resigns?

Mr. CLINE. Has any died or resigned?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; the first secretary resigned.

Mr. CLINE. And then the committee, as it then exists, as originally constituted, elects a new man?

Mr. EMERY. The chairman appointed a new secretary to take the place of the one resigning.

Mr. CLINE. Suppose a member of the committee dies, who fills his place?

Mr. EMERY. He would be selected by the chairman, probably with the advice of the remaining members. Under the resolution authorizing the creation of the standing committee the chairman was empowered to do precisely that.

Mr. CLINE. The chairman, then, is the whole thing in the council?

Mr. EMERY. He is, sir. He is the chief executive officer.

Mr. CLINE. And the administrative officer?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Does he have the power to select counsel to represent the committee and the organization?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And that is exclusively in him; there is no confirmation necessary?

Mr. EMERY. Each organization that joins the council, when it does so, signs a written authorization, which authorizes a representation of it by the council in the matters for which the council was organized.

Mr. CLINE. That is, it gives a sort of power of attorney?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. To the chairman?

Mr. EMERY. No; to the council, and the attorney of the association or the counsel represents it.

Mr. CLINE. And that is all he needs?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. For the performance of his duties?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. So there is no board of directors except this committee?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE. That performs a sort of the function of a board of directors?

Mr. EMERY. It is a standing committee selected by these organizations.

Mr. CLINE. And there never has been a new committee selected?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir. The personnel of the committee has changed.

Mr. CLINE. Changed by appointment by the chairman?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; changed by appointment by the chairman.

Mr. CLINE. But the members constituting this National Council for Industrial Defense have never been called together to reorganize its official board and its executive and administrative officers?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir. They have been in constant contact and correspondence with every act of counsel.

Mr. WILLIS. Have you there the resolutions which were passed granting this authority to the chairman?

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. I suggest that all the resolutions ought to go into the record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

The resolutions referred to are as follows:

AUGUST 19, 1907.

Whereas we the undersigned representatives of industrial organizations are deeply impressed with the necessity of closer and more intelligent cooperation for the purpose of exchanging information of reciprocal benefit, protecting our common interests, and avoiding further reduplication of expense and effort: Be it resolved that

We individually approve of and will recommend to our respective organizations the establishment of a central or council consisting of one representative, or his proxy, from each of our organizations and such other organizations as the committee may hereafter approve by a two-thirds vote. The functions of this committee shall be limited to consideration of and action upon all questions arising from the relations between employers and employees.

Said council shall have power:

1. To establish and maintain a legislative bureau.
2. To establish and maintain a legal bureau.
3. To establish and maintain a bureau of publicity and education.

The council shall have power to form its own organization and to disburse such moneys as come to it from proper channels. It shall incur no indebtedness except as funds have been previously provided for the same.

It is understood that no organization shall be holden for any moneys except as especially pledged by its representatives.

The first meeting of this council shall be upon call of the chairman of this meeting.

OCTOBER 28, 1907.

Whereas this conference is convinced that some cooperative action should be taken on the part of Association of Manufacturers to keep themselves well informed and ready for prompt action where legislation is threatened contrary to their best interests, or where legislation to their interests needs support; and

Whereas the Citizens' Industrial Association have in mind the establishment of a bureau in Washington for the purpose of closely watching such legislation: Therefore

Be it resolved, That a committee, consisting of the chairman of this conference with two additional members, to be elected by the conference, is hereby authorized to negotiate with the officers of the Citizens' Industrial Association upon some plan of cooperation with them for the purpose of carrying into effect the objects named before, and if, in their judgment, it is to the best interests of the associations represented in this conference to arrange with the Citizens' Industrial Association for such general representation, they shall immediately report to the members of this conference, either by letter or in convention, and ask for their approval of such action.

JANUARY 28, 1908.

Resolution No. 1, providing for moral cooperation only.

Resolved, That it is of the utmost importance that the interests of the employers in legislative matters at Washington demand that efforts in their behalf should be as thoroughly centralized as possible, and that the chairman be instructed to endeavor to secure the moral cooperation of, and the right to represent, as large a percentage as possible of the employers' organizations of the country irrespective of money contributions.

JANUARY 28, 1908.

Resolution No. 2, providing for moral and financial cooperation.

Whereas the National Association of Manufacturers and the Citizens' Industrial Association have each agreed to contribute for the prevention of the passage of injurious class legislation the sum of $500 per month for one year: Be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that all other national associations of employers be requested to contribute the sum of $50 per month each for a like purpose and time, the same to be paid to the chairman of this conference and disbursed under his approval.

Mr. WILLIS. What reason can you give, Mr. Emery, for the adoption of this very loose sort of confederation? It is a staaten-bund rather than a bunders-staat?

Mr. EMERY. It grew out of these four years' gatherings of each organization which wanted to cooperate, but did not want to cooperate in such a fixed and definite way as to become subordinate to the others. They wanted to obtain a committee through which all could cooperate and could act, and that was the limit to which they would cooperate. For four years prior to that some kind of meetings had been held, some kind of frequent meetings—in Chicago in 1903, in Indianapolis in 1904, and in New York in the winter of 1904—and at all these gatherings and by continuous correspondence among all the associations, it became evident the desire of cooperation was there and it was useless for each organization to maintain an individual man. They did not want to support an organization which would

eliminate themselves, but wanted to create a federation in which each was represented, and it was the consensus of opinion, after much discussion, that there should be a standing committee which should simply express the judgment of all organizations, as the best means through which they could cooperate.

Mr. WILLIS. A real confederated system, if I may use that term, which worked through a constitution, could not have been adopted at that time?

Mr. EMERY. It could not be. It expressed its desires through a series of resolutions, and these resolutions have been its governing force ever since. At these meetings, I want to say further, if you will permit me, they met and gave statements to the press, which received a good deal of attention at that time. The New York press contained quite a statement as to the purposes of the organization. Mr. Van Cleave gave out statements there at that time, and the subject created a very considerable discussion. The idea was to form a permanent legislative bureau, which would compile and distribute information on all matters in which they were interested, carrying on a campaign of publicity in respect to its object and principles.

As it grew a great number of legislative inquiries came in from all these associations which did not deal primarily with its purposes. In other words, it not only insisted on the legislation which I have described in defense of this practice, but it undertook to supply information in respect to pending legislation in answer to a great number of inquiries. It would not take any part in legislation, only where it dealt with the principles I have described, but it has always been willing to get any information in respect to pending legislation whenever asked and to supply information in respect to any department, and that has become a very important part of the work of this bureau. I suppose during the last year the number of inquiries with respect to the 8-hour law have been very numerous, as to its effect upon contractors throughout the country dealing with the Government. They have been anxious to get as much information as they could as to their status under the present law.

Mr. STAFFORD. This organization having held, through their representatives, frequent meetings prior to the permanent organization of the National Council for Industrial Defense, what was the purpose in no provision being made thereafter for meetings of the component members of the council?

Mr. EMERY. Why, there is no lack of provision. They can meet whenever they please.

Mr. STAFFORD. What provision is there for convening them together?

Mr. EMERY. The chairman can call a meeting.

Mr. STAFFORD. What provision, outside of the chairman, if he wishes not to call them together?

Mr. EMERY. Any organization in the council which desired a meeting could communicate with him and have one called.

Mr. STAFFORD. But the full responsibility falls upon him?

Mr. EMERY. The chairman himself has endeavored to call a meeting two or three times, and has not been able to get them together.

Mr. STAFFORD. There is nothing in any by-law or any other writing that, if a certain number of these organizations wish to have a

meeting, it can be brought about except it has the visé of the chairman?

Mr. EMERY. There would be no difficulty in getting it, if they wanted it.

Mr. STAFFORD. You assume that?

Mr. EMERY. I mean if they are anxious to have it.

Mr. STAFFORD. But that does not answer my question.

Mr. EMERY. There is no compelling direction that would force him to do so.

Mr. WILLIS. Has there been, in fact, any request of members of the council who desired to have a meeting and were unable to have a meeting called?

Mr. EMERY. No; there has been no action calling for a meeting. It has been primarily a bureau of information and has simply distributed different information and carried on the campaign which it was organized to do.

Mr. STAFFORD. Who passes upon the finances of the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. EMERY. It what way do you mean—audit?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. EMERY. The books are kept by the treasurer?

Mr. STAFFORD. Then there is a third official besides the chairman, secretary, and counsel?

Mr. EMERY. No; there is a secretary-treasurer, and he handles the books of the association in conjunction with the chairman.

Mr. STAFFORD. Who is he?

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Bird is the secretary-treasurer.

Mr. STAFFORD. Does he make any reports in writing at stated periods to the component members of the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. EMERY. I think he has made statements to all of them.

Mr. STAFFORD. Does he make reports at regular intervals?

Mr. EMERY. I don't know whether he makes them at regular intervals, but financial statements have been made to all members. I don't know at what intervals.

Mr. STAFFORD. I understand there are no by-laws of this association?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is a voluntary, close association, with full powers invested in the chairman?

Mr. EMERY. Immediately in the standing committee of this association, Mr. Stafford.

Mr. STAFFORD. How many compose the standing committee?

Mr. EMERY. The standing committee is composed of the chairman, the treasurer, and the counsel.

Mr. STAFFORD. We come back to the three officials again.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir. They are in constant touch with all these organizations. The correspondence is very voluminous with them; and they appear before the individual associations composing it, constantly, and are in touch by correspondence.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman is Mr. Kirby?

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Kirby.

The CHAIRMAN. And the secretary-treasurer is Mr. Bird?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are the counsel?

Mr. EMERY. I am the counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Bird's relation to the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. He is the general manager of the National Association of Manufacturers.

The CHAIRMAN. He is general manager of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Kirby is a director in the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; he is a director.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is his only connection with it? I believe you testified here the other day that at the present time that is his only connection?

Mr. EMERY. His only official connection.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean official connection.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And have you any connection with it other than such connection as you have through the council?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you wish to proceed further?

Mr. EMERY. Yes. I want to call the committee's attention to the conditions prevailing in reference to this legislation, which are the real reasons for the organization of the council and which conditions existing at the time it came into being are represented here. I want to call the attention of the committee to the historical fact that the Federation of Labor, which was the chief promoter of these principles, which we organized to defend, is by its constitution and history chiefly devoted and has as a prime object the attainment of certain legislative ends, and by calling your attention to that condition I can make clear to you the situation in which we found ourselves as business men.

The constitution of the American Federation of Labor, in article 2, "objects," provides, in section 1:

> The object of this federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local trade and labor unions and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of central trade and labor unions in every city and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

In the third section of the same article, among its objects, is found—

> * * * And to secure legislation in the interest of the working people.

Now, from the very inception of the organization the history of its continuous effort is manifested in its own proceedings, and as its history grows you can see the change of methods by which that object is to be secured.

Mr. STAFFORD. Has it not any other object than the encouragement and formation of labor unions and the securing of legislation in the interest of the working people?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I said as its primary purposes. its objects were those within the first section of article 2. They are all included in "Article 2. Objects." And in the second and third sections you

find their objects stated. To secure legislation is stated in at least two sections.

Mr. WILLIS. You do not mean to convey the idea to the committee, do you, Mr. Emery, that therefore the N. A. M. was organized to become active in order to oppose such legislation as that? You do not wish the committee to adopt that conclusion from your organization, do you?

Mr. EMERY. No; I want the committee to perceive what these objects were which it undertook to advance by legislation and the method by which it undertook to do so, and the fact, in the protection of what we conceived to be fundamental rights, it became necessary to effect the organization I am here representing; and I want it to understand the condition that existed when I came here and the conditions which exist to-day in defense of our action.

In the convention proceedings of 1889 we find Mr. Gompers's report on labor legislation and laws at page 15. He says:

> Owing, no doubt, to the short sessions of Congress, little, if any, new labor legislation can be recorded as the achievement of the past year. Much better results were obtained in many of the State legislatures.
>
> I suggest that our conventions should formulate the legislation that labor demands and empower and direct the executive officers to take such actions as will presage the best results.

In 1891 the continued effort to secure political action in furtherance of legislative demands is expressed again by Mr. Gompers very forcefully, at page 15 of the convention proceedings of 1891, in which he says:

> Our affiliated unions are guaranteed autonomy and independence. If they deem independent political action advisable, or if they desire to take political action by which to pledge candidates for public offices, to stand by the advocates of labor measures and reward them, or to punish at the polls those who are inimical to their interests, these are matters entirely relegated to each organization, without dictation or hindrance.

In 1894 the organization for political action is asked in a more definite form, as expressed in the convention report of 1894, where Mr. Gompers says:

> In that country (Great Britain) the organized wageworkers avail themselves of every legal and practical means to obtain the legislation they demand. They endeavor to defeat those who oppose, and elect those who support, legislation in the interest of labor, and whenever opportunity affords elect a bona fide union man to Parliament and other public offices. The parliamentary committee of the British Trades Union Congress is a labor committee to lobby for labor legislation. This course the organized workers of America may with advantage follow, since it is based upon experience and fraught with good results.

In 1896 President Gompers's report, at page 18, contains the following recommendation:

> I would recommend that this convention decide that representatives of this federation be constantly at the seat of the Government during the session of Congress, to guard and further the legislation which our organizations demand in the interests of labor. We can secure the abrogation of laws inimical to the interests of the masses and the passage of others for their advancement and protection. The lines suggested have proven successful in every instance in which they have been fairly tried, and although we may all desire to secure the purposes for which we are organized through other methods that should not deter us from pursuing the course which all experience demonstrates is conducive to the best results.

In the convention report of 1897 you see a display of activity in another direction, where Mr. Gompers reports, at page 19, relative to legislation, as follows:

The legislative committee elected by the Cincinnati convention proceeded to the Capital and immediately pressed for the passage of legislation resolved upon by the convention. Our success, however, has been largely negative, since much legislation vicious and inimical to the interests of labor in general was defeated.

In 1904 there seems to be a very serious difference of opinion about the value of the maintenance of a legislative organization at Washington, and at page 237 of the convention report it says:

Resolution No. 110, by delegate J. Barnes, of Cigar Makers' International Union.

The resolution is as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the constitution be amended as follows: By adding to section 1 of Article IX, 'provided that no labor lobby committee shall be maintained or money appropriated for such purpose.'"

The committee recommends that the resolution be nonconcurred in.

It was debated on the floor. Mr. Gompers replied at some length against it, and it was defeated.

And in 1905 the record shows the entrance upon a fixed program with respect to legislation of a political nature. The American Federation of Labor convention report of 1905, at page 144, shows "Resolution No. 109, introduced and referred to committee on resolutions."

At page 177 it shows that resolution 109, after being amended in committee, was reported favorably and adopted by the convention. The text of the resolution as adopted, is as follows:

Whereas in the attainment of conditions essential to the common welfare the the trade-union movement stands as the leading exponent; and

Whereas it becomes necessary in the progress of such attainment to place before Congress certain bills for enactment into legislative measures that are of great importance to organized labor; and

Whereas Representatives in said Congress continually and presistently oppose such legislation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor oppose the nomination and election of all candidates for congressional and legislative honors who have shown themselves to be unfriendly to the interests and principles of organized labor, and assist to the extent of their ability the nomination and election of candidates who are known to be friendly to labor legislation.

About that time appears the slogan which is carried thereafter in the heavy type in the proceedings of the Federation of Labor and in the American Federationist.

Mr. CLINE. Was that resolution adopted?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. What do you know about the resolution being followed up in practice?

Mr. EMERY. I will let these witnesses speak for themselves, if you will permit me, Mr. Chairman. I think I can give you considerable information on it. It was followed up.

Mr. CLINE. I do not understand what you mean.

Mr. EMERY. The next extract I show you, I think, is evidence of the manner in which it was carried out.

Mr. CLINE. Have you any personal knowledge of it?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Do you know whether the American Federation of Labor did actively go into campaigns in different districts?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And support men favorable to them?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And try to defeat men against them?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; and expended money for that purpose.

Mr. CLINE. Can you give us a name or two?

Mr. EMERY. I would rather give it to you consecutively, because it shows the development of the idea. Here is the slogan, in heavy type:

Organized labor must see to it that trade-union men are nominated and elected to municipal, county, and State offices; that trade-union men represent its interests in the State legislatures, and in Congress.

Let organized labor's slogan live in its deeds. Stand faithfully by our friends, oppose and defeat our enemies, whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or other offices, whether executive, legislative, or judicial. Get busy! Stand true!

Mr. RUSSELL. What was that published in, in the Federationist?

Mr. EMERY. That is published constantly in the Federationist. It is found again and again. This is the way in which it is printed [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. You asked to have Mr. Littlepage subpœnaed a few moments ago, and he has just come in and expressed an anxiety to testify as soon as possible. Would you object to giving way to him and letting him testify now?

Mr. EMERY. Not a bit.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Littlepage, will you be sworn?

TESTIMONY OF MR. THOMAS P. LITTLEPAGE.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Emery, will you examine Mr. Littlepage along whatever line you desire?

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Littlepage, give the committee your name and occupation.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Thomas P. Littlepage, attorney at law, Union Trust Building, this city.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Littlepage, have you occupied any position in connection with any committee or Member of Congress or the Senate within the past few years?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Well, not since 1907, Mr. Emery. Previous to that I was secretary to Senator Hemenway, from Indiana. In 1909 his term expired on the 4th of March and my services in connection with him expired, of course, on that date. After that I was for a few months clerk of the Public Expenditures Committee in the Senate.

Mr. EMERY. Do you remember during what period you were clerk of the Committee on Public Expenditures of the Senate?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Well, I resigned, as I recall it, sometime before 1910. I would not know positively without looking up the dates; but I was clerk of that committee less than a year.

Mr. EMERY. During the time that you were secretary to Senator Hemenway and clerk of the Committee on Public Expenditures, were

you acquainted with, or did you know personally, any officers or representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I never saw one of them.

Mr. EMERY. Did you know any representatives or officers of the National Association of Manufacturers during the period of your services as clerk of the Committee on Expenditures of the Senate?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I never saw an officer or member of that association, Mr. Emery, until a few months ago, and never—I didn't even know who they were, and never saw them during that time.

Mr. EMERY. Did you know or do you know one Martin M. Mulhall?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. EMERY. Did you know him during your service as secretary to Senator Hemenway or clerk of the Committee on Expenditures of the Senate?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes. I saw him around about the Capitol at that time, and was introduced to him.

Mr. EMERY. Did you know of his connection with the National Association of Manufacturers at that time?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I understood he was field agent or had some connection of some kind as an employee of that association.

Mr. EMERY. Did you ever have, personally or through him, any communication with officers of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I never did.

Mr. EMERY. Did you ever receive any communication from Mr. Van Cleave, president of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I do not recall of ever having received a communication of any kind whatever. If I ever received any such communication, I do not recall it.

Mr. EMERY. Do you know whether Mr. Mulhall at any time asked you to perform any service or other for any officer of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Nothing in connection with the association. He came up to the Capitol with a jug of water that he said came from a spring down in Texas that he said was owned by Mr. Van Cleave, and wanted to know—he was, as I remember now, discussing it with several people—he wanted to know if some one could help him arrange to get that water analyzed.

As I remember now, I wrote a formal letter to the Bureau of Chemistry—simply a formal letter—stating that this water had come from a spring down there which was reputed to be of some prominence, and if entirely practicable Col. Mulhall would appreciate an analysis of it. I think some sort of analysis was made, and the Bureau of Chemistry wrote me a letter giving that analysis and I transmitted it to Col. Mulhall. He notified me it was entirely unsatisfactory; that the analysis of the water was not specific enough to be of any particular value to Mr. Van Cleave, and I replied to him that I knew of no further way; that nothing else could be done about it. It was purely a request made to the bureau, anyhow. I never had seen Mr. Van Cleave, did not know him, and never had received any letter from him.

Mr. EMERY. Have you finished?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes; on that point.

Mr. EMERY. I call your attention to the New York World of Sunday, June 29, 1913. Can you tell me whether or not you read the paper of that date?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes; I read that.

Mr. EMERY. Did you see the reference in it on page 2 of an article entitled "Lobbyist bares his 10 years' work for the National Manufacturers' Association," in which you were referred to by name?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes; I saw that.

Mr. EMERY. To bring it back to your recollection I will read it to you:

That the professional lobby staff of the National Association of Manufacturers during the last 10 years was composed of the following persons.

A number are named here, and under the letter "k" appears the following:

Thomas Littlepage, former secretary of Senator Hemenway, of Indiana, with offices on the sixth floor of the Union Trust Building, at Washington, adjoining those maintained by Emery, chief of the National Association of Manufacturers' lobby; engaged in the practice of law and regarded as the right-hand man of Emery in lobby undertakings.

I will ask you, Mr. Littlepage, in the first place, if it is true you have an office on the sixth floor of the Union Trust Building?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes; I have an office there.

Mr. EMERY. And is it adjacent to the office of Mr. Emery?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. No, sir.

Mr. EMERY. What is the position of your office with relation to the office of Mr. Emery?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I think there are three or four rooms between. I have offices, rooms 601 and 605, and your offices are down the hall some distance.

Mr. EMERY. I will ask you, Mr. Littlepage, how long have you known Mr. Emery?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Well, I met you once, I think, while I was up here at the Capitol, and after I went up in the Union Trust Building and began practicing law I got well acquainted with you at that time, just being there in the building and in the elevator and having offices there on the same floor.

Mr. EMERY. Did you ever perform legal services for Mr. Emery of any kind or character?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Never, of any kind whatever.

Mr. EMERY. Did you ever perform any services of any nature for Mr. Emery as a matter of employment?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Not a thing.

Mr. EMERY. Did you ever receive a dollar of money from Mr. Emery or from the National Association of Manufacturers, or from any other officer or agent of that association for any services?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Never a dollar.

Mr. EMERY. Have you ever been engaged in the performance of any work relative to legislation in which the National Association of Manufacturers was interested?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I never had any more connection at any time with the National Association of Manufacturers, directly or indirectly, than I have had with the revolutions of the earth around the sun.

Mr. EMERY. Let me ask you, as a preliminary question, Mr. Littlepage: During the period of your acquaintance with Col. Mulhall did you ever perform any service for him as an agent or employee of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. No.

Mr. EMERY. Other than that which you have described?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Not a thing.

Mr. EMERY. Did he ever request you to enter into the employ of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. No, sir.

Mr. EMERY. Or to perform any service for him as an employee or agent of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. He never suggested that I do anything for them.

Mr. EMERY. Did he ever pay you any money for any service that you performed for him——

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. He never paid me a cent of any kind.

Mr. EMERY. Or for him individually, or as an agent or employee of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Never a cent.

Mr. EMERY. Were you clerk of the Committee on Public Expenditures of the Senate in December, 1909, Mr. Littlepage?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes; I think I was at that time, Mr. Emery. I do not think I had yet resigned.

Mr. EMERY. There appears in an account rendered by M. M. Mulhall, in evidence before this committee, under date of December 5, 1909, to the National Association of Manufacturers the following item:

December 16, paid to the clerk of Public Expenditures for service rendered, $15.

Do you know whether or not you were the clerk of the Public Expenditures referred to?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I think I was the clerk at that time.

Mr. EMERY. Did you receive that sum or any other sum at that time from Col. Mulhall?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I never did.

Mr. EMERY. I call your attention to the fact, Mr. Chairman, that this account is dated December 5, 1909.

Mr. FERRIS. What is the amount of that account, Mr. Emery?

Mr. EMERY. $15. I call your attention to the fact that the account is dated December 5, 1909, and it includes a large number of items apparently in the month of December up to the 20th.

The CHAIRMAN. It includes items of dates subsequent to the date on which it was rendered?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I am not really sure that I was clerk of the committee at that time. I know I was clerk to the committee less than a year, and I resigned some time along there, but I can not recall unless I go and look up the records.

Mr. CLINE. Do you remember whether it was before or after the holidays?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. It seems to me that I resigned before the holidays. I know I rented offices in the Union Trust Building early that winter some time, and I resigned and went into the practice of law.

Mr. CLINE. You went into the Union Trust Building in 1909?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I engaged rooms. I should have to look up the specific records of the Senate to see just when I quit there and went away. I could look up my lease at the building and see definitely.

Mr. CLINE. I understand that you did not go into the Union Trust Building until after you resigned from the committee?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. No.

Mr. EMERY. I call your attention, Mr. Littlepage, to an account rendered by M. M. Mulhall to the National Association of Manufacturers, under date of July 31, 1909, in evidence before this committee, No. 2954, 2957, in which appears the following item under date of July 14, 1909:

Paid to T. P. Littlepage, private secretary to Senator Hemenway, for labor performed and services rendered, $27.50.

Are those your initials?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. T. P.; yes. In the first place, I was not secretary to Senator Hemenway then because he had gone out of the Senate the March before; and he never paid me a cent of money at any time.

Mr. EMERY. You mean Mulhall?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes. Mulhall never has paid me a cent of money of any kind or character whatever, from the time I first saw him up to the present time. I never received a cent from him. I never performed any services for him other than the matter of writing that letter down there, which was of the most formal character, and for which, of course, I would not charge anything. And, as I remember, that correspondence was a long time after this date anyhow, so it could not be construed as having been in payment for that service.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the assistant clerk of the Committee on Expenditures? Was there an assistant clerk?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes; there was an assistant clerk, Mr. Chairman—Mr. Robert A. Turner. He occupied a position there; I do not think he had the title of assistant clerk. Mr. Turner was with the committee there at that time and did stenographic work.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Mulhall ever ask you to render any services of any character?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Of no kind whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Except getting that analysis?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. He came up there one day at the Senate—I think he brought it up to the Sergeant at Arms' office—a large jug of water. As I remember, I was up there. He talked to several people around; I do not know now just whom. I think, perhaps, the employees over there might know. He said that he had a jug of water there that Mr. Van Cleave—a gentleman I had never seen in my life and never did see—wanted to get an analysis of it; that it was from his spring in Texas.

Mr. STAFFORD. Was that the office of the Sergeant at Arms of the House or of the Senate?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Of the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you known him before that time?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I had just seen him a time or two. I saw him out in Indiana once—out at Indianapolis. I have just a formal acquaintance with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether he was much about Senator Hemenway's office?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. No; he was never around there much. Senator Hemenway did not have a very high regard for him.

The CHAIRMAN. After Senator Hemenway retired from the Senate, as I recall it, he was a member of some commission for quite a while.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes; he was a member of some committee there for quite a while. I resigned shortly afterwards.

The CHAIRMAN. Some economy commission?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes; he was a member of that.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he leave here? Do you remember?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I really could not tell you, Mr. Chairman, unless I went and looked up those records. I would be glad to do that if you care for the information.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think that is especially important. Were you with him during the time he was a member of this economy commission?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. No; I was connected rather with Senator Bourne at that time. Senator Bourne was the active member of the Public Expenditures Committee, and I was really under Senator Bourne's direction there. Senator Hemenway was handling an entirely different line of work, as I recall it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any sort of information within your possession from which you could even surmise why he put that in that account there?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. The only thing I can say is that he never gave me a cent; he never did.

The CHAIRMAN. He never asked you to render any service for which he could pay you?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. He had no more excuse for paying me money than he would have for paying anybody else that never did anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course I do not suppose he contributed anything through you to any campaign fund?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I never received anything, directly or indirectly, or handled any money from him or anybody at any time.

Mr. WILLIS. Who is F. W. Child? Do you know him, Mr. Littlepage?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Childs?

Mr. WILLIS. Child.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I do not know him.

Mr. WILLIS. I make that inquiry because he is mentioned in connection with this water analysis proposition. There is quite a voluminous correspondence here before the committee on the analysis of that jug of water.

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I do not recall anyone that I knew by the name of Childs. If there is anything to refresh my memory——

Mr. WILLIS. I was going to call your attention to it. In all these letters you are variously mentioned in connection with this jug of water performance, and in No. 4529 appears the following. I read the whole letter:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON WAR CLAIMS,
Washington, D. C., May 11, 190—.

Hon. HARVEY W. WILEY,
Chief of Bureau of Chemistry.

DEAR SIR: This will introduce Col. M. M. Mulhall, a friend of Col. Haskins, who desires to consult with you regarding a specimen of water which has been placed in his charge for analysis. Any favors you can show Col. Mulhall will be appreciated by Col. Haskins and by the writer.

Yours, very truly,
F. W. CHILDS,
Committee War Claims Clerk.

Do you remember him in connection with this water analysis proposition?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. No; I do not; I never saw him and do not know him.

Mr. WILLIS. There is one other letter here, No. 3404:

THE ATLANTIC WORKS.
East Boston, December 9, 1909.

Col. M. M. MULHALL, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR COLONEL: I learn that I am indebted to you for the splendid map of the United States received yesterday from Mr. T. P. Littlepage, clerk of the Committee on Public Expenditures. Please accept my thanks.

Yours, very truly,
A. E. COX.

Does that refresh your memory as to any transaction you may have had with Mr. Mulhall upon which he could have based the statement that he paid you $27.50 in one instance and $15 in another?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. It certainly would not afford any basis for making those payments. I do not recall any specific time, but it is not at all improbable that he may have asked me to send some one a map, and I may have sent it. While I was over at the Senate I sent out so many hundreds of maps and documents that I do not recall it. It would be a very expensive map that came to $27.50 or $15.

Mr. WILLIS. You do state positively you never received any $15 or $27.50?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I never received a cent on earth from him at any time.

Mr. FERRIS. What were the names of the clerical force of the committee at that time?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I was the only one, I think, that had the title of clerk at that time.

Mr. FERRIS. Who were the others?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Mr. Turner did work for the committee. He was employed by Senator Bourne.

Mr. FERRIS. What were his initials?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I think Robert A. Turner.

Mr. FERRIS. Where is he now?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I think he is employed over at the Senate now. He is the son of former Congressman Turner, from Virginia; and I think I could state—I do not know that he ever saw Col. Mulhall. At least, I think I could state with a reasonable degree of certainty that he never performed any services for him or received a cent of

money from him, because Mr. Turner is a very high-grade gentleman, and I am sure that if he performed any services he would not accept any money for them.

Mr. FERRIS. Were there any other clerks besides you two?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I do not recall anyone.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you have any special clerks there at any time?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. No.

Mr. FERRIS. What was the clerical force allotted to that committee?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I do not think there was any special allotment. The Public Expenditures Committee was a committee made up at that time—composed of the chairmen of the various Senate committees. After the 4th of March, after Senator Hemenway's term expired, I was employed by Senator Hale, and after I was employed by him he detailed me to that committee to work with Senator Bourne, and it was not a regularly organized committee as Senate committees go to-day; that is, it did not have a regular allotment of clerks and employees. There was no one else connected with it over there but myself and Mr. Turner.

Mr. CLINE. Did you participate in the Watson campaign of 1908 in Indiana?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I was out there in Indiana during that campaign.

Mr. CLINE. Did you participate in the campaign?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I did not make any speeches or——

Mr. CLINE. Did you do any clerical work for Senator Hemenway during that campaign?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I was his secretary at that time, located at Booneville, Ind.

Mr. CLINE. Was he a candidate in that campaign?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes, sir; he was a candidate for reelection to the Senate.

Mr. CLINE. Did you meet Mr. Mulhall in that campaign?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I saw him out in Indiana; yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Where did you see him?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I saw him at Indianapolis.

Mr. CLINE. Did you see him more than once?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I do not recall; I should say so. I saw him around the Claypool Hotel there some.

Mr. CLINE. Was he not a frequenter of the headquarters of the Republican State central committee in the State Life Building?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. The only headquarters I had any connection with there were those in the Claypool Hotel, and I was not around there really very much at that time. Booneville, Ind., is located perhaps 150 miles from Indianapolis, perhaps more, and Senator Hemenway's mail all came to Booneville, and his business was transacted there.

Mr. CLINE. But his headquarters were located in the Claypool Hotel during the canvass for nomination, and after the nomination were not the headquarters down in the State Life Building?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. They may have been, but I was never over there.

Mr. CLINE. You never met Mulhall except at the Claypool Hotel?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I saw him around the Claypool Hotel, and I remember at that particular time I heard Senator Hemenway on several occasions express some dissatisfaction with his being there in Indiana, and I remember the other day—if the committee cares about it—I saw a letter that had been written——

Mr. CLINE. Did you know at that time he was in the employ of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And doing campaign work for Mr. Watson?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Were you connected with Senator Hemenway when he was in the House?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. No, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. When did you first see Mulhall in the corridors of the Capitol?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Well, it was some time after I went to work over at the Senate. I do not know that I could specifically give the date. I saw him in and out there a good many times around through the Capitol.

Mr. STAFFORD. When did you first begin to work at the Senate end?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I began there in April, 1906, as I remember.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you remember seeing him at any of the committee rooms, or where did you see him about the Senate end?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I think the first time I ever saw him at the Senate I saw him in the waiting room there. That is the first time I ever saw him to recognize him. I saw him in the Senate waiting room there, as I recall now.

Mr. STAFFORD. How frequently did you see him around there? Was he an habitue, or just merely a chance visitor?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Generally just a chance visitor. I saw him occasionally.

Mr. STAFFORD. Was he a hanger-on at the committee rooms or just strolling through the corridors?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I did not see him at the committee rooms to any extent. I remember he came first to Senator Hemenway's committee room a time or two, but the Senator was very busy and did not see him.

Mr. STAFFORD. You mentioned, but did not give the particulars, about coming across a certain letter recently. Will you state what that was?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I just came from Indiana the other day, and I was discussing this matter with Senator Hemenway while down there—I was out at his summer home—and he asked me if I recalled what his attitude toward Mulhall had been during the Indiana campaign, and I told him I did, very clearly. He told me that in going through his old files he had just that day found a letter from Mr. Watson, the substance of which was:

> I hope you will feel better now that Col. Mulhall will not be back in the Indiana campaign any more and will not be here in the State. I know this will please you because of the various objections you have made to his being here, and I am writing to tell you this.

I merely mention that to show you what his attitude was all along toward this fellow.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall, other than that letter, what Senator Hemenway's attitude was toward Mr. Mulhall in the Indiana campaign?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. As I recall it, he was never in favor of his being there in the State. He never felt that he was of any particular assistance; he rather felt that he was somewhat of a discredit to the campaign and the association that he represented.

Mr. STAFFORD. You do not know the reasons why he held that opinion?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. I do not know of any particular reasons.

Mr. STAFFORD. The basis for it?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. Senator Hemenway was a fellow who was generally pretty careful in his associates, and I do not know why he formed that opinion entirely.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall, during the times you saw Mr. Mulhall, of any occasion when he was speaking to anyone concerning legislation about the Capitol?

Mr. LITTLEPAGE. No, sir; I never heard him mention legislation to anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be excused, Mr. Littlepage.

The committee will stand adjourned until 2 o'clock, and at 2 o'clock the committee will resume its session and will sit until 3.30, and will then rise until 8 to-night.

(The committee thereupon, at 12.30 o'clock p. m., took a recess until 2 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

The committee met, pursuant to the taking of recess, at 2 o'clock p. m.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES A. EMERY—Continued.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Emery.

Mr. EMERY. I was calling your attention to the origin, growth, and development of the organized political effort to secure the enactment of labor legislation which I had described, the program agreed upon, and the method by which it was executed. I had reached a point in 1905 in that growth, and I desire now to call the committee's attention—I believe I had called attention—to a resolution adopted in 1905 by the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, advising their members to defeat Congressman who had opposed their labor measures and to elect those who were favorable to the measures.

In 1906 a more definite program was agreed upon and the so-called bill of grievances was presented to the Congress on April 6, 1906, in which the executive committee of the American Federation of Labor, alleging to represent the claims of 115 international unions, met in Washington and called in committee upon the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate and presented the legislative demands which have been the subject of discussion here, and immediately upon the presentation of these demands, or soon thereafter, a communication was addressed to each Member of the House and Senate, to be found under date of April 26, 1906, at page 384 of the

American Federationist for 1906, in the June number, in which it is stated:

Desirous of being absolutely fair and impartial and to do no one an injustice, we sent a letter to each Representative and Senator, of which the following is a copy:

HEADQUARTERS AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Washington, D. C., April 26, 1906.

DEAR SIR: Recently I had the honor of mailing to you a copy of the bill of grievances which organized labor presented to President Roosevelt, Senator Frye, President pro tempore of the Senate, and Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, Speaker of the House of Representatives. For convenience I inclose another copy herein.

In view of the fact that it is not the desire of labor to do an injustice to any Representative—

And this is in italics—

I respectfully request you to state to me your views upon the subject matters contained in that document.

By reason of the fact that a letter is soon to be issued dealing with the subjects specifically and in their entirety, I trust you will favor me with a specific and general reply at the earliest possible moment, and oblige,

Very respectfully, yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

In the American Federationist for September, 1906, was contained under a large heading, "Queries and answers. Members of Congress give their opinion of labor's bill of grievances." The responses of the Members of Congress to these series of questions which were asked of them preceding the campaign of 1906, and the article preceding the letters, goes on to state:

It is by no means to be inferred that the publication of a Congressman's answer is either an indorsement or a "black list."

Their respective constituents will settle that from their records.

In certain respects their replies speak for themselves. There will be little difficulty in ranging some of them under the heads of "Indifferent, negligent, or hostile," while others are clearly noncommittal and evasive in their tone. One of the most remarkable things is the lack of knowledge and of sympathy demonstrated by some of the replies.

Mr. WILLIS. Was it proposed that these replies should be published?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. And were they published?

Mr. EMERY. They are published in the American Federationist, in this and following numbers.

Mr. FERRIS. At length?

Mr. EMERY. Whether in whole or part I do not know. I do not know how complete they are. It is difficult to gather from the text whether it is a complete letter or whether it is a substantial statement from the letter. They begin in the September, 1906, issue of the Federationist.

Mr. RUSSELL. They purport to be quotations?

Mr. EMERY. Quotations from the answers received. For instance, a very distinguished political leader, whose political acumen has never been and will never be questioned, is reported as saying:

It strikes me that if the labor organizations are going into politics they would do well to help the men who are here and who are known to be their friends. I have been with them largely because I labored hard with my hands, as a hired hand, when a youth. I submit for your consideration that after a man with a record answers a set of questions and a man without a record an-

swers the same way, it is not the proper thing for the organization to say "Hands off" merely because the answers were alike.

That is from the Hon. Champ Clark.

They proceed through the two following numbers of the Federationist, and then they recount the effect of this campaign.

Mr. FERRIS. How generally did they answer? Of the total membership, how many answers did they receive?

Mr. EMERY. It does not show completely, but they give a great number of answers.

In response to the inquiry of Mr. Ferris as to the number of answers received to these inquiries, I have counted the number given in the September, 1906, issue of the Federationist, and find that there are 121 Congressmen whose names and answers are here given.

Mr. FERRIS. What was the membership of the House at that time?

Mr. EMERY. About 380, I believe—391.

That is only in the September Federationist. The September number states:

In the October and November issues (the latter will be on the news stands October 24) we may publish replies received too late for this issue and also any received hereafter. It is quite likely that we may also publish statements on the bill of grievances from those of our friends who may be nominated to defeat "negligent, indifferent, or hostile" Congressmen.

That is quoted from page 646 of the Federationist for September, 1906.

The further effect of this campaign is given in the November, 1906, issue of the Federationist, in which appears the following, at page 882:

In contrast to the indifference displayed by many Congressmen in years past when a labor measure was in queston are the pilgrimages of congressional candidates to American Federation of Labor headquarters during this campaign by those who thought a personal plea could alter or conceal the facts in their record.

In one instance a Congressman who has pretended to be friendly to labor and who is a candidate for reelection, but whose record does not speak favorably for him, traveled a goodly number of miles to visit the American Federation of Labor and attempt to explain away his record, which, by the way, had already been submitted in his district and widely published.

When the Congressional Record was quoted to him, he was obliged to admit that it was correct. He promised to "be good" in the future if the ban of organized labor was raised on him before election, but despite all his appeals his unfriendly record is still being extensively circulated among the members and friends of labor in his district. If he is elected and his future record carries out his present friendly professions, that fact will be as widely published in his district as his present unfriendly one.

A peculiar instance was that of a Congressman with a record unfriendly to labor, but who is not a candidate for reelection. It appears, however, that he contemplated running for another office. He would need the labor vote to accomplish his ambition. He visited the American Federation of Labor, admitted his unfriendly record, but pleaded against publicity, as he is not a candidate for Congress. He declared that he could not be elected to any office in his State if the working people felt him to be unfriendly. It was explained to him that the Federation has no option to withhold a record if it is asked by the voters, as it had been in this case. In fact, the voters can easily trace it for themselves by turning to the Congressional Record. It is the desire of the voters to elect those friendly to their interests, which will prevent this man from again holding office. He is reaping what he has sown.

In the July, 1906, issue of the American Federationist, under the heading "Editorial, by Samuel Gompers," it is stated:

Those Members of Congress who have turned a deaf ear to the respectful and urgent requests for relief will find that there is more earnestness and determination in labor's cause in their home towns than they have any conception of, and this they will realize in a more effective manner when the results in the congressional elections are known.

The wage earners should by all means defeat those who have been hostile or indifferent to the demands of labor. Their best efforts should be concentrated in that direction.

Wherever possible labor should elect its own men. See to it that they are nominated and elected. Wisdom forbids the nomination of anyone in opposition in a district where a man has shown himself to be a true friend of labor and in accord with its aims and in accord with its purposes, and thereby allow a well-known opponent to "slip in."

Under date of July 22 and September 24, a circular appeal was sent out for campaign funds with which to prosecute the campaigns engaged in by the American Federation of Labor. This is found at page 532 of the American Federationist for 1906, under date of July 22, 1906, and the concluding paragraph reads as follows:

You are therefore again urged to promptly, and as generously as possible, contribute and forward the contribution of your organization and its members, to enable the labor representation committee to immediately take up the work of not only defeating our enemies, but also of electing a number of Congressmen and State legislators who are honest, earnest, intelligent, and faithful, with clear unblemished union cards in their possession—men who will prove faithful to the rights of labor, and true to the interests of the people.

That is repeated in a second appeal, found on page 819, under date of September 24, 1906, in which it is stated:

We now ask that each and every trade union member will individually contribute the sum of $1 to the campaign fund. In any event, it must be understood that we are glad to receive any contribution, and in any way that the unions desire to assist, but we believe that this personal appeal to each union member is justified by the importance of the campaign upon which we have entered, and we believe the members will respond.

In the American Federationist for May, 1907, under the report of the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor, executive committee meeting, appears a report of the campaign expenses in the political campaign of 1906, as follows:

American Federation of Labor political campaign, 1906.

Receipts	$8,225.94
Expenses	8,147.19
Balance on hand Mar. 9, 1907	78.75

Mr. WILLIS. Does it give anywhere there any detailed account of these expenditures?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; there does not appear to be anything other than what I have read.

Mr. STAFFORD. Does it show whether it was confined to congressional campaigns or not?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir. All that appears here is in three lines. It is headed "American Federation of Labor political campaign, 1906," and then it says:

Receipts	$8,225.94
Expenses	8,147.19
Balance on hand Mar. 9, 1907	78.75

That is on page 356 of the American Federationist for 1907.

The CHAIRMAN. It does not say whether it was expended for Members of Congress or candidates for State legislatures, or candidates for governor?

Mr. EMERY. It shows nothing beyond what I have read to you, sir. There may be another report somewhere else of which I am not aware, but taken in conjunction with the appeal and the report of the labor representation committee made to the executive council of the Federation—the Federationist, in its issue of September 18, 1906, shows the beginning of this campaign. It is addressed to the executive council, American Federation of Labor, under date of September 18, 1906.

Mr. Gompers, under date of October, 1906, at page 795 of the Federationist, for the month of October, under the heading "Labor's first skirmish—Story of the anti-Littlefield campaign"—written immediately after returning from Maine, has the following statement of the activity of the distinguished witness who has occupied this stand, on page 800:

Yes; in his desire to be a "friend to labor" he even organized a "labor party"——

Mr. WILLIS. Who is "he"?

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Littlefield. This is a part of Mr. Gompers's article [continuing reading]:

He even organized a "labor party," consisting of "Col." Mulhall and Charles E. Harriman. Anyone caring to know of "Col." Mulhall might write to the Baltimore Federation of Labor, to President Calvert, of the Philadelphia Typographical Union, or to former Senator McComas, of Maryland, and there are others too numerous to mention who could give information. From some of these inquirers may learn of matters which we would not care to publish here, but from President Calvert can be obtained the information that "Col." Mulhall, during the printers' strike for the eight-hour day, acted as an agent to secure strike breakers in Philadelphia for New York, and in New York strike breakers for Philadelphia. As for Charles E. Harriman, he wrote to me last March that Charles E. Littlefield was an enemy to labor, that he (Littlefield) went to Augusta, Me., to prevent the passage of the eight-hour law for laborers in Government employ, that he (Harriman) was going to fight Littlefield, and that he could see his "finish," that he could and would be defeated for reelection in Congress.

Littlefield's "labor party," consisting of Mulhall and Harriman, had Harriman nominated for a member of the legislature, and in the entire district he received the magnificent number of 12 votes.

That is the campaign in which it was alleged that some $60,000 was expended.

Mr. STAFFORD. Votes up there, apparently, come high.

Mr. EMERY. Twelve——

Mr. STAFFORD (interposing). Twelve for sixty or rather sixty thousand for twelve.

Mr. FERRIS. Did he have Mulhall's support?

Mr. EMERY. He apparently had the support of the other half of the party. In summing up the results of the campaign of 1906, Mr. Gompers, at page 971 of the American Federationist for December, 1906, declares:

That labor was not successful in defeating all of its most conspicuous opponents only shows how great were the powers arrayed against force which dared to put itself in opposition to the money power and those who represent it.

Then he goes on to say:

There is not the slightest doubt that in some congressional districts the votes were counted and the majorities made up at the dictation of such interests. If an honest majority had been cast against their tool, the more strenuous the effort by those in control of the machinery of voting to elect him, no matter by what fraud or trickery.

He says further on:

Even with this vital disadvantage of not being able to register its full vote at the polls in the very cases where it was most important it should do so, labor cut deeply into the majorities of many of those hostile or indifferent to it, even where they were elected.

Then further on he goes on to say:

Let no Congressman delude himself with the hope that the recent campaign was mererly a spasmodic effort on the part of labor to right its wrongs. Let no Congressman flatter himself that his future record will be concealed from the public. Labor proposes that the voters in each district shall know the record of their Congressman on labor measures, and we have no doubt that public-spirited citizens will inform themselves on other matters which pertain to the duties of Congress to the masses.

Mr. CLINE. It is not clear in my mind, considering what the American Federation of Labor is going to do on one hand and the National Association of Manufacturers on the other side, how we are going to get out.

Mr. EMERY. That is a terrible situation, Judge Cline.

Further along in this same article, Mr. Gompers says:

Our legislative committee will be in attendance on the coming session of the present Congress and also when those recently elected shall meet as the Sixtieth Congress. In estimating labor's influence in the campaign just passed, it must be remembered that its efforts were not confined solely to work for or against congressional candidates. The returns show that a large number of members of the legislature have been elected in various States, who are pledged to carry out labor's desires. The State legislature has much to do with determining local conditions for workers, so this increase of favorable legislative members means much to our unions.

I find here that the New York Globe, under date of September 12, 1906, published an editorial in which it severely criticized the position of organized labor, and gives a blacklist of Members of Congress, as it calls it.

The CHAIRMAN. You say this is from the New York Globe?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; of September 12, 1906. It gives the following names as the list of Members whom organized labor is fighting——

The CHAIRMAN. Is that reproduced in that publication there?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; it is merely the list I have gotten from the editorial. I do not find it in here.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course Mr. Gompers is going to be on the stand.

Mr. EMERY. I am simply giving this for what it is worth, as an editorial expression of the newspaper notice of the attack.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it may go in.

Mr. FERRIS. Have you the editorial there?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; but I can get it for you. I have a longer list including a number of names.

There is another list published by the American Federation of Labor that includes some of these.

Mr. WILLIS. You say there is a list in the Federationist?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. I suggest you submit that list.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the editorial you refer to in full there?

Mr. EMERY. No; I have not got it.

The CHAIRMAN. You have just the names?

Mr. EMERY. I just have this list made up from the editorial. Shall I put these names in?

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection.

Mr. EMERY. The names included are: McCall——

Mr. CLINE (interposing). I suggest that the editorial ought to go in in conjunction with the names.

Mr. EMERY. I will get the editorial.

Mr. CLINE. I would like to have the names in, but the editorial ought to be put in along with them. Why not put the editorial in just as it appears. The names were taken from the editorial?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood you to say you did not have the editorial?

Mr. EMERY. I have it here somewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, just put that in.

Mr. EMERY. The names appear in the American Federationist here at page 865, of the volume of the Federationist of 1908, the editorial in connection with which the names are mentioned, says:

> The toilers and their friends are carrying on a most active and intense and hopeful campaign for the defeat of their enemies and the election of their friends. Results are beginning to be apparent even in the nominations.

The editorial specifically mentions Representatives Jenkins, Bannon, Haskins, Adam Bede, Tawney, Hull, and Burton as having been defeated, or nearly defeated, by organized labor.

Mr. WILLIS. Is there a list there in which it is stated that certain men ought to be defeated and certain men ought to be elected?

Mr. EMERY. There is a list I saw and have memory of, which appears in one of the bound volumes. There was a leaflet of four pages containing a number of names published in July, 1906. Then in January, 1907—and I want to call your attention to this because it is the opinion of one whose judgment I know you all respect as a man of great political acumen and experience—in the January, 1907, issue of the American Federationist, at page 38, under the heading, "De Congress do move," Mr. Gompers says:

> Attention has been called, both in these columns as well as in the report of the president of the American Federation of Labor to the Minneapolis convention, to the fact that labor's participation in the last political campaign would result in advantage to labor and the people generally, and that the salutary effect would show itself in many ways, not only on the newly elected Congressmen, but also on the Members of the present Congress, the last session of which is now being held, and will close March 4, 1907. Events are beginning to justify the prediction. We quote here a letter from Hon. Champ Clark, Member of Congress from Missouri, written to the newspapers. We ask our readers to substitute the name of organized labor for that of President Gompers where it appears in the letter, and it will be seen that it strikes the nail on the head. The letter is as follows:
>
> "During the campaign President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, invaded the congressional district of Hon. Charles E. Littlefield, of Maine, and did his utmost to defeat that distinguished statesman. In 1904 Littlefield received over 5,000 majority. This year his majority was a little above 1,000, a considerable falling off surely, but shortly after that election

Brother Littlefield declared that he was helped rather than hurt by the assault of President Gompers. Mr. Chairman James S. Sherman also declared that President Gompers's opposition helped Littlefield, but nevertheless it was also seen by close observers that Mr. Chairman Sherman and the rest of the Republicans carefully avoided inviting President Gompers to come into their districts and fight them, which was precisely what they would have done had they really believed that Gompers helped Littlefield by fighting him.

"Now, if Gompers had no influence on the voters, a very strange thing has come to pass, and that is that he has much influence on Representatives in Congress. If he has no influence on voters, why should he have influence in Congress? Will Brother Littlefield or Brother Sherman answer that? I am sure that I can prove by Brother Littlefield that President Gompers has influence in the House, for when Brother Littlefield forced his pilotage bill to a vote the other day on the stand-up vote he had a substantial majority for his bill, but on roll-call, where every man's name goes down in history, there was an overwhelming majority against the bill. Why that remarkable and sudden change in the minds of Representatives? President Gompers was against it—that's all, and that's fact No. 1 as to the influence of President Gompers.

"Fact No. 2 is that when Hon. John T. Hunt, Democrat, of St. Louis, called up his bill to prevent interstate carriers from carrying convict-made goods into States prohibiting the sale of the same, the opposition to it was pitiable in its weakness, only half a dozen speaking against it in a half-hearted manner, and only three voting against it. The wherefore of that unusual approach to unanimity was the fact that President Gompers and all the millions of unionized labor were in favor of the bill. Hunt was the father of the bill, and he made a strong, conservative, and convincing speech in its behalf. It is a great pity that he is not to be in the Sixtieth Congress but its a 10-to-1 shot that he will be in the Sixty-first Congress, and in several succeeding Congresses."

Reflecting upon the foregoing facts, it seems that Messrs. Littlefield, Sherman, et al., will be compelled to revise their verdicts as to the influence of President Samuel Gompers.

Of course, we do not ascribe these results to any fear on the part of Congressmen. They are simply human and have a wholesome respect for the opinions of their constituents, if those constituents show sufficient active interest to see that their rights and the welfare of the people are protected and furthered.

We shall take pleasure from time to time to record the progress made. Give credit where credit is due, and hew to the line no matter where the chips fall. Labor insists on justice, right and fair treatment, and will be content with nothing less.

The letter is as follows:

During the campaign President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, invaded the congressional district of Hon. Charles E. Littlefield, of Maine, and did his utmost to defeat that distinguished statesman. In 1904 Littlefield received over 5,000 majority. This year his majority was a little over 1,000—a considerable falling off, surely; but shortly after that election Brother Littlefield declared that he was helped, rather than hurt, by the assault of President Gompers. Mr. Chairman James S. Sherman also declared that President Gompers's opposition helped Littlefield, but nevertheless it was noted by close observers that Mr. Chairman Sherman and the rest of the Republicans carefully avoided inviting President Gompers to come into their districts and fight them, which was precisely what they would have done had they really believed that Gompers helped Littlefield by fighting him.

Now, if Gompers had no influence on the voters, a very strange thing has come to pass, and that is that he has much influence on Representatives in Congress. If he has no influence on voters, why should he have influence in Congress? Will Brother Littlefield or Brother Sherman answer that? I am sure that I can prove by Brother Littlefield that President Gompers has influence in the House, for when Brother Littlefield forced his pilotage bill to a vote the other day on the stand-up vote he had a substantial majority for his bill, but on roll call, where every man's name goes down in history, there was an overwhelming majority against the bill. Why that remarkable and sudden change in the minds of Representatives? President Gompers was against it, that's all; and that's fact No. 1 as to the influence of President Gompers.

Fact No. 2 is that when Hon. John T. Hunt, Democrat, of St. Louis, called up his bill to prevent interstate carriers from carrying convict-made goods into States prohibiting the sale of the same, the opposition to it was pitiable in its weakness, only half a dozen speaking against it in a half-hearted manner and only three voting against it. The wherefore of that unusual approach to unanimity was the fact that President Gompers and all the millions of unionized labor were in favor of the bill. Hunt was the father of the bill, and he made a strong, conservative, and convincing speech in its behalf. It is a great pity that he is not to be in the Sixtieth Congress, but it's a ten-to-one shot that he will be in the Sixty-first Congress and in several succeeding Congresses.

Reflecting upon the foregoing facts, it seems that Messrs. Littlefield, Sherman et al. will be compelled to revise their verdicts as to the influence of President Samuel Gompers.

Mr. Gompers then goes on to say:

Of course we do not ascribe these results to any fear on the part of Congressmen. They are simply human and have a wholesome respect for the opinions of their constituents, if those constituents show sufficient active interest to see that their rights and the welfare of the people are protected and furthered.

At that point I would like to introduce these few letters into the record, written by a very distinguished Senator of the United States, exhibiting the conditions he has alluded to here.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Emery, pardon me a moment. May I see those just for a moment?

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN (after examining papers). I want to suggest to you there is no personal objection, and I could not have any, to your reading that matter into the record showing about those activities of the American Federation of Labor; but I understand that you have stated that as a basis or as a justification for the activities of the organization which you represent, if I may so phrase it, and I just wanted to suggest to you that it seems to me a general statement such as you have made ought to be sufficient for that, and we do not want to take up the time to go into too much detail about the activities of that organization. As stated heretofore, Mr. Gompers will be on the stand and he will be asked about those matters. I just do not want to encumber our record with too much.

Mr. EMERY. There are not many more, Mr. Chairman. I can go through them very rapidly, and I thought I ought to be permitted to touch upon this. I am only touching upon the surface of this. Mr. Gompers will go into details.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. EMERY. The letters here I would like to read into the record are, first, a letter from Senator Beveridge, which reads:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, February 19, 1908.

MY DEAR MR. VAN CLEAVE: I am sending you herewith a correct copy of my tariff commission speech, which I thought perhaps you would like to have. We are making astonishing progress. In strictest confidence, I tell you that Aldrich has promised me to report the bill whenever I say, and although he may report it adversely, that gets the bill into the Senate and I can then move to take it up. What do you think of that for progress?

Again, Mr. Payne last week announced that he would appoint from his own committee a commission to do the work proposed by our bill. Of course, this is merely a method of heading off the uprising in the House for our proposition and will be unsatisfactory. But it shows how thoroughly we have them on the run, does it not?

I saw Senator Harris in Chicago, and he tells me that he is traveling all over the country all the time, and that there is nothing short of an uprising for this measure.

At the largest meeting in its history the Lincoln League of Indiana (50,000 of the young Republicans of Indiana) "unreservedly indorsed" the bill and demanded its support by Indiana Senators and Congressmen.

I think it of the utmost importance that you gentlemen keep more earnestly at the work of sending in letters of manufacturers and resolutions of boards of trade from all over the country to Senators and Congressmen—having a copy of each one sent to any Senator or Congressman sent to me.

Here they were three weeks ago saying that nothing would be done and laughing in our faces, and here they are declaring first in favor of a maximum and minimum tariff, and second, proposing a commission from the House Committee.

I had a long talk with the President—he is with us, horse, foot, and dragoons—but, confidentially, I am afraid he thinks that you gentlemen will not keep up the fight until it assumes the proportions of an irresistible movement. If I may say one word of criticism to you, it is this: That where organized labor beats you as agitators for legislation which they desire, is that they come down here, get just such rebuffs as you got from Mr. Cannon and Mr. Payne, and a good deal worse; but instead of quitting they go to work harder than ever, keep able representatives here on the ground and plug away day in and day out, month in and month out, for years, till they get what they want.

Don't you think it a good thing to profit by their experience? In my nine years in Washington I have never seen anything start out so well as you gentlemen started this out. If you will only keep it up you will win, and possibly this session.

Senator Harris suggested in Chicago and several of your association suggested here that my speech was so short and condensed and so carefully covered all the points that it should be scattered broadcast by the various associations that came to Washington to advocate our cause. I have written Miles substantially as I have written you.

Let me hear from you, and believe me, always,

Faithfully, your friend,

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.

Mr. JAMES W. VAN CLEAVE,
National Association of Manufacturers, St. Louis, Mo.

That letter was addressed to Mr. James W. Van Cleave, National Association of Manufacturers, St. Louis, Mo., to which Mr. Van Cleave replied, under date of February 22, 1908, as follows:

MY DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for your letter of February 19. It is certainly encouraging, and you deserve great praise for the energy and efficiency that you are displaying in this tariff-commission matter. Men who can not understand your position and mine at the present time will appreciate later on that we saw the tide coming, and that our stand for a tariff commission was not only good business policy, but good Republicanism as well. Having my ear to the ground constantly, I can not understand how the Republican Party hopes to be successful in this year's campaign unless it takes away from the Democrats their strongest issue, that of tariff revision. From a business standpoint and from that of political expediency, such a commission should be appointed, and it should be done at once.

You say that we are not persistent enough; that we have something to learn from labor unions in our Washington campaign. Pardon me, my dear Senator. I know that we are not exactly on the same platform when it comes to labor matters, but I sincerely hope that we will never use the methods of organized labor in Washington work. We have come to Washington; we have told the men in power what we want. We have given them our reasons for it. We are now following the advice given us by our friends, including yourself. We are finding out where every Congressman and where every Senator stands on this issue. Mr. Miles has this specially in charge, and I am sure he is doing everything that can be done to push this poll to an early conclusion.

I dare say organized labor would have followed, in a case like this, its former methods. It would have assembled in the various committee rooms and demanded that such and such be done, whether it is right or wrong, and if not done would threaten every member of the committee with defeat at the

next election, to learn only when the election comes around that the labor vote is a myth, and that they can not deliver the goods. Maybe such methods must be employed to be successful in Washington, but I can not persuade myself that such is the case. I have never been strong either in bulldozing or four-flushing, although I have been told that I have invariably played a good game with the cards that were actually in my hands.

We are not through with this by any means; but, as I have already said in a former letter, there are a great many questions of importance confronting the manufacturers at the present time. Some of these questions are of even greater importance than the tariff proposition to a large number of our members, and, unfortunately, the average manufacturer, including myself, has just a little business to attend to outside of organization affairs.

I am sending copy of your letter, as well as my reply, to Mr. Miles. As already stated, he is in charge of this special work now, and he and the men associated with him will no doubt see to it that additional communications, resolutions, and letters are sent from various organizations.

I have looked over your address with a great deal of interest, and I am very anxious to have it sent not only to every member of the National Association of Manufacturers, but to a selected list of some eight or ten thousand manufacturers interested in this question. Let me ask you whether it would be possible to send these to our New York office by express and have them addressed there and to send them out under your frank. If this is not possible, of course, we will send them out through the regular mails, but you can see that it would be a great deal more impressive to have them under your frank and, as I understand the situation, this would be in absolute line with your privileges as a United States Senator. If this can not be done, the next best thing would be to send our cardcases to Washington and to have them addressed there. We can easily make good use of 10,000, and if the address is followed up with a circular letter it will serve the purpose of bringing in many additional resolutions and communications.

To have no more delay than necessary in sending out copies of your address I should like to have you wire me at my expense on receipt of this, as to which method you prefer, so that I may advise our New York office accordingly, and to leave the matter in as definite shape as possible I outline the three methods suggested, as follows:

First. Ten thousand (or less if you can not spare that many) copies of your address, with your frank, sent to the New York office of the National Association of Manufacturers, 170 Broadway, to be addressed and mailed there.

Second. Card index of 10,000 manufacturers to be sent to Washington and 10,000 (or less if you can not spare that many) copies of your address under your frank to be addressed in Washington under the supervision of our representative.

Third. Ten thousand copies (or less if you can not spare that many) to be shipped to 170 Broadway, New York, without your frank, to be mailed and addressed there.

Thanking you again for your splendid cooperation, I am,

Very truly, yours,

J. W. VAN CLEAVE.

To the last letter Senator Beveridge replied, under date of February 27, 1908:

MY DEAR MR. VAN CLEAVE: On getting out of a sick bed, I find your extremely clear, intelligent, and energetic letter of the 22d.

I think you misunderstood my reference to the methods of the labor men down here in my comparison of their persistency with what the "standpatters" down here think and give out of your lack of persistency. The fact is just this: Organized labor not only has a very efficient set of men down here all the time, but they keep up the agitation through their periodicals, through speeches, and generally are constantly at work on public opinion. The result is that every measure they propose, while at first received with coldness and hostility, finally assumes the proportions of a movement, and great numbers of Senators and Congressmen vote for such measures through fear; while, of course, others vote for such measures after study and from conviction.

But the point I am trying to make with you is that they keep right at it, bringing constantly increasing pressure to bear on Congress and each Member thereof, and never letting the pressure up for an instant.

Now, here are you gentlemen and the other great producing interests of this Nation demanding the very reasonable and conservative plan of a tariff commission, and having back of you almost solidly the public opinion of the country. If this opinion is organized, marshaled, and brought steadily to bear on Congress for the next 90 days, we shall certainly achieve results.

I say this now, although at the beginning of the session, as I wrote you, I did not think then there was any chance whatever.

With reference to the sending out of the tariff commission speech, the 10,000 requested have been sent to your New York offices. Aside from the fact I made the speech, I think that, perhaps, it is your best campaign document upon this question, because it marshals all the arguments and condenses them, and also shows the great number of producing interests that are demanding this legislation. I should imagine that you ought to use 100,000 copies rather than 10,000 copies, but that is something which, of course, you gentlemen can best determine.

I know just how busy you are and I appreciate your unselfish devotion to this cause. I also am extremely busy with other matters, but I have never yet seen the day when I was not willing to give all my time and strength to a measure so necessary to the business interests of the country as this measure is.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,

Faithfully, ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you read that 100,000 or 1,000?

Mr. EMERY. One hundred thousand. "I should imagine that you ought to use 100,000 copies rather than 10,000 copies."

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Emery, do you think there are any well-grounded facts to support the declaration of Senator Beveridge that a Member of Congress is driven to support a measure through fear of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I think so.

Mr. CLINE. I have been here five years, and I have never seen a man driven into a corner by the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. EMERY. I want to read you from the testimony of Senator Sherman at page 394 of the hearings before the Senate lobby committee, volume 1, what he says. He had only been here a month—he came in on March 4, 1913—and this is his testimony before the committee.

Mr. CLINE. He comes from Illinois?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. That is a good territory for him to come from.

Mr. EMERY. I am not talking about Senator Beveridge; I am talking about Senator Sherman.

Mr. CLINE. I say he comes from Illinois where they do that kind of business.

Mr. EMERY. What kind of business, Judge?

Mr. CLINE. You are familiar with the history of the Illinois Legislature, are you not?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know anything about Senator Sherman. He is a man of high standing.

Mr. CLINE. I do not say anything about Senator Sherman. I was referring to the observation.

Mr. EMERY. The observation is in there. Testifying before the Senate investigating committee, he says:

The only time any improper influence has been tried was when certain representatives of labor unions threatened to exterminate me if I did not vote their way. They are the only fellows who have come at me with the big stick. I had to call them once. I do not know what they will do. I will take a chance on that. I have to. I did not do it voluntarily, but because I had to. There was a roll call and I was not going out of the way to hunt trouble, and so explained I had some convictions on that subject that did not agree with

some of theirs. Others had a different view, and have been very tolerant and charitable to me in extending me my right to exercise my judgment on those questions.

Mr. RALSTON. That does not appear to have been the Federation of Labor at all.

Mr. EMERY. No; it appears to have been certain members of labor unions.

Mr. CLINE. It does not give any names, does it?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir. The legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor makes some pretty strong statements in its reports. For instance, in its report here it says, in speaking of the petitions pouring in for the legislation demanded (it is the report of the legislative committee):

At first little or no attention was paid to these petitions by many Members of Congress, but as time went on the thousands and thousands of petitions that were being received brought forcibly to their attention the necessity of some favorable action.

At the same time the legislative committee, being enlarged by the addition of five members, a systematic canvass was made of the entire membership of the House that could be reached, asking them to clearly and specifically declare themselves either for or against the pending legislation. An effort was made to reach every Member of Congress who was in the city or who was not ill, with the result that over 250 Members declared themselves as being in favor of the legislation asked for and pledged themselves to vote for these bills.

Mr. WILLIS. What legislation was that?

Mr. EMERY. This labor program—legislation demanded by the American Federation of Labor in its bill of grievances.

Mr. WILLIS. What is the date of that report?

Mr. EMERY. This is at page 589 of the 1908 Federationist.

Here is the 1907 Federationist, where the report of the legislative committee is contained in the April, 1907, number, and I read the following clause:

It is with some degree of pleasure that we report that in innumerable instances, when presenting our arguments to the Members of Congress, there has been a perceptible change in their demeanor, the manner in which we have been received, and in their attention given us. Of course some of the Members are still as haughty and arrogant as ever, but when the first session of the Sixtieth Congress opens they will have joined that organization now known as the "Ancient Order of Lame Ducks," and their smiling will be found missing.

Mr. CLINE. Let me inquire: Is the specific legislation set out there or referred to, that you say 250 Members declared themselves as being in favor of?

Mr. EMERY. Over 250 Members, it says. I have gotten these pages mixed up here.

The continuation of this program which I have described is announced by the August, 1908, number of the Federationist, in which Mr. Gompers says, on page 607:

From the time of the close of Congress in 1906, when the trade-unionists made their campaign, when a number of labor's opponents were defeated for reelection to Congress and the majorities of others materially cut down, when the majority of the dominant party in the House of Representatives was reduced nearly one-half, to the present day, there has been one continuous labor campaign. There has been neither halting nor deviation from the course which labor marked out for itself in the march toward progress and freedom.

And in furtherance of this legislation, at page 267 of the April, 1908, Federationist, is contained an address to workers.

Mr. CLINE. Let me ask: You do not find that other memorandum?

Mr. EMERY. What is that, sir?

Mr. CLINE. You do not find that memorandum in answer to my question?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, pardon me. I did not quite understand your inquiry.

Mr. CLINE. I want to know what specific legislation 250 Members of the House had indorsed. Do you have it there, or what was set out in the article in relation to the discussion?

Mr. EMERY. This legislative program of the American Federation of Labor is what the allusion was made to.

Mr. CLINE. It must have been canvassed in reference to some specific legislation.

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

Mr. CLINE. I was wondering whether you had that.

Mr. EMERY. I will try to find that, Judge.

Mr. CLINE. If you do not have it you need not take the time now.

Mr. EMERY. I will try to find it and give it to you; I do not want to delay now.

This address to workers, to which I referred, under date of March 18, 1908, refers to a conference of the executive officers of 118 national and international trade unions assembled in the city of Washington to make a further demand for the labor legislation which had been the subject of previous petitions, and it goes on to describe the preparation and presentation of these petitions, and then the method in which it brought pressure to bear upon Congress. In furtherance of its demand it sent out this circular, in which it suggests and instructs them to hold mass meetings in every city and town in the United States on the evening of the third Sunday or Monday in April, 19th or 20th, and—

At that meeting voice fully and unmistakably labor's protest against the Supreme Court decision which strips labor of the rights and liberties which we had supposed were guaranteed by the Constitution. Resolutions should be adopted urging upon the present Congress the passage of the amendment to the Sherman law and warning Congress that it will be held responsible for failure to enact such legislation.

Labor should spare no activity to impress upon Congress its insistent demand for the passage of this amendment.

In addition to the holding of the mass meeting of April 19 or 20, and on such other dates as may be fixed in future, and the forwarding of resolutions expressing labor's protest and determination, every member of organized labor should write a personal letter to the Congressman of his district and to the two United States Senators of his State insisting that they use their efforts and cast their votes for the passage of our amendment to the Sherman law and other legislation mentioned in labor's protest and warning them that labor and its friends will hold them responsible; that labor proposes to be represented in Congress by men who will do justice to the workers and all the people; that it proposes to exercise every political and industrial activity to this end; that upon the record of this Congress will be based the workers' decision as to a candidate's future desirability as a Member of Congress.

Get every friend of labor to write a personal letter of this character. Let it be brief, but to the point, and keep a record of the resolutions and letters forwarded.

I have been endeavoring to shorten this statement. Then in the January, 1913, Federationist is found the following:

In 1906 the American Federation of Labor presented to the President of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives a bill of grievances, which contained measures affect-

ing the interests and welfare of the workers. This historic document ended with these sentences: "Labor now appeals to you, and we trust it may not be in vain. But if perchance you do not heed us we shall appeal to the conscience and the support of our fellow citizens." The majority of the men in the national legislative chambers scorned the protest and warning of labor, so sure did they feel of the power and dominance of the vested interests. With this slogan we entered the political arena:

"Let organized labor's slogan live in its deeds. Stand faithfully by our friends, oppose and defeat our enemies, whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or other offices, whether executive, legislative, or judicial. Men of labor, stand true!"

In that first campaign the effectiveness and the practicability of the policy were apparent. Labor's seriousness and earnestness of purpose made even our dearest foes realize that a new era had come. For six years labor has continued that same policy with unwavering determination. Already our course has secured practical benefits. Even greater success lies in the immediate future.

According to the most reliable information available, the Sixty-third Congress will find the union-card group somewhat changed in personnel but slightly increased in numbers. From the inauguration of the policy of securing the election of trade-union Representatives in Congress and the State legislatures, the number of labor men elected has been steadily increasing. In 1906 organized labor elected six Representatives to the House of Representatives; in 1912, 16 Members to the House of Representatives, and its first Representative in the Senate. A large number of Representatives and Senators committed to the policies of organized labor were also elected. There men, as in the past, will aid in forwarding the cause of human progress

* * * * * * *

The following is the list of union men elected to the Sixty-third Congress so far as information has reached headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

Then follows the list:

United States Senate: William Hughes, Textile Workers' Union, New Jersey, Democrat.

House of Representatives: Isaac R. Sherwood, Typographical Union, Ohio, Democrat; James McDermott, Telegraphers' Union, Illinois, Democrat; Frank Buchanan, Iron Workers' Union, Illinois, Democrat; David J. Lewis, Coal Miners' Union, Maryland, Democrat; William J. Cary, Telegraphers' Union, Wisconsin, Democrat.

The CHAIRMAN. You say Mr. Cary is put down as a Democrat there?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. You ought to revise that list a little bit before you put it in the record.

Mr. EMERY. It was copied out of the Federationist. I have another list here. He is put down as a Republican on this list.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cary has never been identified with the Democratic Party; he is a Republican.

Mr. EMERY. Yes. It says here on this other list:

William J. Cary, Republican.

Then this list continues:

John R. Farr, Typographical Union, Pennsylvania, Republican; James P. Maher, Hatters' Union, New York, Democrat; Charles B. Smith, Telegraphers' Union, New York, Democrat; Robert E. Lee, Blacksmiths' Union, Pennsylvania, Democrat; E. E. Roberts, Metal Miners' Union, Nevada, Republican; Edward Keating, Typographical Union, Colorado, Democrat; John A. Key, Stenographers' Union, Ohio, Democrat.

Mr. FERRIS. What was the last name?

Mr. EMERY. John A. Key.

Mr. CLINE. He is Mr. Henderson's successor.

Mr. EMERY. The rest of these names are:

John J. Casey, Plumbers' Union, Pennsylvania, Democrat; Albert Johnson, Typographical Union, Washington, Republican; G. T. Helvering,[1] Street Carmen's Union, Kansas, Democrat.

Mr. WILLIS. Where is the program? If you have that, I wish you would either read it or put it in the record. It is the legislative program to which reference has been made. What was that program?

Mr. EMERY. The program of influence.

Mr. CLINE. Give us the one where 250 Members of Congress declared themselves as being in favor of the legislation asked for and pledged themselves to vote for these bills.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir. Here is the list of bills.

In line with the pursuit of that policy, the last convention of the American Federation of Labor by unanimous vote adopted the following instructions:

"We recommend that this convention authorize and direct the executive council to urge the President of the United States to recommend in his forthcoming message to Congress the amendment of the Sherman antitrust law upon the lines as contained in the Wilson bill to amend the Sherman antitrust law; and, further, that the executive council be, and it is hereby, directed either as a body or by the selection of a committee thereof to obtain an interview with the President in furtherance of the purpose of this report.

"The executive council is hereby further authorized and directed to take such further action, as its judgment may warrant, to secure the enactment of such legislation at the forthcoming session of Congress as shall secure the legal status of the organized movement of the wageworkers for freedom from unjust discrimination in the exercise of their natural, normal, and constitutional rights through their voluntary associations.

"And the executive council is further authorized and directed, in the event of a failure on the part of Congress to enact the legislation which we herein seek at the hands of the Congress and the President, to take such action as in its judgment the situation may warrant in the presidential and congressional election of 1912."

Then in the last convention it indorsed and directed the committee to proceed to get the Bacon-Bartlett bill, which is now pending before both House of Congress, enacted.

The following very interesting statement of the method by which the labor group caucuses is found in the American Federationist for January, 1912, at page 33:

The 15 Members of the House of Representatives holding trade-union cards of membership frequently held conferences with the officers of the American Federation of Labor, counseling with us as to the best methods by which they could be of service to the cause of labor and to the people generally. At the meetings no resolution was either adopted or proposed. The measures before Congress or its committees were freely discussed. The general consensus of opinion expressed impressed itself upon the minds of these Representatives. While no conclusion of a binding character was reached, yet the labor group in the House of Representatives, regardless of political party affiliation, acted in unison and with advantageous results.

For convenience as well as the record I give the names of the labor group who are Members of the House of Representatives in Congress, with the names of the organizations of which they are members and the parties to which they are attached.

This is the group that participates in these conferences.

Mr. WILLIS. Is that the same list?

Mr. EMERY. No; it is a slightly different group. This was the Congress of 1911, and this includes William B. Wilson, Robert E.

[1] Unofficially reported.

Lee, John A. Martin, William J. Cary, Victor L. Berger, William Hughes, Frank Buchanan, James T. McDermott, David J. Lewis, Charles B. Smith. Carl C. Anderson, Isaac R. Sherwood, E. E. Roberts, John R. Farr, James P. Maher. Then it continues:

The good this group of labor men has already accomplished, the good they can and no doubt will do in Congress should imbue the men of labor and all liberty-loving citizens with the duty, the responsibility, and the advantage of not only securing the reelection of the members of this group, but also increasing the number and the possibilities of their influence and power for just and humane legislation.

Then, in April, 1913, summing up the results of the election of 1912, the Federationist stated:

As the result of the election last November organized labor secured 16 Representatives in the House, 1 in the Senate, and a member of the President's Cabinet. The workmen of the country now realize that men holding political offices are their agents, responsible to them for performance of duty, and they do not purpose that the rights or interests of labor shall be subordinated to any other.

As the report of the legislative committee conclusively proves, progress has been made. In the near future are many possibilities that may become realities, if labor continues the fight with united forces and vigilant persistence. In many things the politicians and circumstances have failed us. The interests and the old-guard politicians have been playing against us all of the time seeking to frustrate and to discredit our every effort. A long, hard fight for justice and equitable legislation lies ahead. We can fortify ourselves with good cheer from the report of these members of the legislative committee, men who, although they differ materially in many things and are of different temperaments, yet are in unity and entire accord in reporting the results of this work.

The Federationist of April, 1913, stated on pages 304, 305:

That the new Secretary is deemed by some opponents an extreme labor-unionist involves nothing that in any way would jeopardize the security, welfare, or interests of the American people of to-day or to-morrow. On the contrary, it is an earnest that they will be protected against lawless, predatory forces and interests; that the department will be conducted along broad and comprehensive policies; that our national strength will be protected and conserved.

It is true, as has been frequently asserted, that the American Federation of Labor has been helpful in suggesting the name of William B. Wilson for Secretary of Labor. The name of Mr. Wilson had been indorsed by the organized labor movement of the country. The working people of the country respect him and have confidence and faith in him. Every fair-minded employer, every one of his fellow Congressmen, every open-minded citizen of our country who has come in contact with him and has learned to know the character, caliber, and high purpose of William B. Wilson, pays him the due meed of respect and confidence. His experience as a workingman, as an official of the organized labor movement, as a Member of the House of Representatives, and as chairman of the Committee on Labor, all combined to fit him for this most responsible and difficult position created by the new law.

I called attention the other day to the statement made by Congressman Henry Bannon, but the reporter apparently did not understand me, and I put it in the record at this point. It is found in the Federationist of August, 1908, page 592:

The Wilson bill, H. R. 20584, which calls for an amendment to the Sherman Antitrust Act, was referred to the House Judiciary Committee, and was in turn referred by Chairman Jenkins to subcommittee No. 7, consisting of Representative Bannon, of Ohio; Malby, of New York; and De Armond, of Missouri. Notwithstanding the fact that many efforts were made on the part of the legislative committee to have Mr. Bannon call his subcommittee together for the purpose of taking action upon this measure, he refused to call the committee together at any time during the session of the Sixtieth Congress

just closed. Believing that it might be well to have the organizations of labor in the district in Ohio which Mr. Bannon represented know of his refusal, and as the primaries for renomination were about to take place in his district, labor and its friends were communicated with. Suffice it to say that in the primaries Mr. Bannon was defeated for renomination.

In the October, 1908, Federationist Mr. Gompers makes his appeal for political support for the legislative program of the Federation of Labor. At page 841, in urging support for the party he then indorsed, he gives as his reason:

Because, should Mr. Bryan be elected, our chosen officials or agents can go to him and the Democratic Party and say, "We, the trade-unionists of America, did it; you are therefore under obligations to us and must now put your precepts into practice," thus forcing the political powers that be to sit up and take notice.

In closing, I want to point out this, that the feeling experienced by business men of the country in 1907 and 1908 over the growing and unopposed power of this powerful organization was not confined to them alone, but was clearly perceived by many men in the very highest station and was very powerfully expressed at the dinner of the South Carolina Society in April, 1907, in New York, by one of the most distinguished college presidents in the country, who said:

We speak too exclusively of the capitalist class. There is another as formidable an enemy to equality and freedom of opportunity as it, and that is the class formed by the labor organizations and leaders of the country—a class representing only a small minority of the laboring men of the country, quite as monopolistic in spirit as the capitalists and quite as apt to corrupt and ruin our industries by their monopoly.

That is from the address of Mr. Woodrow Wilson, April, 1907, at the South Carolina Society dinner.

Mr. RALSTON. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, in justice to the President, that the whole address ought to go in, and not an excerpt.

Mr. EMERY. He discussed many subjects which were not germane to this, but that paragraph was.

The CHAIRMAN. I really do not think any of it ought to go in, to be candid about it. I think we have had really about enough of that to give you a basis now to proceed on, Mr. Emery.

Mr. DAVENPORT. I want to ask Mr. Emery, Mr. Chairman, if he has noted in the Federationist that in December, 1907, and December, 1909, the American Federation of Labor issued circulars for the purpose of defeating for reelection for Speaker Mr. Cannon upon the ground of the control of committees of the House of Representatives?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; sir; I did notice that, and the editorial which accompanied the picture headed, "Joseph G. Cannon, the Mephistopheles of American politics."

The CHAIRMAN. Have you concluded along that line, Mr. Emery?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It lacks only three or four minutes of the time we had fixed for recess. We will take a recess here until 7.30 this evening.

(The committee thereupon, at 3.25 p. m., took a recess until 7.30 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

At the expiration of the recess the committee reassembled.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you have some other matters there, Mr. Emery?

Mr. EMERY. Yes. I wanted first of all to answer Judge Cline's question as to the——

Mr. CLINE. As to the legislative program in which that canvass was made?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; the legislative program in which that canvass was made. I first direct your attention to the report of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor, under date of May 15, 1908, to be found in the June, 1908, Federationist, in which it appears that the bill to which you directed your inquiry, Judge Cline, upon which 240 to 250 votes were pledged, is described as follows:

H. R. 20584, by Representative Wilson, of Pennsylvania, is the American Federation of Labor bill. This bill is intended to overcome the recent decision by the United States Supreme Court in the hatters' case, in which the court construed the Sherman law to apply to labor organizations.

Your committee is exerting itself in behalf of this bill according to instructions from the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and after a most careful canvass of the Members of the House of Representatives, find there are 240 who are willing to vote for H. R. 20584, providing an opportunity is afforded them. A special effort is being made to persuade the Judiciary Committee of the House to favorably report the bill, so that the Members of the House may record their vote.

Mr. CLINE. That is only the amendment to the Sherman law?

Mr. EMERY. The amendment to the Sherman Act; yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Let me ask you right there, Mr. Emery——

Mr. EMERY. If you will pardon me, Judge, I want to give you the rest of that program.

Mr. CLINE. I want to interject just a word there. While the American Federation of Labor has made that a part of their program, do you not recognize the fact that there is a very large percentage in Congress, in the lower House at least, who were in favor of amending the Sherman Antitrust Act so as to make it definite with reference to its violations, regardless of the fact that the American Federation of Labor indorses that proposition? That is, it can not be strictly said to be an American Federation of Labor proposal.

Mr. EMERY. Well, I think the proposal embodied in that bill is. I realize quite clearly what you say, that there is a very considerable opinion among Members of Congress, and possibly among others, to the effect that the Sherman Act can by amendment be clarified, but the proposal embodied in this bill was to specifically exempt combinations of labor from the provisions of the Sherman Act. The language of the bill there was practically the language of the original so-called Sherman amendment, which was proposed by Mr. Sherman when the original Sherman bill was under consideration, on the 27th of March, 1890.

Mr. CLINE. I am not a member of the American Federation of Labor, but personally I am very much in favor of clarifying that feature of the Sherman law, and if I had been asked about that proposition I should have been in favor of it.

Mr. EMERY. Clarifying it by removing them from its terms?

Mr CLINE. I mean, clarifying the law by amending it so it shall be definitely ascertained what shall constitute a violation. If I had been asked that by the American Federation of Labor I should have acceded to it.

Mr. EMERY. I suppose you would apply the principle equally to a combination of business men or laboring men, so far as the clarification is concerned. Their proposition is that the act shall not apply to a combination of labor; that is the exclusive proposal which they made in that bill; in other words, that it shall be lawful and right for certain combinations of men engaged in a labor dispute to do that which it shall be unlawful and criminal for men to do when not so engaged.

Mr. WILLIS. Does this bill contemplate the clarifying of the act in any other particular than the one you have referred to?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; it is confined to that.

Now, as to the other legislative propositions which are embodied with that, they are embodied in a statement made by Mr. Gompers, which is related in this June, 1908, Federationist under the title, "Will hold Congress responsible," in which Mr. Gompers lays down a certain legislative program and declares in italics:

The failure to pass that legislation by Congress will be considered the equivalent of refusal to do so.

And Mr. Gompers specifies in a letter under date of May 2, 1908, which was public in its nature, and addressed to the Hon. Charles M. Brumm, a Member of Congress from Pennsylvania, found on page 464 of the June Federationist, being in reply to a letter from him, in which Mr. Brumm referred to the suggestions of Mr. Gompers as to the necessity of Congress acting upon the legislative program outlined by the American Federation of Labor, and declared his willingness to remain here as a Member of Congress until it was done.

Mr. Gompers, replying to him under date of May 2, 1908, speaking editorially for the Federationist and as president of the organization, says:

Surely no one will be fooled should Congress adjourn early to avoid the passage of the important measures which are awaiting consideration and action. Those members who are responsible for legislation or its failure, who vote for adjournment before the enactment of these measures, may imagine themselves in a fool's paradise, but I am quite confident that the people will hold them responsible for the vote to adjourn equally as though they had voted against the measures to which I refer. In the name of labor, in the interest of all our people, we urge and must insist upon the enactment of the Wilson bill, H. R. 20584, amending the Sherman antitrust law; the Pearre bill, H. R. 94, regulating the issuing of the injunctive writ to its original and beneficent purpose; the extension of the eight-hour law to all Government employees and to employees of contractors or subcontractors performing work for the Government; a general employers' liability law applicable to all workers so far as the Federal jurisdiction extends.

Those are the four measures contained in that program.

I wanted also to call the attention of the committee to the May, 1908, American Federationist, which opens with a statement by Samuel Gompers on "Labor's political campaign," stating:

The question of the most effective use of the political and industrial power of the workers during the coming congressional campaign was the most important subject considered by the protest conference of the workers and their sym-

pathizers held in Washington on March 18–19 to consider the situation in which they found themselves as a result of recent Supreme Court decisions and the apathy of Congress toward their interests.

One of the most important contributions to the deliberations of the conference was the presentation of the tabulated statistics of the vote cast for congressional candidates in 1904 and 1906. These figures acquired additional importance from the fact that in 1906 labor, for the first time, made a strong effort to elect its friends to Congress and defeat its enemies.

That the dominant majority in Congress was cut from 112 to 56 by labor's efforts in the campaign of 1906 is a fact which has been sedulously ignored by the partisan press of the country, yet this, a most remarkable and encouraging result, grew out of a campaign entered upon very late by the workers, without adequate means to carry on the work in congressional districts scattered throughout the country. The statistics of the congressional vote cast in 1904 and 1906, with the comparison of relative pluralities, were carefully compiled by Mr. Thomas F. Tracy and Mr. Arthur E. Holder, the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor. They were presented to the protest conference and are herewith published for information of all.

Mr. STAFFORD. Are names mentioned in that tabulation?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; one name after another. There are five pages of names, and he puts them in with a note of what would have happened in some districts if the legislative program of the American Federation of Labor had been strictly carried out—that is, if they had concentrated instead of permitting themselves to be divided. I want to call that to the especial attention of the committee; it is found in the May, 1908, Federationist, from page 343 to page 353.

I want also to call your attention to the editorial in the New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser, of New York, September 12, 1906, which contained the editorial to which I referred, which I think is a remarkably pertinent discussion of a very interesting principle, which this committee, with the deliberation and keenness with which it has gone into this discussion, would examine with interest. I have taken the liberty of submitting this typewritten copy to the committee, desiring to retain the editorial.

(The editorial referred to is as follows:)

Not discouraged by the rebuff given to him by the workingmen of Maine, Samuel Gompers announces that from now until November he will diffuse himself over the country. Heretofore he has been sharpshooting after one Congressman and missed; now he will unlimber his machine gun and seek to mow them down in battalions.

In Massachusetts, McCall, Gardner, Ames, Weeks, Tirrell, and Gillett are on the list; in Connecticut, Lilley; in New York, Sherman; in New Jersey, Gardner; in Pennsylvania, Dalzell and Palmer; besides such odd ends of the House Judiciary and Labor Committees as Jenkins of Wisconsin, Nevin of Ohio, Gillette of California, Sterling of Illinois, Birdsall of Iowa, and Foster of Indiana.

To such as complain of his methods, Mr. Gompers replies: "Has not organized labor as much a right to influence elections as any other class?" To this the answer of course must be "Yes"; it has as much right as any other special interest to get its attorneys into Congress but no more; and this means no right at all, for no special interest or class is entitled to or should be allowed such representation. The obligation of a Congressman runs to the whole people, not to any part of them, except in so far as particular representation of his constituents is compatible with devotion to the general welfare of the country. The cynical question by which Mr. Gompers attempts to justify his course shows that he has but faint conception of a principle fundamental to the Republic—namely, that allegiance to the Nation is the supreme duty of a national legislator.

May Providence protect America—for then she will be powerless to protect herself—when a majority of American Congressmen are chosen according to the Gompers idea of first loyalty to a special interest—when the oath of office

is taken with the mental reservation to disobey it. If there are men in Congress thus forsworn Mr. Gompers as a citizen would do well to assist in getting them out; instead he would multiply them; he would throw away national citizenship and substitute therefor class citizenship; he would have Congress not deliberate for the common good, but be a meeting place for the wrangling and overreaching of rival selfish interests. If we shall ever arrive at such a state we may have the form but not the substance of a republic. The first victims will be the very workers for whom Mr. Gompers pretends to be struggling.

Mr. Gompers, like other labor leaders who have tried the same thing, is doubtless nonplussed at his failure to command the vote of organized labor. It is because deep down in the union man's heart, although he may not often talk of it, is the consciousness that he is a citizen as well as a union man—that he must be true to one set of obligations as well as the other. There is an abiding instinct that forbids thinking narrowly of yourself alone when exercising the prerogative of the ballot. If Mr. Gompers's anti-injunction ideas are good and sound they are for all. Then why not appeal to all? By electing to confine his agitation to a particular class, he in effect confesses that he is afraid to argue the case in the broader forum—that he is so doubtful of the justice of his cause that he wants a packed jury. Consciously and unconsciously the members or organized labor perceive these implications. They thus turn a deaf ear to suggestions that they dwarf their citizenship. They endeavor rather to increase its stature by holding steadily in view the common welfare, even though all of their fellow citizens do not show equal breadth of view.

Mr. WILLIS. What is the purpose of that, Mr. Emery?

Mr. EMERY. The purpose of this is to show the names of the Congressmen who were publicly blacklisted in 1906 by the American Federation of Labor, and to whose defeat public attention was directed. It was the subject of statements in numerous newspapers.

Mr. WILLIS. Does this editorial attempt to speak with the authority of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. EMERY. This is an editorial to which I referred this afternoon from the New York Globe and Commercial Advertiser of September 12, 1906.

Mr. WILLIS. Is that a labor paper?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, no, sir. This is one of the well-known metropolitan journals, and the discussion is directed to the outcome with regard to the men enumerated in the editorial and there is a very powerful discussion on the part of the paper of the right of any set of men, employees or employers, manufacturers or workmen to undertake to pledge men in advance to a program for a special interest. In other words, the right if such there be——

Mr. FERRIS. From whom do they get that black list? How do you know that is a black list of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. EMERY. A number of the names are found in the Federationist for October, 1908.

Mr. FERRIS. Is this based upon articles then in the Federationist?

Mr. EMERY. It is based upon circulars of the Federation of Labor, circulated in the congressional districts, upon which the attacks upon these Congressmen were based.

Mr. WILLIS. Have you been able to find that list to which you referred this morning—a list of circulars which contained the black list?

Mr. EMERY. No. That was a sheet which was issued in July, 1908. It was a folder or four-page sheet, and it is not included in any of the bound volumes. I have searched the Congressional Library for it. I have a very distinct recollection of its existence and its wide circulation. There is a reference right here in the Federationist for

October, 1908, at page 864, which gives some of the names. It says here:

> The toilers and their friends are carrying on a most active and intense and hopeful campaign for the defeat of their enemies and the election of their friends. Results are beginning to be apparent even in the nominations.
>
> Among the Congressmen who have already failed of renomination are Representative Jenkins, of Wisconsin, who as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, bitterly opposed every measure asked to restore and protect the rights of labor; Representative Bannon, of Ohio, also failed of renomination and he was on the Judiciary Committee; Representative Haskins, of Vermont, a member of the Committee on Labor was especially opposed to the eight-hour bill and other labor measures, and he was not renominated; Representative Adam Bede was defeated in the nominating primaries in that rock-ribbed Republican State, Minnesota, and that settles him; Congressman Tawney (Minnesota), chairman of the Appropriation Committee, came perilously near defeat for nomination, although he has heretofore always had big majorities; Congressman Hull (Iowa) barely scraped through for the nomination and is almost certain to be defeated in the election; Representative Burton, of Delaware, failed of renomination. * * * Many who succeeded in getting the nomination for Congress will be defeated on election day. The energetic character of this campaign of the people for their rights is already spreading consternation.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you desire to present in regard to the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. EMERY. Respecting the condition; yes, sir. I call the attention of the committee formally to the fact that the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor for many years past can be found in the Congressional Library, containing as a part of those proceedings the successive reports of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor, which, under instructions of its executive committee, is constantly maintained here in Washington, and which is augmented, according to the statements made in the press, by additions from the so-called organizers of the American Federation of Labor. I was informed that during the last year there were 682, and from time to time these are called in off the road for such legislative activity as the executive committee of the American Federation of Labor directs their attention to. You will find that the reports of the legislative committee vary from time to time in number. It is usually signed by three men who represent the executive committee here, but the number of signatures increases up to seven or eight. The records of the reports of the legislative committee show that great numbers are called in at times on some special matter that is pending before Congress, and you will find in those legislative reports numerous statements of the room to room and door to door canvass of Members of Congress and the opinions expressed by the legislative committee as to the attitude of these gentlemen and as to the methods pursued by the committee in urging and in—I think I may say without stretching the language—inducing them by a very strong statement of the future conduct of the American Federation of Labor with respect to their nomination and election to consider the demands which are made.

Mr. DAVENPORT. May I ask Mr. Emery if he is not mistaken as to their being found in the reports of the proceedings of the convention? They are to be found in the American Federationist, which is completely on file in the Library.

Mr. EMERY. That is what I have stated.

Mr. DAVENPORT. I understood you to say that these legislative reports are to be found in the proceedings.

Mr. EMERY. Oh, in both the proceedings in which they are referred to, and continually in the numbers of the American Federationist, in which they are set forth at length, with notes by the executive committee.

Mr. CLINE. I do not want to prolong this discussion, but I should like to have you state, in corroboration of a statement you volunteered this afternoon, that you knew personally of districts into which the American Federation of Labor had gone and used money to corrupt the voters?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, no; I did not say that.

Mr. CLINE. That they used money to carry the election?

Mr. EMERY. I spoke of districts into which they had gone to defeat the candidate by whatever methods they might choose to use.

Mr. CLINE. Did you say they had used money?

Mr. EMERY. I called your attention, in the first place, to their appeal to the members of the organization for money with which to carry on their campaign of 1906, and they substantially asked for $1,000,000, because they had 1,000,000 members, and they asked for a dollar from each.

Mr. CLINE. I understood you to say they had gone into districts and used money to elect their candidates.

Mr. EMERY. I do not know the details of that expenditure, Judge.

Mr. CLINE. I am not asking for details, but I am asking for one case, if it is a matter of personal knowledge with you—one or two or three or more districts where that was done.

Mr. EMERY. I gave you as an example the Littlefield campaign, with respect to which I read you the report of the labor reference committee, in which they instructed Mr. Gompers to proceed to Mr. Littlefield's district and accomplish his defeat. I read to you the circular in which they made an appeal for funds, and their statement in which they declared they had raised $8,000.

Mr. CLINE. That is not a matter of your personal knowledge?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; their own reports.

Mr. CLINE. Do you have personal knowledge of anything of that kind?

Mr. EMERY. No; I must confess I am not familiar with the proceedings in the different districts, but I have taken the testimony of their own officers made in published statements, and I have had the statements of residents of the different districts.

Mr. CLINE. So that I must have misunderstood your statement this afternoon?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Speaking of the Littlefield campaign, Mr. Emery, who got into that campaign first—the National Association of Manufacturers or the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, I do not think—that is a matter of history with me, I do not know about that personally, but I think the record shows Mr. Littlefield was listed for slaughter by the American Federation of Labor because his campaign preceded all others by two months. Mr. Littlefield's position on injunction matters was taken long before the National Association of Manufacturers was heard of.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes; I understand that.

Mr. EMERY. He took that position, historically, in the Fifty-seventh Congress in 1900.

The CHAIRMAN. I was just wondering whether you happened to know which one of the organizations went into that campaign first; whether the American Federation of Labor, the threats it had made against Mr. Littlefield, was the inducing cause for the National Association of Manufacturers going there, or whether the National Association of Manufacturers went into it before the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. EMERY. No. I think the threats made against Mr. Littlefield by organized labor were the inducing cause for the appeal to the business men generally in that section to support him. I am speaking historically—I have no personal knowledge; I was secretary of the Citizens' Industrial Association at that time—but I remember generally the attention which was attracted by the very widely announced determination of the American Federation of Labor to make an example of Mr. Littlefield and through him to exercise what they termed a salutary effect upon Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. In what congressional districts do you know of the National Association of Manufacturers participating since you have been connected with it?

Mr. EMERY. The National Association of Manufacturers or the council, or both?

The CHAIRMAN. Both.

Mr. EMERY. Congressional districts, you refer to now?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; in congressional districts.

Mr. EMERY. The first one of which I had any knowledge was the Jenkins fight. The Littlefield affair had taken place two years before my connection with either of these associations.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you, do you know what induced the associations, either the National Association of Manufacturers or the Council for Industrial Defense, to go into this fight?

Mr. EMERY. I think that Judge Jenkins had been, as I term it, blacklisted by the American Federation of Labor because of the position he had taken as to the Sherman law, because of his speeches in view of the demands by the American Federation of Labor—demands for amendments to the Sherman Act they wanted enacted. He made speeches on the floor of the House in which he announced his position, and when he went back to his district it was widely announced by the American Federation of Labor that they would undertake to accomplish his defeat because of the position he had taken on the Sherman law.

The CHAIRMAN. In that case you would say the American Federation of Labor threw the first brick?

Mr. EMERY. I know of no case, Mr. Chairman, with the single exception of the Hughes campaign—I forgot which district that is, I think it is in the sixth New Jersey district—I know of no district in which the manufacturers' association or the council made any appeal to their members or attempted to circulate literature in the district or in any way influence opinion against the election of a standing candidate for Congress, except in the Hughes case and the one I described to you—the Buchanan case. Those are the only two of which I have knowledge, and my knowledge of the

Hughes case was historical. I was not in this country during that campaign and personally did not participate in it except——

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much was contributed in the Hughes case out of the treasury——

Mr. EMERY. I have been told, and that is already in the evidence in this investigation, that the sum of $3,500 was contributed through Col. Mulhall to the circulation of literature and campaign material from the National Council for Industrial Defense.

The CHAIRMAN. That $3,500, by the way, does not show in his accounts, does it?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; it shows in his accounts.

The CHAIRMAN. It does?

Mr. EMERY. That is part of the $5,000 that appears to have been expended for the council by Col. Mulhall during the course of his connection with it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not included in the accounts in the print?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know whether it is included in the accounts in the print, but it is included in the statement put in the Senate hearings yesterday from the books of the association and testified to by Mr. Farley yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether anything was contributed in the Jenkins's campaign?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; to the best of my knowledge——

The CHAIRMAN. Of course we are familiar with the testimony that has been given here about the administration of Mr. Van Cleave.

Mr. EMERY. Beyond the salary Mr. Mulhall received when he went into that district and undertook to arouse and stimulate the manufacturers to action in his campaign I do not know of a cent that was contributed to Judge Jenkins's campaign. I know there were letters read which I heard in the Senate for the first time, which showed Mr. Van Cleave personally had raised a thousand dollars. It is in the testimony that he had raised that amount, but I do not know wherefrom, except among the business men and manufacturers who felt as strongly as he did about the fight made against him and sympathetically contributed that money. It was raised, but never sent.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the testimony before this committee—that it was raised and never sent.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We will begin with Judge Jenkins's district. You mentioned that as one. That is the first one within your knowledge?

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you refer to the Hughes district?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What others do you remember? The Buchanan district——

Mr. EMERY. The Buchanan district I spoke of.

The CHAIRMAN. You have testified about that, but I want to ask you a question: Was the $500 which you said you contributed contributed from the association?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; it was contributed by the council and sent directly to Mr. Jewell, who was the candidate against Mr. Buchanan,

with the understanding it was to be expended in the circulation of literature, particularly as to what led to the controversy, in Mr. Buchanan's district. He had a large foreign population in his district, and it was to be printed in several different languages, and I think I told you the circumstances which led to my making that suggestion, and that is the only time I ever made a suggestion of that character during my connection with the association, and at that time I was very greatly disturbed by what I saw.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any other district that you remember?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any contributions were made to the Bannon district in Ohio?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I am positive there was not; I am positive that neither the council nor the association ever even circulated literature in that district.

The CHAIRMAN. If any contributions had been made by the council. I take it, of course, you would know of it?

Mr. EMERY. I think I would, sir. I did not know, for instance, of the contributions made by the council in the Hughes campaign, but that was because I was not in this country. I went to Europe the 1st of July and was away until the 1st of December.

The CHAIRMAN. Contributions might, of course, have been made by the National Association of Manufacturers without your knowing it?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, yes: I mean it could have been done.

The CHAIRMAN. But the probability is you would have known about that?

Mr. EMERY. It may have been done; but I am positive, Mr. Chairman, knowing the rule as I do—I would say to my best knowledge and belief that the National Association of Manufacturers never contributed $1 to the campaign of any congressional candidate anywhere, except the payment of the salary or expenses of Mr. Mulhall when he went into a district for the purpose of calling the attention of the manufacturers to organizing in that district for the purpose of assisting a candidate who had been made the subject of attack by organized labor. I do not know of a case myself in which any man has ever been opposed except in the Hughes campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you were not connected with either organization in the days of the Pearre campaigns in Maryland?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. And do not know anything about them?

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not know anything about them except what I have heard in the course of this investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the Gardner campaign, Mr. Emery? What do you know about that campaign?

Mr. EMERY. You mean in 1910?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; any of his campaigns. That is, Gardner, of New Jersey, I am speaking of.

Mr. EMERY. My recollection of the campaign of 1908, if there was one—I have read the testimony here and heard Mr. Mulhall's statement—I can not recall any special effort made, although there may have been one, to impress Mr. Gardner one way or the other, except the eight-hour bill was pending at that time, and from January of 1908 until March of 1908 I argued that bill before Mr.

Gardner's committee and presented about 200 witnesses to him. We made every effort to argue the question of policy involved in the eight-hour bill, just as we would present a case in court. We brought witnesses from all parts of the United States, even from as far as California, when Mr. McGregor, president of the Union Iron Works, was brought in to show the inexpediency of the bill, and to show that its terms, if fairly considered, were ambiguous in the provisions in regard to manufacturers.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not speaking about bills before committees just now, but I am asking about campaigns. Do you know of any activity on the part of either of these organizations in his campaign?

Mr. EMERY. I can not recall distinctly any activity. I heard Mr. Mulhall's testimony, and I believe Mr. Mulhall did go down there to Gardner's district in 1908 for the purpose of calling the attention of the manufacturers in his district to the circumstances of the eight-hour bill. The political activities of the colonel I did not know so much about, and they do not come to my memory, because I never kept so much track of his political activities. I was not as much concerned in his political activities as I was concerned with other matters.

The CHAIRMAN. By the way, Mr. Emery, let me ask you just there what were the relations between you and Mr. Mulhall during the time he was here? He was, in a sense, under your direction, was he not, when he was here?

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would just tell us what your relations were?

Mr. EMERY. I met Mr. Mulhall in 1907, and to the best of my recollection I met him on a passenger between Indianapolis and St. Louis. The letter of introduction which he offered in evidence he never presented to me, but he told me who he was, and I remembered I had heard simply of his employment, but had not met him up to that time, but knew in a general way who he was. I was going to St. Louis at that time and had some conversation with him on the train. Afterwards, in the winter of 1907 and 1908, when I came down here, I participated in the argument over the Pearre injunction bill, which was argued in the spring of 1908, and the so-called Hepburn-Warner amendment to the Sherman Act, which was the bill that provided for the empowering of the Commissioner of Corporations to pass upon contracts which were to be filed by all corporations or organizations with respect to interstate commerce, and at the time those were filed the commissioner was to declare whether or not they were in reasonable or unreasonable restraint of trade; and having made a declaration, if it was favorable, the organization was not to be subject to restriction or the contract was not to be subject to the terms of the Sherman Act. We were arguing that bill.

The CHAIRMAN. I remember that, but what I wanted to get at now is not so much the argument you made there——

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I did not want to do it——

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). But the relations between you and Col. Mulhall.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Mulhall came down here to Washington, and he came under Mr. Van Cleave's instructions to him with the under-

standing that he was to assist me in securing information with respect to the status of bills here, and obtain documents, and such other public matters as I might desire and keep me informed.

Mr. STAFFORD. When was that?

Mr. EMERY. This is in the winter of 1907 and 1908. This is the first time I met him, but he was not here much during that winter. He was in Indiana a great deal or away from Washington. I, too, was away; I did not reside here. My offices were in New York, and I was still secretary of the Citizens' Industrial Association with offices in the St. James Building. In my meetings with Col. Mulhall during that winter we did not become very well acquainted, and I did not get a great deal of service from him, I remember, during that time. We were engaged all of this time in these arguments that ran on for two months before the various committees here, and I came down here off and on through the winter.

The CHAIRMAN. In just what light did you regard Mr. Mulhall? You say he came here under instructions of Mr. Van Cleave.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You understood he was to get documents and information?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What character of information?

Mr. EMERY. Information with respect to the status of pending legislation, and, from time to time, as occasion arose, I understood he would obtain for me information with respect to opinions of Members of Congress on pending legislation; that is, if there were matters pending before committees he would ascertain whether they would be seriously considered or would be the subject of argument; that is, on matters we were interested in, and he would give me the benefit of his information. I was at that time a very great greenhorn in matters of legislation, I must confess, and I came down here with the idea of establishing a legislative bureau to get out bulletins on it, and Col. Mulhall was recommended to me and I accepted him as a man of very wide acquaintance and political experience, and as having been in the service of the Republican national committee and participated in matters with such men as Senator Quay, McKinley, and others, and enjoying a very wide political acquaintance and was promptly possessed of intimate knowledge of matters legislative here in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he disappoint you in that respect at any time?

Mr. EMERY. I did not see much of him the first winter. During the first winter I was here only occasionally, and then I would come down from New York and go up again, until the establishment of the office in November, 1908, and during that summer, while Col. Mulhall was engaged in the Watson campaign in Indiana, and in Judge Jenkins's compaign in Wisconsin, I do not suppose I saw him more than two or three times.

The CHAIRMAN. However, you did get in touch with him?

Mr. EMERY. In the winter of 1908 I saw more or less of him from December, 1908, until April, 1909, and in April, 1909, I again left here. I think about all of the time I have been here I spent at least a third of my time away from Washington, either in consultation with the association on matters of law that are pending before Congress that might interest them, or in lectures or addresses, of which I

have given a great many at these gatherings; and during that time I can not recall a very distinct impression of the colonel until the winter of 1908. I saw more of him from December, 1909, until I went to Europe. I saw him more intimately and came in contact with him more frequently than I did at any other time.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he come to your office very frequently?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Almost daily?

Mr. EMERY. I would not say daily, because I was away at times, and he was away at times. I heard his testimony that he came there every morning at 9 o'clock, but that is by no means correct. I did not go there every day, and I do not believe he went there every day. Frequently I was not there; I was engaged all this time in undertaking to build up, if I could, a very effective bureau; I wanted to make it a very effective bureau, and to that end I tried to keep in touch with all the decisions of the State and Federal courts on matters of Federal law, and I compiled frequent bulletins on them.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time you were closely connected with him, or closely associated with him, if I may use that term, or during the time when you were not, so far as that is concerned, did he ever disappoint you in any of the matters you understood he was to do?

Mr. EMERY. Well, I gradually formed the impression that the colonel suffered a good deal from exaltation of the ego, and that he was very much inclined to look at the purely political side of everything. I was not so much concerned with the political side; I was more concerned with the legal side of everything, and there was not very much mutuality of mental sympathy between us.

The CHAIRMAN. That is quite likely; I can readily understand that. But he came here under instructions of Mr. Van Cleave to do certain things?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To get copies of bills and copies of reports, and to get information by interviewing Members?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he get those bills?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; he got the bills; that is, after our bureau was organized in 1908, after our office was opened locally here, until 1909, he kept me pretty well supplied with the bills, documents, and everything of that kind that I required for the purpose of keeping myself in touch with legislation. He circulated among the Members here, as I assumed—I very rarely came to the Capitol and did not circulate among the Members myself—and he gave me opinions of the relative importance of legislation before Congress, and I assumed he had a very wide acquaintance and especially enjoyed the confidence of Members of Congress from Maryland, from long political association, whom I always presumed were very close to him.

The CHAIRMAN. On this question of information, did he get the bills?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he get the documents?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And on this question of information as to the attitude of Members, did he get that?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; he made very frequent polls, as I assumed, on those matters. At least he was able to ascertain, or I assumed he was able to ascertain, the prevailing opinion upon the probability of this or that particular bill receiving serious consideration, and then he made inquiries of the committees, of course, for me, and in that way enabled me to make application for a hearing on what I considered the more important bills; that is, if we were interested.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course you did not care anything about those bills, only when you were interested in them?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir. He did more than that for me, Mr. Chairman, as the bureau grew. As we grew the demands for information outside of these exclusive subject-matters in which we were especially interested became constantly greater. I had constant inquiries from the National Association of Manufacturers, from its members, and from other associations, respecting the status of pending legislation of all kinds. Some one would write to me interested in a patent bill, and wanted to know what the chance was of the measure receiving consideration, and I used to turn a great many of the inquiries over to the colonel, and he would make inquiries for me at the various committees, and frequently he gave me information as to the status of that bill; and then, in addition to that, there were constant inquiries in regard to the effect of legislation on different departments, and I also sent him there frequently to get information for me, so he performed for me a great deal of that work while he was here.

The CHAIRMAN. But the specific question which I want to get before you is, and I would be glad to have a specific answer to it, this matter of obtaining information as to the attitude of Members upon those matters of legislation in which you were directly interested, or your association was directly interested. Did he get such information for you?

Mr. EMERY. My impression is that he generally did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever disappoint you?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; he did.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember an instance in which he disappointed you?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; that was in 1910. I had it especially brought to my attention. He used—I gradually got this impression at first when looking back over a considerable term of years, but I do not know distinctly when the impression either sprung into being or grew, but I began to get the impression in 1910, or 1909 and 1910, that either the colonel had private interests to which he gave more attention, or that he was becoming unreliable, because he went out of my office sometimes in quest of information when I was there, and I did not see him again for two or three days, and when I did see him he had been very busy on some matter—he understood there was going to be a meeting of this committee, and he went around to find out, and it took some time, because it was difficult to see Members of Congress, and the result was he was never there every day. Understand, Mr. Chairman, I was away a good deal, two or three days during the week, and sometimes matters were put into his hands to make inquiries while I was away, and sometimes I would find they had been attended to, and sometimes I would find they had not. I must confess that in the early part I was so extremely busy myself I did

not possibly pay as much attention to his own activity in this matter as I otherwise would.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Now, the matters in which you had the gravest connection were pending before two committees of the House, the Judiciary Committee and the Labor Committee?

Mr. EMERY. They came before other committees, too.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean so far as the House is concerned.

Mr. EMERY. We had the Interstate Commerce Committee and the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, and of course these matters came up in various forms.

The CHAIRMAN. In the Judiciary Committee, of course, it has, for a long time, had regular meeting days.

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And I think the Labor Committee has regular meeting days and has had for a long time. So that by simply obtaining a copy of the directory it would be easy to know what days it was going to meet?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But you would not know what subject they were going to take up.

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever give instructions to find out the attitude of particular Members upon a particular piece of legislation?

Mr. EMERY. I can not recall—yes; I do recall instances, especially——

The CHAIRMAN. That was one of the things he was here for, wasn't it; and if you instructed him to do it, he was to make an effort to do it?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir. I will take it on such a matter as the eight-hour bill. I was very anxious—I can't recall the specific time—to be allowed to argue the validity of the bill and what we believed to be its very ambiguous provisions, and I recollect in that case I instructed the colonel, or requested him, to call on the various members of the committee with the idea of getting them to permit me to make that argument. I was not alone in that; there were other interests quite independent of us equally anxious to argue it.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand. That was getting him to call on them to see about making an argument?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But what I asked about, Mr. Emery, if you please, was whether he was instructed to call upon them to get their opinion on matters of legislation and not ascertain their attitude toward this—not their attitude toward giving you a hearing, but their attitude toward the legislation itself.

Mr. EMERY. I can not recall now any specific instances, sir, in which there was a poll of the committee of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. By him?

Mr. EMERY. By him. I do not recall it.

The CHAIRMAN. Or even outside of the committee, were any instructions given him at any time to feel out any other Member, whether a member of the committee that had the particular legislation in charge, or not?

Mr. EMERY (after a pause). No; I think the inquiry would have generally been in this way, if I can recall rightly, that if there was a

bill I noticed in the press, in which we felt a specific interest, we might have had him call on the author of the bill to ascertain whether or not it would be pressed in the committee and whether or not there would be hearings upon it. That inquiry might have gone through the chairman of the committee, but I can not recall any specific instance in which the colonel was instructed to go to particular members of the committee or particular Members to ascertain their views on a special bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you recall any instance in which he went voluntarily and reported to you the attitude of Members?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, there were a great many instances in which he reported to me he had had a conversation with somebody or other and had been informed that the eight-hour bill or the anti-injunction bill or the trial by jury for contempt bill was going to be pressed for passage or going to receive early consideration of the committee, or was to be made the subject of some special caucus, or something of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. There have been three new Congresses here since you have been connected with the association?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say four. You really became active in the fall of 1907, was it?

Mr. EMERY. Yes. The first connection began, really—I first came down here representing the Citizens' Industrial and the National Association, conjointly, in December, 1907.

The CHAIRMAN. That was about the time of the beginning——

Mr. EMERY. I was only here a few days. I really came here in the spring of 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. That was at the time of the organization of the Sixtieth Congress, in December, 1907. Before committees were appointed, or after they were appointed, and bills were introduced, did he ever sound out Members upon their general attitude toward these matters in which you were interested, under your instructions?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; not as far as I can remember, Mr. Garrett. I do not recall anything of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. In the matter of getting information as to the attitude of Members, he did not do anything, did he?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, yes; he did that a little, but his activities were not confined to anything like that.

The CHAIRMAN. How much salary was he drawing at that time?

Mr. EMERY. About $200 a month, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Emery, you do not mean to have the committee understand that your association paid a man $200 a month and his expenses just for gathering public documents around here?

Mr. EMERY. No; this man was doing more than that. For instance, an association as large as ours has constantly a great number of members coming down here on all sorts of matters in which they are interested. Here is a man who is interested in some matter before one of the departments, here is another who is interested in some other matter which he wants to take up with his Congressman or with some committee, or something of that kind. He would take those members around and introduce them to this or that committee chairman, steer the members around Washington, as such a man can who is familiar with those matters.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder why these gentlemen do not call on their Congressmen? My constituents always call on me in matters of that kind.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can you explain how it was that Col. Mulhall never referred to those incidents in his multifarious letters?

Mr. EMERY. I am surprised that he did not.

Mr. STAFFORD. I have not run across any such incidents in his multitudinous letters.

Mr. EMERY. He was constantly engaged in doing it, Mr. Stafford, and he took a particular joy in it.

The CHAIRMAN. He always came here at the beginning of every Congress, did he not?

Mr. EMERY. He would, if he was here, and was not away on some other matter.

The CHAIRMAN. At the organization of substantially every Congress since he has been connected with the association he has been here?

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he has been here in advance and kept a sort of tab on the Members as they were getting into town?

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not recall his doing anything of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not do it under your instructions, if he did it?

Mr. EMERY. When I was down here, Mr. Chairman, as far as his coming to my office was concerned, he frequently came and gave me his opinion on matters that were pending and told me what he knew about the status of pending bills; who were the authors of the various bills; the name of the committee to which they had been referred; the names of the members on the committee, and such information as he thought would be of interest to me in relation to this legislation. Then he did whatever he was requested to do with regard to pursuing the matter. The colonel was in and out and off and on, and he was here to-day and gone to-morrow. He was engaged not only in this particular political work in which he appears in this investigation, and in which he most delighted personally, but he was engaged a good deal in membership work. He was sent sometimes from one town to another where we had members who were to be kept in touch with the office. I often knew he was off on such errands and that that was the reason why he left the city.

The CHAIRMAN. You nearly always knew where he was?

Mr. EMERY. When I was away he remained here so that he could inform me in regard to the situation so that I could keep in touch with him.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew his whereabouts all the time?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Substantially every day; you knew where he was almost every day?

Mr. EMERY. He was not here every day all the time; sometimes he would be gone two or three days at a time, and I might not know just where he was.

The CHAIRMAN. You could always find out where he was by calling his home at Baltimore?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, yes; we could find out from the New York or St. Louis office. During the early part of 1909 he did a

great many errands for the St. Louis office. He acted under instructions from them and it was understood he should do so, and he was working on some matter in which they were interested during that period, and in which I was not specially interested. I never took any interest especially in regard to the merchant marine, never made any arguments before committees in regard to it, and never made any inquiries. The association was interested in those matters, and under instructions from the St. Louis office the colonel would frequently make inquiries of that character and report direct to them. A great many of his reports I did not know of at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Mulhall has testified specifically—you heard his testimony, I think—about the make-up of the subcommittees of the Labor Committee at one time?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe it was in—I do not remember exactly the year, but it was when Mr. Gardner was chairman of the Committee on Labor and appointed the subcommittees. What do you know about that?

Mr. EMERY. I read the letter of February 11, and it may be true that I went to the Committee on Labor with him at the time which he states, but I had no conversation with Mr. Gardner on that subject in that committee, neither at that time nor at any other time. I never have discussed with Mr. Gardner at any time the matter of the make-up of any committee, subcommittee or full committee; but at the time at which that conversation occurred I was very much interested in procuring a hearing before the Committee on Labor on the subject of the validity of the eight-hour bill, which was then pending, and I made two or three trips to that committee to see Mr. Gardner for the purpose of securing such a hearing. Mr. Gardner would not give us a hearing. He said he could not get his committee together in order to get a meeting of the full committee on that matter.

The CHAIRMAN. You remember, Mr. Emery, that Col. Mulhall stated that in your office——

Mr. EMERY (interposing). Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). In the Union Trust Building, that two or three of the subcommittees of the Committee on Labor were made up?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That you and he went over the lists and he made suggestions, and you made suggestions, and that it resulted in the selection of the members of subcommittee No. 2 and subcommittee No. 7, and I do not remember what others.

Mr. EMERY. Several of them, I know.

The CHAIRMAN. That they were made up substantially as you and he suggested, and that as you made up the list it was taken to Mr. Gardner, and that the committees appeared in the form in which you selected them. What do you say about that?

Mr. EMERY. That is absolutely false.

The CHAIRMAN. You never discussed with him the make-up of those committees?

Mr. EMERY. Never discussed the make-up of any subcommittee with Col. Mulhall or Mr. Gardner. I never had a political conversation with Mr. Gardner of any kind or sort. I was only slightly

acquainted with him. I mean, I had met him in the course of several hearings before his committee and discussed matters of that kind in the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you and Col. Mulhall ever discuss the personnel of those committees?

Mr. EMERY. Of the Labor Committee? Never, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say of the Labor Committee?

Mr. EMERY. Do you mean——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). The personnel of the subcommittee; if you and Col. Mulhall ever discussed that?

Mr. EMERY. With reference to their appointment?

The CHAIRMAN. With reference to the personnel, the make-up of the subcommittees?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I did not, beyond discussing the personnel of the committee with regard, probably, to their position with respect to such a bill——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Before or after their appointment as members of the subcommittee?

Mr. EMERY. As members of the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. After they had been appointed on the committee or before the subcommittees had been appointed, did you and he discuss them?

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not recall having any discussion with him with respect to the appointment of any committee or with respect to the particular views of the members until we had some matter pending before the committee. I never had any more extended discussion with him.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Emery, I think probably all the members of the committee regard this question of influence or alleged influence in the appointment of committees in the House as of very great importance in this inquiry.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Consequently, in line with the questions of the chairman, I want to direct your attention to a letter or two in order to see whether they will refresh your memory. The first letter I desire to call to your attention is under date of June 17, 1909, which is already in evidence, and I will read the part to which I wish to call your attention. This is in the Senate print and has been identified by Mr. Mulhall. It is addressed to you in care of Mr. Hastings, Commercial Building, Seattle, Wash. It discusses various matters, but the particular part to which I wish to call your attention is as follows:

I have also had two meetings with Mr. Watson in relation to the House committees.

Had you had any conferences with Mr. Mulhall upon which you could base such a letter as that?

Mr. EMERY. To the best of my recollection, I did not, Mr. Willis. I can not recall any such conferences with him, and at the time I read that letter in the print and heard it read I had no recollection of having ever received such a letter from him. I may have done so. I was on the Pacific coast at the time mentioned in there and he may have written that letter to me. I will say, to the best of my knowledge, I never saw that letter. However, I may have received it.

Mr. WILLIS. You are positive you had no conference with Mr. Gardner in regard to this matter?

Mr. EMERY. Sir?

Mr. WILLIS. I say you are confident you had no conference with Mr. Gardner about the appointment of any subcommittee?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I never had a conference or conversation with Mr. Gardner relating to the appointment of any committee. The only conversation I had was of the character to which I have referred, in which I asked for an opportunity to argue this question before the committee.

Mr. WILLIS. This letter obviously refers to some matter of appointment.

Now, what is the telegram No. 3569? I will read all of it [reading]:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 11, 1910.*

JAMES A. EMERY,
National Association of Manufacturers,
170 Broadway, New York:

Subcommittee No. 2 appointed as suggested, and bill referred to that committee by chairman. Hughes, of New Jersey, making personal canvass of full committee to try to force bill out next Tuesday.

M. M. MULHALL.

(Charge James A. Emery.)

There is the language. Does that refresh your memory as to any conference you may have had with Mulhall?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir. At this time I left Washington, I think it was some time around the 8th or 9th of February, and I wanted to make an argument on the validity of the eight-hour bill, and had pending an application for hearings on that subject. Mr. Gardner had said he could not give a hearing before the full committee, or he would not give one, and we had made a further request that if he could not hear us before the full committee, that he would hear us before a select or subcommittee. When I left Washington that request was pending, and the telegram which you read there, with the reply by me, was, I assume, a statement that the request for a hearing before a subcommittee had been granted, and subcommittee No. 2 had been designated as the subcommittee before which the argument was to be made.

Mr. WILLIS. It does not refer to any hearing. Your telegram seems simply to be in regard to a matter of appointment.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir. An application had been made for a hearing, and as I remember it now, Mr. Willis, in the light of the conditions under which the telegram was sent, it was that an application for a hearing before that committee had been made, and I assumed that the committee named in there was the one designated to hear our arguments. There were a number of parties who joined in the request.

Mr. CLINE. Was that in writing, that application?

Mr. EMERY. I could not say at this time whether the application was made originally in writing or not. I know it was made verbally once or twice. I went up there—the Cramp Shipbuilding Co. was interested in the matter, as was the Bethlehem Steel Works, and they were all represented here by counsel, and after the committee had been appointed we were denied the request for an oral hearing and were required to file a brief, and, as I recall it, we did.

Mr. WILLIS. Here is a telegram, No. 3560 [reading]:

NEW YORK, *February 19, 1910.*

Col. M. M. MULHALL,
613 Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.:

Yours received. Congratulations on evident good work. Let me know if situation is changed in any way.

JAMES A. EMERY.

Does that recall anything to your mind? What was that work he had done? Had that any relation to this appointment of committees?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I assume that this was in respect to the situation which existed here, in which we feared that that bill would be reported out before we had a chance to argue it. I assume that what that referred to was what I supposed to be his effort to persuade the members of the committee to give us a hearing before they reported it out.

Mr. WILLIS. This other telegram was under a later date.

Mr. EMERY. Was the last one under date of the 10th?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes; and the other one was February 11. I thought probably this must have related to some other matter.

Mr. EMERY. No; I assume—I know at the time there was a very strenuous effort being made to report that eight-hour bill out of the committee. The Democrats were anxious to report the bill, and the Republicans were more or less on the fence, and I was very anxious to argue the validity of the bill before any report was made on it.

Mr. WILLIS. Now, in order to further refresh your memory on that, I want to call your attention to No. 3562, which is a telegram reading as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 10, 1910.*

JAMES A. EMERY,
National Association of Manufacturers,
170 Broadway, New York:

No quorum. Democrats all present. Republicans all absent except chairman. Gardner did fine. Rainey, of Illinois, made violent tirade. Will meet again Tuesday, 11 a. m.

M. M. MULHALL.

(Charge James A. Emery.)

Now, is the telegram on which you are congratulating him on his good work an answer to the last telegram I have read? Perhaps you would like to look at these telegrams [showing telegrams to witness]. I am trying to find out whether there is any connection between those two, whether this is in answer to that one [indicating].

Mr. EMERY (after examining telegram). This looks like an answer to that one. The telegram No. 3560 was handed to me on the Senate side. I saw that telegram, and judged from the manner in which it was handed to me that it was given to me as of date of the 11th, but as it reads in the print it is evidently an answer to telegram 3562.

Mr. WILLIS. If that was in answer to No. 3562, I ask you whether, at that time, there had been any conference between you and Mr. Mulhall in reference to that matter, whether he was to undertake to keep a quorum away. Do you recall anything about that?

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not. I do not think it was any more than a statement, in fact, that a meeting of the committee which had been

expected to be held did not take place on account of the absence of a quorum.

Mr. WILLIS. Just one further inquiry along this same line. I want to read No. 3572 [reading]:

ST. LOUIS, MO., *February 16, 1910.*

Col. M. M. MULHALL,
Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.:

Congratulations on result of your work on eight-hour bill from Van Cleave, Schwedtmann, and myself. Shall arrive in Washington to-morrow, 7.10 p. m.

JAS. A. EMERY.

What was that work, Mr. Emery?

Mr. EMERY. On the 15th of February, the preceding day—I had left Washington about the 8th or 9th—I went to New York and from there to St. Louis. The Colonel had telegraphed me or communicated with me in some way that the eight-hour bill had been referred to a select committee or subcommittee on the question of its constitutionality, and that committee was appointed at a meeting of the labor committee held on the 15th of February. The Colonel's first telegram, the telegram of February 10, I believe referred to that. I found out, as I remember distinctly, after getting back to Washington, he had made an error in respect to the appointment of the select committee. It was not appointed until the 15th of February.

Mr. WILLIS. That is all I wish to ask on that particular phase. I have some other questions upon some other phases of the matter, but I will defer them.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you know whether the N. A. M. or the National Council for Industrial Defense ever participated in any matter in the Gardner campaigns in New Jersey, in the second New Jersey district?

Mr. EMERY. To the best of my recollection Mr. Mulhall went into Mr. Gardner's district in 1910, but I do not know to what extent he assisted him. I believe he called him to the favorable attention of the manufacturers of that district. Mr. Gardner had been very fair with us in respect to the eight-hour bill, had given ample opportunity to have hearings before his committee, and had treated us with great fairness, and Mr. Gardner's attitude—at first he was not inclined to give us any hearings at all.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you know or have you any knowledge that he was antagonistic to you in 1908?

Mr. EMERY. Well, in 1908 he was pressing his bill very hard, and would not grant hearings at first. I know I had several conversations with him on the subject of hearings.

Mr. STAFFORD. What did he say at that time as to his attitude on the bill covering the eight-hour proposition?

Mr. EMERY. He thought the matter had been very fully argued before his committee. He said they had hearings on previous occasions and he did not think there was anything new to be presented, and he did not see any reason why there should be a hearing. The burden of my argument was that we would undertake to discuss the practical phases of his bill, just as we would try a case in court, and we would bring a great number of manufacturers here who would point out to him what the practical effect of his bill would be if that bill were attempted to be enforced at that time.

Mr. STAFFORD. Were any hearings had during the session of 1908?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir. The hearings were had in January of 1908, and ran until March, and I flattered myself at the time, because I believed we had made a very strong impression on Mr. Gardner and his committee, because Mr. Gardner was not a man who talked very much, and I recollect a statement which he made at this hearing here. This is a copy of the hearings on the eight-hour bill. We went to very considerable expense in undertaking to bring several witnesses representing each industry, and did not attempt to burden the record with mere protests. We brought practical men here.

Mr. STAFFORD. That was during the long regular session of 1908?

Mr. EMERY. January, 1908; yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. When was it he determined to grant you hearings on that bill?

Mr. EMERY. To the best of my recollection it was some time in January, 1908.

Mr. STAFFORD. Was anything stated in regard to the reason why he changed his position?

Mr. EMERY. Rather. I should say that the first time was in February, 1908.

Mr. STAFFORD. What do you know as to the reason why he changed his position and granted you hearings, when prior to that he was opposed to any?

Mr. EMERY. I do not think that was entirely in his hands. We went to every member of the committee and asked for this opportunity, and urged upon them the very arguments we made to Mr. Gardner, and we found some of the members of the committee were firmly of the opinion that we ought to have an opportunity to argue the matter. I assume their judgment had some effect upon him.

Mr. STAFFORD. Had your association at that time taken any action toward placing a candidate in his district in opposition to him?

Mr. EMERY. Not that I know of.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you know of Mr. Mulhall ever having been over in New Jersey and talked with the then governor, Mr. Franklin T. Fort, concerning an opposition candidate?

Mr. EMERY. I do not think he had been there at that time.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you hear Mr. Mulhall's testimony in which he stated that he had been over there and that Mr. Fort suggested a candidate, and then all of a sudden Mr. Gardner became very acquiescent?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I heard Mr. Mulhall's testimony.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you know anything about the activity of Mulhall in that particular?

Mr. EMERY. I do not recall it very distinctly now, Mr. Stafford, but he unquestionably did go there to make some effort of the kind he described, but I do not think it was at this time.

Mr. STAFFORD. Was it at your insistence or that of any other officer of the N. A. M.?

Mr. EMERY. Not at my insistence. I could not tell you whether he went under the direction of the St. Louis office or on his own hook.

Mr. STAFFORD. At any rate, he was not under your direction?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir. I believe our arguments made to Mr. Gardner had a very strong impression.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am trying to ascertain whether Mulhall went down there into Mr. Gardner's district on his own initiative or at the direction of some official of the N. A. M. who had the authority to direct him.

Mr. EMERY. If he had gone there at that time, Mr. Stafford, it would not have been at all unnatural, because it would have been a course which we would have followed almost in any instance. If the chairman of the committee were denying us a hearing in a matter of such great importance to our members it would have been a very natural thing to send an agent down there among his own constituents and request them to make an appeal on their own behalf.

Mr. STAFFORD. That might be consonant with good conduct, but the action that Mr. Mulhall testifies to, whereby he goes down there for the purpose of using the big stick by putting an opposition candidate in the field and driving Gardner into a course of action which was against his position, is entirely another proposition. I will ask you whether you know of any officer of your association having taken that position where a man would refuse to yield to the position you believed was the correct one?

Mr. EMERY. I do not recall such an instance in this case. It may have occurred. If Mr. Gardner had absolutely refused to give us a fair hearing on a proposition before his committee we would have made that appeal to his constituents if it was a bill of a political nature.

Mr. CLINE. Did Mr. Gardner actually change his position?

Mr. EMERY. My best recollection is that Mr. Gardner yielded to the solicitation of other members of the committee who believed that we should have a hearing.

Mr. CLINE. Did Mr. Gardner actually change his attitude on these propositions and give you a hearing?

Mr. EMERY. He did give us a hearing, and I do not recall that his refusal was so obstinate that it was a matter for final appeal to his constituents. I do not recall that. My recollection is now that in my first conversation with Mr. Gardner he thought they had had sufficient hearings on that bill and that he later made up his mind to give us hearings. Whether that matter occurred at this time——

Mr. STAFFORD. Are you acquainted with the industrial complexion of Mr. Gardner's district?

Mr. EMERY. No; I am not, personally. I have been in it; I mean by that I have visited Atlantic City.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is not a manufacturing city?

Mr. EMERY. No; it is not.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you know whether there are any manufacturing centers in Mr. Gardner's district?

Mr. EMERY. Undoubtedly there are some, but I do not think there are many.

Mr. STAFFORD. I was trying to ascertain, because I always understood that Mr. Gardner represented largely an agricultural district.

Mr. EMERY. To the best of my recollection.

Mr. STAFFORD. Of course it has been changed, to my knowledge, under two different apportionments. One time he represented a district running out as far as Cape May and later a shoestring district running across the State.

Mr. EMERY. My recollection is now that some one asked—I do not remember who—how many members there were in Mr. Gardner's district, and I think the answer was three.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall in the campaign of 1910 ever having circularized Mr. Gardner's district in his behalf either for the primary contest or the election?

Mr. EMERY. I, personally?

Mr. STAFFORD. No; the association.

Mr. EMERY. I do not know that it did. My recollection was that Mr. Mulhall went down there and spoke very highly, and went among the members, the manufacturers generally, and made some campaign in Mr. Gardner's behalf.

Mr. STAFFORD. In that particular it has been brought out that you have done some chautauqua work, and unquestionably you have oratorical power. Have you ever in any district spoken for or against any Representative——

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Either for the National Association of Manufacturers or for the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I never have. I had one or two opportunities to speak on the chautauqua platform, but they were not satisfactory. I did talk at the Miami Chautauqua, near Dayton, Ohio, on entirely abstract subjects.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall any instance where the N. A. M. or the N. C. I. D. ever hired any speakers for or against any congressional candidate?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; never. The references that were made to the employment of Mr. Watson were with regard to a chautauqua program that was discussed between Mr. Kirby, Mr. Schwedtman, and myself. I did not know—that is, I did not recall; I must have known at the time, but it passed out of my memory—that Mr. Watson had been paid in part, or the chautauqua manager who employed him, by the National Council for Industrial Defense. We had quite a scheme on hand once for carrying on an educational program in which was to be discussed the questions of the open shop, government by injunction, class legislation, and so on. We had the idea of carrying this into the chautauqua circuit as a part of an educational program, but it did not materialize.

Mr. CLINE. Was that the way the association was to get its $40 worth? I understand that to each of these lecturers you were to contribute $40.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. What would you get for it?

Mr. EMERY. That is the proposal as I remember it, that there were a number of lecturers to discuss these subjects, and the chautauqua managers did not know whether the subjects would take or not. In other words, they were to be guaranteed against loss, as I remember it, by a contribution that would in part pay for the experiment.

Mr. CLINE. You were not proposing to slip this thing over, in a way, on an unsuspecting public?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, no, no, Judge Cline.

Mr. CLINE. They were to be advertised, to be a part of a real program?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, yes, sir. I myself made an engagement with the chautauqua, or rather I signed a contract, and the first thing they put me up against was a debate with Mr. Eugene Debs, which I declined.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will pardon me a moment, let us get back to this committee business, because this is a matter of some very considerable importance.

I call your attention, Mr. Emery, to the testimony of Mr. Mulhall given on August 11. Mr. Cline was asking him some questions. He says:

Mr. CLINE. I want to ask the witness whether, when you went to members of, say, the Labor Committee, for instance, what did you go for and what did you have in view when you made those visits?

Mr. MULHALL. To secure their services to help in campaign work.

Mr. CLINE. Did you ever go to find out how bills had been referred?

Mr. MULHALL. I do not quite understand your question; you ask whether I hired people?

Mr. CLINE. No; I asked you whether when you visited committees—for instance, the Labor Committee or the Judiciary Committee—you went for the purpose of ascertaining what bills were before the committee?

Mr. MULHALL. Yes, sir; and later on, through the Van Cleave administration, to bring what influence I could to bear upon those committees.

Mr. CLINE. To ascertain in those committees how the bills were referred—to what subcommittees, if any?

Mr. MULHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And the names of the parties?

Mr. MULHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Did you ever go far enough to inquire of the chairman of the attitude of the members of the subcommittees that had the bills in charge?

Mr. MULHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. At whose direction was that?

Mr. MULHALL. At Mr. Emery's direction.

Mr. CLINE. And then did you report whatever facts you had obtained as to the subcommittees to Mr. Emery?

Mr. MULHALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. After you knew the attitude of the members of the subcommittee on bills that had been referred to them, or the general committee, state what the fact is about visiting the committee members themselves with reference to the bills presented.

Mr. MULHALL. I frequently called on the chairman. I became quite well acquainted with the chairman of the Labor Committee, Mr. Gardner, in fact got on intimate terms with him and his secretary, and I had frequent interviews at his hotel, and also in his office, and I even went so far that, after the campaign of 1910—if you will allow me to have my letters I can show that—he even appointed subcommittees at my solicitation.

Mr. CLINE. That is fine. The subcommittees were suggested, you say, at your dictation?

Mr. MULHALL. At the dictation, made up in Mr. Emery's office, of Mr. Emery and myself.

Mr. CLINE. And then you made the suggestion to the chairman of the committee?

Mr. MULHALL. Yes, sir; and he had them printed just as I brought them in.

That was a statement made on the 11th. Later on, on August 21, he testified in detail about that matter. He said:

Mr. MULHALL. This committee you are talking about was made up in Mr. Emery's office. This was the form they made these subcommittees in [handing a paper to the committee].

The CHAIRMAN. You say these assignments of the subcommittees of the Committee on Labor in the Sixty-first Congress were made up in Mr. Emery's office?

Mr. MULHALL. Yes, sir; I will swear to that positively. He carried it to Mr. Gardner and Mr. Gardner appointed the committees as they were made out.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Gardner in your office at that time?

Mr. MULHALL. No, sir; he was not.

The CHAIRMAN. He was in the office at that time?

Mr. MULHALL. Never in Mr. Emery's office, but when Mr. Emery and I went to see Mr. Gardner he would not even have his own secretary there.

The CHAIRMAN. You say this was made up in Mr. Emery's office in exactly the form it is here?

Mr. MULHALL. Yes, sir; Mr. Vreeland—that Committee No. 2 was certainly made up by Mr. Emery, and the balance was suggested and made up by Mr. Emery and myself.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

"Subcommittee No. 2, law and labor provisions in Government contracts; Mr. Vreeland, Mr. Madison, Mr. Allen, Mr. Rainey, and Mr. Covington."

You say that was made up by Mr. Emery?

Mr. MULHALL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In his office?

Mr. MULHALL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom was that list, as made up by Mr. Emery, carried to Mr. Gardner?

Mr. MULHALL. I carried it to Mr. Gardner.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you say these others were made up by you and Mr. Emery jointly.

Mr. MULHALL. Yes, sir; I would not say all of them, but the important ones, down to maybe four or five.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you take that and point out the subcommittees of this committee that were made up by Mr. Emery and yourself in conjunction?

Mr. MULHALL (examining the list referred to). No. 2, No. 4, and No. 7 I am sure of, and I think No. 8.

The CHAIRMAN. No. 2, No. 4, and No. 7?

Mr. MULHALL. And No. 8, if I am not mistaken.

What do you say about that testimony?

Mr. EMERY. Why, I say about that testimony, Mr. Chairman, that it is absolutely false. I say, in the first place, that if Mr. Mulhall ever received a written statement from me in my handwriting it never would have been separated from his person, and that is pretty obvious. I say, in the second place, we never had a bill before the House Committee on Labor in which we had the slightest interest except the eight-hour bill, and we could not have been interested in the selection of any subcommittee except the one before which the eight-hour bill would have been, assuming we had any desire to participate in the selection of a subcommittee. I was perfectly willing to hazard our discussion of that bill before any subcommittee of fair-minded men. We never at any time directly or indirectly suggested a single name to be appointed upon a subcommittee of the Committee on Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you and Mr. Mulhall ever discuss it in your office?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I never had a discussion over the personnel or make-up of any Committee on Labor in that office, unless it may have been some discussion with Mr. Mulhall as to the probable make-up of the Committee on Labor before it was appointed.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have any discussion in which you said to him that these men would be good men, and that you would like to see them put on? There is nothing here to indicate it was in your handwriting.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; I think he says it was in my handwriting, right there.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, perhaps I am mistaken.

Mr. EMERY. He says I wrote it out. If it were written in my handwriting, nobody could have read it through. Moreover, the Committee on Labor itself was appointed—this committee for 1910

that is referred to there. That committee, if I remember right, was appointed in 1909 at the end of the special session. As I remember, there were no committees appointed except the committees necessary for the consideration of the tariff in the special session of 1909. I left here in May, 1909, and was on the Pacific coast from May, 1909, until November, 1909.

The CHAIRMAN. That committee was appointed then, but the subcommittees were not appointed until February, 1910, and this is a subcommittee.

Mr. EMERY. The subcommittees to which he refers in his testimony. I can only reiterate my testimony. I should like to put it in more emphatically, perhaps, but it is not necessary to do so. The statement is entirely false in every detail and circumstance.

The CHAIRMAN. When I first began asking you about whether you had taken any part or tried to take any part in the formation of the committee you said, "Labor Committee; no"; and I wondered if there was any other committee.

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other committee in which you undertook to take any part in the formation of any subcommittees?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I discussed the personnel of committees many times. I was always interested, naturally, in the formation of those two important committees, but I mean by that I had discussed their probable make-up and complexion and had probably expressed opinions to him, and had displayed a very great interest in it in that way.

The CHAIRMAN. While we are on that subject I will ask you about the call upon Mr. Underwood that has been testified to both before this committee and before the Senate committee. Will you give the committee your information?

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Kirby and I called upon Mr. Underwood sometime, as I remember it, in March, 1911. I do not think I had ever met him before. I might have been introduced to him, but I had never had any conversation with him up to that time. We called on Mr. Underwood. We were here on some other matter—I do not know exactly what it was—and our call was quite unexpected. During the conversation we had with him, which must have lasted between 10 and 15 minutes, having introduced Mr. Kirby, we spoke of the fact that as chairman of the committee on committees he had in his hands the appointment of the various committees of the House. I thought Mr. Underwood, of course, knew, representing what we did, that there would be matters of legislation to which we thought his party was pledged to which we would probably be opposed, and we hoped that in the make-up of the important committees of the House they would not be so constituted that we would have to argue a matter before a packed jury. That is substantially the burden of our conversation. There was no recommendation to him personally about a committee in any way, and my recollection of it is that Mr. Underwood simply smiled and said that perhaps the committees would not fully satisfy him any more than they would us, that the committees were sometimes a matter of compromise in their personnel, or words to that effect. The conversation on that subject did not last any more than a few minutes, was general in its nature, and we took the occasion to make that specific request.

The CHAIRMAN. You made no suggestions about the personnel of the committees?

Mr. EMERY. As to the personnel of the committees? No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. I call your attention to letter No. 28 in the House prints. See whether this language expresses the facts relative to that conference. This is a letter which I believe you have identified, Mr. Emery.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; I did identify a letter on that subject.

Mr. WILLIS. A letter to Mr. Davenport, in which appears the following language:

Mr. Kirby was here Thursday, and we had a long and quite frank talk with Oscar Underwood, who is a very decent, level-headed, conservative man. I really believe now that we will have a fairly conservative Judiciary Committee, as good as we could expect from your Democratic brethren; but we are undoubtedly going to have a bad Labor Committee. Underwood has frankly told me that it does not please him and that undoubtedly won't please us. He says it is the result of compromises that have been made necessary by very bitter internal dissension, and when he is frank enough to say that it won't please him, I can imagine how it will strike us.

That expresses substantially the facts?

Mr. EMERY. That was the impression that was fresh in my mind when I wrote that letter.

Mr. WILLIS. That is under date of March 27, 1911.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with Pearre being taken off the Committee on Judiciary?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever make any suggestions to anybody about that?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Were any names mentioned at all as prospective members of any committees at the Underwood interview?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; none whatever. There was no discussion.

Mr. STAFFORD. You are certain that Mr. Wilson's name was not mentioned as the probable choice for chairman of the Committee on Labor?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; there were no names mentioned whatever. The whole burden of our discussion simply was that we were frankly opposed to some of the things to which his party was committed, and we hoped we would have an opportunity to discuss before a committee which would not have formed its judgment.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me call your attention to one other letter on this committee proposition, which is letter No. 3556 to Mr. John Kirby by Mr. Mulhall, in which he writes specifically. I will read it to see if it will refresh your memory as to any interview you may have had on this subject:

At 1.30 p. m. I met Mr. Emery in the Committee on Labor, Mr. Gardner's room, and we found that Mr. Gardner did not wish to talk before a third person. He is so cautious about affairs of this kind that when we have interviews with him he generally locks his door and his secretary leaves the room. When I came into the room I attempted to commit Mr. Gardner before Mr. Emery to the bill, but he told me, when Mr. Emery was talking to his clerk, that he did not wish to talk before a third party, and that if I would come the next day at 1 p. m. he would go over the matter with me. After Mr. Emery and I left the committee room I was convinced from what Gardner stated that he would appoint all the subcommittees of his committee the way we wished him to, for he stated on Monday that his committees were not organized and would not be until the 10th. Mr. Emery and I conferred about who he

had better have appointed on the different subcommittees, so when I called on Mr. Gardner on Tuesday he named his subcommittee as Mr. Emery and I had agreed upon, which is subcommittee No. 2, which all labor bills are referred to, and this subcommittee now consists of Mr. Vreeland, Mr. Madison, Mr. Allen, Republicans; Mr. Rainey and Mr. Covington, Democrats. Gardner took the advice that we gave him, and we feel that if the bill goes to this subcommittee there will be no danger for the rest of this session.

Now, in view of that letter do you wish to change your statement at all that you never conferred with Mr. Gardner about the appointment of these committees?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I do not change my statement in the slightest, and I hope this committee will cause both Mr. Gardner and Mr. Vreeland to appear here. The matter is one of very great importance; I feel that it is to me and those I represent.

Mr. WILLIS. You have no recollection of having met Mr. Mulhall in Mr. Gardner's room or having any such conversation with him?

Mr. EMERY. As to meeting him in the room I can not say, because about that time I had made application for this hearing before the committee, and I was leaving Washington on that day or the day following—I do not know which—and Mulhall may have been there; but I had no conversation with Mr. Gardner at that time other than the urgency of this request for a hearing.

Mr. WILLIS. I read the letter because he refers to it specifically. He says, "Emery and I conferred about who he had better have appointed." Yo do not recall any such conference?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; there was no such conference.

Mr. CLINE. Without assuming that you did make up this list in your office as he testifies, what is the fact about the subcommittee having been appointed as it was designated on your list? Do you know whether it was or not?

Mr. EMERY. I think that is the subcommittee. I do not recollect, Judge Cline, but that sounds to me——

Mr. CLINE. I mean, without reference to the list, whether when the subcommittee was finally appointed——

Mr. EMERY. You mean this particular committee——

Mr. CLINE. Yes.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Whether it did happen to be just the men that were designated?

Mr. EMERY. To the best of my recollection that particular subcommittee was in existence a long time before that. That is my best recollection of it.

Mr. CLINE. Well, if it was not, then when they were appointed they happened to be this selection that was said to have been made by Mulhall?

Mr. EMERY. If that be true; but I think the record will disclose, and I am sure the history of it is, that that was appointed long before this interview.

Mr. CLINE. Probably they were; I do not know what the facts are about that. I just asked the question to see whether you had ever determined that fact.

Mr. EMERY. No; I never had discussed those or other names on the committee in connection with it. I knew Mr. Vreeland personally. He is the only one on that committee that I knew at that time or knew afterwards, but my acquaintance with Mr. Vreeland was slight.

The CHAIRMAN. The only one on that subcommittee?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. But you did know their attitude on these propositions?

Mr. EMERY. No; I did not, Judge Cline. I could not be sure now whether I knew Mr. Vreeland's attitude at that time or not. I knew that Mr. Vreeland had opposed the eight-hour bill in 1908, if I remember right. The views that he expressed in the course of the hearings of the committee led me to believe he was opposed to it. As to the other members of the committee, I did not know any of them.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you know the attitude of Mr. Madison, of Kansas, as to the bill in which you were interested?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you ever have any conference or discussion with Mr. Mulhall or others about the make-up of the Judiciary Committee of the House, or the designation of the chairman of that committee?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or of any subcommittee?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; there was testimony from Mr. Mulhall, I know, to the effect that he had discussed with me the appointment or candidacy of Mr. George Maltby to the chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee in 1908. I heard him testify to that. I know I did not discuss such a matter with him, and it must be very obvious to you gentlemen that Mr. Maltby, a new Member of Congress——

Mr. WILLIS. Was not Mr. Maltby, as a matter of fact, appointed chairman of that committee?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, no; Mr. Parker, of New Jersey, was appointed chairman. Mr. Maltby was eighth or ninth on the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. He was appointed chairman of some subcommittee, I believe.

Mr. EMERY. No; the chairman of the subcommittee which had charge of those bills was Mr. Tyrrell, of Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. My recollection is that Mr. Maltby was appointed chairman of some subcommittee.

Mr. EMERY. Possibly; but Mr. Tyrrell was chairman of the subcommittee before which we afterwards argued some one of these measures.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you have stated that you knew of no other districts in which either of the organizations had participated in campaigns, that you had stated all you knew of those—the Hughes district, the Jenkins district, and the Buchanan district.

Mr. EMERY. Those stand out more definitely in my memory.

The CHAIRMAN. And you mentioned the Gardner district?

Mr. EMERY. I do not recall any other districts particularly now. There may have been others that do not come into my memory at this moment.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the Fairchild district? Have you any recollection about that?

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not know of any specific activity in the Fairchild district.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recollect Col. Mulhall's going there at any time under instructions from you or from the organization?

Mr. EMERY. I would not say he did not, Mr. Garrett, but I do not know whether he did or not.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you if you recalled whether he did.

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think he did testify that he did go there in 1910.

Mr. EMERY. Of course, I was not here in 1910 during the campaign at all. I was not in this country for six months.

Mr. STAFFORD. When did you return after being abroad that time?

Mr. EMERY. The 1st of December.

Mr. WILLIS. In this New York World article of Sunday, June 29, the following language occurs relative to Mr. Fairchild:

Congressman George W. Fairchild, of New York, an active member of the National Association of Manufacturers, is a very large and wealthy manufacturer himself, and one of the most active adherents of the National Association of Manufacturers—

Incidentally, let me inquire there, do you know whether Mr. Fairchild was or is a member of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know about it; that is, of my own knowledge. I asked some of the officers of the association, who tell me he is not a member. Whether he ever has been I do not know.

Mr. WILLIS. I continue the reading of this—

frequently told me of these political meetings and dinners held in Emery's home. Mr. Fairchild stated at his last interview with me on the subject late in 1912, that he thought it was an honor to sit down with some of the leading manufacturers of the country at those meals, etc.

Has Mr. Fairchild been entertained frequently at your home, Mr. Emery?

Mr. EMERY. Never.

Mr. WILLIS. Has he been entertained by you frequently elsewhere than at your home?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Has he ever been entertained by you at all in company with leading manufacturers anywhere?

Mr. EMERY. Yes. Mr. Fairchild was a guest at a dinner I gave here in 1911, I think it was—a purely private and social dinner. It was given to former Assistant Attorney General Oscar Lawler and Mr. Fredericks, the prosecutor in the McNamara case, who was a friend of Mr. Lawler's and was here in Washington. I gave a dinner at that time, and there were 10 or 15 guests, and Mr. Fairchild was one of them as a friend of Mr. Lawler's.

Mr. WILLIS. You state that Mr. Fairchild was never entertained at dinner at your home?

Mr. EMERY. Never.

Mr. WILLIS. Never at your home at all?

Mr. EMERY. He has never been in my home; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mulhall has testified, I think, that he ascertained pretty soon after he came here that one of your principal functions was that of an entertainer.

Mr. EMERY. So it seems.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been a good deal said in the papers about entertaining being one of the forms of exerting improper influence.

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the facts about your entertaining Members of Congress, Mr. Emery?

Mr. EMERY. I could not begin to say, Mr. Chairman. Perhaps four or five times in the last three or four years Members of Congress who were personal acquaintances or who were friends of friends of mine who were visiting Washington have been guests at a small dinner, maybe three or four or five persons, of a purely social nature. They have been utterly disconnected—had no political aspect apart from the fact that the participants in them were public men.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I want to ask you what you know about McMichael.

Mr. EMERY. In 1909—I think, in December, 1909—I had some complaint against Mulhall because of his failure to supply me with bills and documents promptly. He was away a great deal. I do not recollect exactly the circumstances in which it came up, but as a result of my complaint I insisted that some arrangement be made by him by which I would get bills more promptly. It was my custom every morning to pick out the bills in which I was interested in the Congressional Record and secure copies of them. He told me—I do not remember the exact conversation, but he said he could readily arrange that, and afterwards he told me he had made such an arrangement and that it would cost me $15 or $20 a month. That friend turned out to be McMichael. At the time he made the arrangement he did not mention his name to me, and I was not particularly interested in it because of the character of service, but McMichael rang up my office during the several months in which he was engaged there, and got a list of the bills which I wanted from my secretary and sent them down to me. He sent them by mail or sometimes sent them by messenger.

I received these bills in this way and gave Col. Mulhall $15 or $20—I do not remember which—and I do not think the amount was fixed; it was $15 some months and $20 other months which I gave to Mulhall. I do not distinctly recollect exactly when I first saw McMichael. I know when this story first appeared I could not place him, but he spoke to me in the hall in the Senate Office Building, and I was not sure of his identity at that time, at the beginning of this investigation.

Mr. McMichael rendered these services until I went to Europe, and that was the end of our relationship. When I came back I thought that was work that Mr. Mulhall could readily do. I did not see any reason for continuing that employment, and I told the colonel that, and he rather pressed me at that time to continue the employment of McMichael, if I remember rightly, and I refused to do it. That was all I recollected of McMichael, although I remember hearing the colonel speak of him as a friend of his, but only remembered the name after it was brought back to me in the course of his story.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you every pay him as much as $50 a month?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember Col. Mulhall's testimony on that proposition?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That regularly, once a month, somewhere from the 1st to the 5th or 10th, you would draw a check for $100, payable to his order?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he would come down here and cash it——

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I saw his testimony.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). And he would pay McMichael $50 out of that and pay these colored men $30 and $20, respectively?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I heard his testimony on that and that is positively untrue. I never gave Col. Mulhall any such checks for any such period of time. I was not here from July to December of 1910, and, as I understood his testimony here, the payments to McMichael began in January, 1909. I was not in Washington from May until November of 1909.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the payments to these colored boys?

Mr. EMERY. The only payments I have any knowledge of to the colored boys were the two checks—the check for $50, which I gave to Col. Mulhall on the approach of my departure for Europe and requested him to give $25 to Neill and $25 to Harry.

The CHAIRMAN. How came you to do that, Mr. Emery?

Mr. EMERY. Because of the many services both men had rendered to members of our association who were here in 1909 and 1910 in large numbers.

The CHAIRMAN. Just what did they do to merit that much of a tip?

Mr. EMERY. During all that time when our members were here, during hearings on the Payne-Aldrich bill, they had secured many copies of the tariff bills, copies of hearings on special schedules in which the individuals were interested, and had gotten Members of Congress to see them, men whom they wanted to see—had taken their cards in and things of that kind, and, in particular, had found seats in the gallery for them and their families who were down here with them, and every one of our members who came down here was very anxious to meet the Speaker—he was a character who attracted unusual attention—and they frequently called at the Speaker's room and were very courteously received there, and these two colored men had been especially courteous to our members. Col. Mulhall spoke of it to me a number of times, and I had intended to give them the gratuity I did personally, because I wanted to thank them for the courtesy to our members, but I delayed it for one reason or another until I was about to go to Europe. I was on the verge of it, and I gave the money to Mr. Mulhall and requested him to give it to them with my thanks.

The CHAIRMAN. That is Neill, who did those things you just spoke about, to carry them in the galleries and carry in the cards?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And to carry them in the Speaker's anteroom, because Harry Parker had no access to the floor or to the galleries or to the Speaker's room.

Mr. EMERY. I understood he did have access to the floor.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time?

Mr. EMERY. Yes. At that time the committee was located in the old Ways and Means Committee room, with headquarters in the Capitol. They were not in the House Office Building at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, he did not have access to the floor. He might have gotten around to that wire door that opens on

the cloakroom and called to somebody through the cloakroom, but he never had access to the floor. Neill did have.

Mr. EMERY. I assumed he had access to the floor, because the majority of our members down here at that time thought their interests depended on seeing some member of the Ways and Means Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You know of no payments, either by way of gratuity or otherwise, that were ever made to them by your association except that $25 apiece?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; none other, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether they got that or not?

Mr. EMERY. I assumed they did, but I have my very serious doubts at present.

Mr. STAFFORD. Were you not acquainted with the document room?

Mr. EMERY. Sir?

Mr. STAFFORD. Were you not acquainted during that time with the document room of the House, and the accommodations that were furnished to the public generally for obtaining bills on application?

Mr. EMERY. I assume I was, Mr. Stafford, but the members who came down here and went before the Ways and Means Committee were generally very anxious to get information on their own particular schedules.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am not referring to the employment of Neill and Parker, but I am directing your attention to the easy work that was to be performed in obtaining bills. Any messenger boy or office boy could go and apply to the document room for bills and obtain them upon application.

Mr. EMERY. I did not have an office boy, Mr. Stafford, and it was precisely to perform those functions that this young man assisted the colonel—chiefly that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Emery, why was it that Mr. Mulhall did not do his corresponding in your office?

Mr. EMERY. Why, he did during, I think, the first part of the first year, the year I was down here, and my office became overcrowded. I had so much work; there has hardly been a month I have not had to pay as much for outside stenographic work as I do in my own office, and he simply found his elaborate reports could not be written there without interfering with my work, and he did not get along very well with my secretary. I think he was rather impolite and unruly with her, and there was a little friction there, and he rushed out to another office and began writing his reports there, and after that he always disliked to have me see his reports or have them around where I could look at them. He never left any, until I went away, in my office, and I know several times officers of the association desired not to have him write letters or reports to them, but to report to me and then have me report on matters of legislation here. He proved very unruly on the matter and continued to write reports, and I got instructions at one time by which arrangements were made for him to leave a copy of the reports in my office, but he would not do it. That is one of the causes of the friction between he and myself at a later date.

The CHAIRMAN. This much-talked-of report on the sundry civil bill in June, 1910—you remember that testimony about that, don't you, that Mulhall gave, in which he said he got a note from McMichael saying "page 116" or "at the end of page 184," etc.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You used that report, did you?

Mr. EMERY. I don't recollect such an incident, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You were very much interested in that matter at that time?

Mr. EMERY. Yes. My recollection is the papers were full of the fight at that time. I am sure I knew it was on, but I do not recollect getting any information from him on that subject. I remembered hearing—to the best of my recollection I heard in the afternoon—I was either on the floor or in the gallery of the House myself by accident on that day, and I heard from some one of the first motion that was made that led to the fight on that bill. I think there was a very small attendance of the House that afternoon, only 40 or 50 Members happened to be there, and the amendment was tacked on in the vote by a majority of one Member and attracted quite a bit of attention at that time. And from that time the fight went to the Senate, and it grew very warm.

The CHAIRMAN. After you did learn of it, after the fight opened, you remember the real fight came, the real argument came there when the motion to recommit was made—I don't know whether it was the motion to recommit or not.

Mr. EMERY. Yes; it was the motion to recommit.

The CHAIRMAN. That is my recollection. Prior to that time what had you done about that amendment in an effort to get anybody interested in it—against it; that is, I mean any Members of the House?

Mr. EMERY. I think we sent out a large number of telegrams, if I remember, at that time—telegrams and a circular letter and bulletins—just as soon as it passed the House. We called the attention of the members generally through a bulletin to the character of the contest and the principle at issue, and requested them to communicate with their Senators and Members of the House in respect to the matter, and I know a very large number of telegrams and letters came into Members of Congress as a result of the circular which we sent out. I know I met Mr. Dwight, the whip of the House, either once or twice on the matter. I was away and came back here, I recollect, and I think only one vote was taken in the House, it seems to me. That is, when the House instructed the conferees not to recede from the amendment, and the corridors of the Capitol down here were swarming with labor friends who were fighting for the feature at that time, and that is the only time that I can distinctly recollect myself of being in the Capitol and being personally interested in the work to persuade men to vote one way or the other on that subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember the argument that was made by Judge Madison, of Kansas, on that matter?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I remember it very well.

The CHAIRMAN. I remember it very well; I remember reading it, and I am going to ask you this question, and in asking it it is not to be any reflection upon you and it is not to be any reflection upon Judge Madison, because I had a very great affection and a very great respect for Judge Madison. He is one of the best men I ever saw and a magnificent lawyer. Did you have anything to do with his arguing that case over here?

Mr. EMERY. Just this, Mr. Chairman: I went to Judge Madison and discussed this matter with him. I did not know Judge Madison only slightly at that time. I had met him, if I remember rightly, in connection with some hearing before the House Labor Committee, of which he was a member. I did not know him very well, but I knew he had a very high reputation as a lawyer and was a recognized leader in the Progressive element of the House, and I went to Judge Madison and talked to him about the sundry civil bill. I felt very strongly and deeply about it, and I talked with him about the bill itself, and I remember that he sat and listened to me with apparently some interest, very quietly, until I talked with him some little time about its importance and the fundamental principle at issue, and he said to me, "I think you are very right; it is a very serious matter, indeed." I told him that as a judge and a lawyer his views on the floor of the House would, in a circle like this, have a very great effect, and I hoped he would take occasion to discuss it, and I urged him to do so. He said he had been thinking about it, as I remember, and had concluded he would, and he asked me if I had any cases at that time on the matter. I told him I had, some short time before, been arguing one feature of this question and would be very glad to give him a memorandum of the cases that had interested me as a matter of substantive law; and I sent Judge Madison memoranda of these cases which had interested me, and that was the only matter I had to do with Judge Madison's argument. He had evidently been making up his mind to make an argument on that question, and I do not know anything that I said to him that in any way contributed to the opinion he had formed.

The CHAIRMAN. I will tell you very frankly the reason I asked the question. There is a letter in the last confidential print of the Senate, and I think, perhaps, put in evidence in the Senate hearings finally (as I understand, all these letters are in evidence in a way; that is, they have been identified, whether they have been read into the testimony or not), written by you or some one in which you referred to getting or having something to do with Judge Madison making that argument.

Mr. EMERY. I had nothing to do with it more than I have described.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I want to call your attention here—this is from the minutes of the proceedings of the thirteenth annual convention of the N. A. M., held at New York, May 18, 19, and 20, 1908—and what I am about to read is an excerpt from the remarks of a Mr. Dean, in which he said, relative to the president's very able and interesting address, in which he referred to the organization in different States:

> I desire to say it may be true that all of the States are organized in looking after this legislation, the same as this body looks after legislation in the interest of the people in Washington. I do not know as to the conditions in other States. I am a manufacturer in the capital city of Indiana. We have in that city an organization of manufacturers. We call it the manufacturers' association. It meets once a month for the discussion of matters which may come before it. It is also a social organization when we have a dinner. We have in that organization a legislative committee. Our State legislature meets once in two years. We being residents of the capital city, it enables our legislative committee, when the legislature is in session, to know what is going on in that body. We have an active man who is secretary. When the legislature

is in session that man is required to note all bills that are introduced. We used to wait until they were printed. Now we do not wait for that. We require that man to get his hands on a bill if it is of interest to us as soon as it is introduced, and we get copies of that bill, and in that way we are promptly ready to present ourselves before the committee.

We also have an attorney who usually is a man who has been a member of the legislature and knows what the privileges and rules of the legislature are. The members of this legislative committee, as I say, are residents of the capital city. Now, whenever a bill is introduced that is of interest to the manufacturers, our representative, who is usually called a lobbyist, notifies this committee that such a bill has been introduced and should be attended to at once. The word is passed up. It does not make any difference what the members of the legislative committee are doing, they simply drop their business and go to headquarters and the bills are discussed, and if the legislative committee wants to take up the matter we are prepared to go before the legislature and discuss the bills.

That is a very graphic description of a pretty good organization and I wonder if that is paralleled here, something of the same system that he describes there.

Mr. EMERY. You mean with reference to matters in Congress?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; in reference to matters in Congress.

Mr. EMERY. I can very briefly describe to you what our system has been here. I am sure I have not proceeded as far as I have in this discussion without the committee having perceived our strong feelings in certain well-defined principles and legislation which is predicated in opposition to these principles, or the attempt to repeal, as we believe, the judicial decisions in which they have been advocated, as expressed in so-called anti-injunction legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we quite well understand what principles you advocate, but what I want to get now is the methods.

Mr. EMERY. These things, Mr. Chairman, appear in a variety of forms. They do not always appear in one particular form. For instance, in the Judiciary Committee there were 12 or 14 bills relating to anti-injunction legislation, 12 or 13 relating to trial by jury in contempt cases, and 8 or 10 different bills relating to amendments to the Sherman Act, and so on. Now, it has been my practice to receive all these bills and to take the calendar and take out all the bills that particularly relate to these subjects; and all that do relate to these subjects I examine, and they are compiled and filed under a card system, so that each bill is easily referable. From this industrial digest I can get an analysis of each bill, giving the name of the bill, the name of the author, the substance of the bill, and its relation to others and the situation as it seems to apply to the measure before me.

The CHAIRMAN. Since Col. Mulhall retired from the organization whom have you had employed to do the work he was doing in the matter of supplying bills and so on?

Mr. EMERY. We have not had anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. How have you been getting the bills since then?

Mr. EMERY. I get them by application at the document room.

The CHAIRMAN. By going personally and doing it?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir. Since Mr. Nunamaker has been here with me—Mr. Nunamaker has been a great deal with me since Col. Mulhall left. These bills are then compiled and digested and filed, and bulletins or digests are made from those measures, or the very important ones. Of course there are evidently many duplications of bills, and many forms do not receive your consideration. I keep in touch with

the committees so as to ascertain whether the bills are to be considered seriously by the committee or whether there is to be any hearing on them, and whenever hearings are to be held it has been my custom to ask for a hearing and to file a brief. Those bills are digested and distributed among our members, and the association gives a man the relations of the measures themselves to every other similar measure. Those are distributed about once a month, and then at the end of the year, in the annual report, there is the digest in which all these measures are compiled with their relation to each other and to preceding measures, and any such arguments or other matters had on them, and distributed.

The CHAIRMAN. You remember Mr. McMichael spoke here, or Mr. Mulhall, rather, spoke of organizing an information bureau, and Mr. McMichael described to us what that information bureau was. He would take a piece of paper and clip out things and paste on it, and those were sent to you.

Mr. EMERY. I did not participate in the formation of that bureau. I do not know precisely what the form or organization or purpose was. I keep a larger compilation of these measures on account of the frequent inquiries from our members and from associations with respect to the forms of industrial legislation, in the formation of opposition in which we take no direct interest, and frequently undertake to collect for them all information relating, for instance, to patents, the patent bill, amendments to the pure-food law, and things of that kind, amendments of the eight-hour law, and decisions of the departments in respect to the eight-hour law, and those are compiled, with the opinions of the Department of Justice on them, so that information can be obtained readily on application; and we have found a number of inquiries on those matters, also, as to the form of contracts. And so, in a sense, I want to say our bureau of information is a bureau in which we undertake to supply an answer to a question on almost any business a man can ask in respect to legislation in which he, on account of relations with the Government, may have an interest, or on account of relations with the various departments with which he does business.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I suppose you do not have the system by which you get bills before they are printed?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir. I did not know they were obtainable.

The CHAIRMAN. The question I asked a few moments ago after reading this was whether you had the organization they had out there.

Mr. EMERY. I think, in justice to the gentleman who made that remark, it should be said that a great many of the State legislatures do not print all the bills they have. I do not know what the condition is in your State, Judge Cline.

Mr. CLINE. They print the bills in Indianapolis.

Mr. EMERY. I supposed they print a limited number.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not ask you whether or not this information bureau that McMichael and Mulhall organized did furnish you with any information. You said you had nothing to do with the organization of the bureau, but after it was organized by them did they send those slips up to you?

Mr. EMERY. No; I never saw anything of that kind. Mulhall supplied me with bills while he was here.

Mr. FERRIS. Did or did not certain Members of Congress belong to the National Association of Manufacturers or the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir. I do not know of a Member of Congress, unless it is Mr. Fairchild, who is a member of the National Association of Manufacturers or the National Council for Industrial Defense.

Mr. FERRIS. While I have not the testimony before me, it is in evidence here that there were some Members of Congress who were members of those organizations, one or both.

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not think so.

Mr. FERRIS. You do not think that is a fact?

Mr. EMERY. I do not think so.

Mr. FERRIS. It appears either in the list or the testimony. I wanted to ask you for the fact; is it true or is it not true?

Mr. EMERY. I tell you I do not know of a single Member, except Mr. Fairchild, and I do not know certainly about him. The statement was made that he was a member of the National Association of Manufacturers, but I do not know whether he is or not. Even if he should be, I don't believe there is anything that reflects upon him for being such.

Mr. FERRIS. I do not mean it that way at all. Have there been Members of Congress who were members of either of these organizations at any time in the past, other than Mr. Fairchild?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know. This question arose some little time ago, as to whether Mr. Redfield was in any way connected with our association, because I understand he was a director of the American Blower Co., and I think the American Blower Co. was a member of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. KIRBY. It is.

Mr. FERRIS. Has not a list of the members been furnished to the committee?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; it is in the committee's possession.

Mr. FERRIS. Does that book contain the names and post-office addresses of all the members in both organizations?

Mr. EMERY. No; of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. FERRIS. Who has the list of the members of the National Council for Defense?

Mr. EMERY. I thought we had that here.

Mr. MACINTYRE. That is already in the Senate evidence, as I understand it.

Mr. FERRIS. Who has that?

Mr. EMERY. The Senate committee had all the original membership.

Mr. FERRIS. In both organizations?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. That did not go into the printed record, as I understand it?

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not think it did. The list of the members of the National Council for Industrial Defense has been filed with the House Labor Committee twice, to my knowledge, and with the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and I think with the Senate Judiciary Committee, and we can, perhaps, get a printed list from either one of those.

Mr. KIRBY. May I remind Mr. Emery that the complete list of the members of the council was affixed to the brief which Mr. Emery filed with the President, and I think that is in the evidence of the Senate.

Mr. FERRIS. You have duplicates——

Mr. EMERY (interposing). Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS (continuing). In your office? You must have lists of the members of both organizations?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir. It is a card index, and the loose-leaf system is rather hard to carry around, and we supplied all of the cards to the Senate committee, but they did not print them.

Mr. FERRIS. You would not have any objection to causing a list to be furnished to us?

Mr. EMERY. No; not the slightest objection. I thought we had furnished it to you. I could give it to you right here.

Mr. FERRIS. I wanted to know if that had been printed. In your entire association with this organization you did not know of any one Member of Congress, except Mr. Fairchild, and you are not sure about him, belonging to either of the organizations?

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not know of one. There might be Members of Congress who, however, may be connected with some corporation as a director or otherwise which itself is a member of the National Association of Manufacturers, but I do not know it.

Mr. FERRIS. Was Vice President Sherman a member of it?

Mr. EMERY. Of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. FERRIS. Yes.

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. Never, at any time?

Mr. EMERY. Never, to my knowledge.

Mr. FERRIS. Did any of the corporations with which he was connected belong to the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. I understood he was a banker.

Mr. FERRIS. Well, he was connected with several trust companies, too.

Mr. EMERY. I do not believe we have any banks in our membership.

Mr. FERRIS. He had some manufacturing interests, I am sure.

Mr. EMERY. That may be. There are about 232,000 manufacturers in the United States, and there are only 4,000 of them in our membership. I mean there are that many manufacturers in the United States in all grades of manufacturing.

Mr. FERRIS. Let me inquire a little about this McDermott business. Has that been gone into?

Mr. EMERY. I believe not.

Mr. FERRIS. You knew Representative McDermott, did you not?

Mr. EMERY. I saw him for the first time in this room a few days ago.

Mr. FERRIS. You heard the testimony with reference to the various transactions which McDermott and McMichael had with Mulhall?

Mr. EMERY. I heard or read of it.

Mr. FERRIS. Do you know anything about those transactions?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know. I have heard Mulhall mention the name of McDermott, but I have no knowledge of any specific rela-

tions of his with McDermott. I did not know Mr. McDermott personally and never saw the man until I saw him here with Mr. Easby-Smith on the first morning in which we appeared before this committee.

Mr. FERRIS. Did Mr. Mulhall ever advise you he was giving a monthly stipend to McMichael or McDermott or to these two colored men?

Mr. EMERY. He did, as far as McMichael is concerned, from somewhere around December in 1909 until I went to Europe.

Mr. FERRIS. Your statement in response to the chairman's question a while ago was that the only specific sum you ever gave to the colored men was the $50 you gave them upon your going to Europe?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. FERRIS. If Mulhall paid them a monthly salary that was independent of you and without your knowledge?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; absolutely.

Mr. FERRIS. Could any other officer of the association have done that, furnished money to him for that purpose?

Mr. EMERY. I do not think so.

Mr. FERRIS. Did he get all of his money from you?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; he did not.

Mr. FERRIS. Whom did he get it from?

Mr. EMERY. He was paid from the New York office.

Mr. FERRIS. Might he not have been given the money for these two colored boys and for McMichael without your knowledge?

Mr. EMERY. It is possible, but I could not conceive that such a thing would be done without my knowledge.

Mr. FERRIS. The financial part was audited through Mr. Bird and through the president?

Mr. EMERY. All of Mulhall's expenses and salary came through that source, except this particular sum I mentioned, in the McMichael matter.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you ever have any supervision over his contingent expense account?

Mr. EMERY. Not the slightest.

Mr. FERRIS. He might have filed as a part of his reports a certain sum for those boys and for McMichael?

Mr. EMERY. He did on several occasions, according to his expense accounts.

Mr. FERRIS. So it might be true, independent of your own personal knowledge about it, that these colored boys might have been paid, and McMichael likewise; is that not so?

Mr. EMERY. If he had carried it in some way on his accounts. There is nothing on his accounts, as far as I have examined them, and I am testifying from the examination of the accounts I made. I noticed the accounts in the record for the months of October and November and December of 1911 in reference to McMichael, and I notice two accounts with reference to the colored men, in which I think the amounts are either $5 or $10 in each case, and in those cases he had stated that he paid it by my instruction or direction, but I have not the slightest recollection of ever having given such instructions.

Mr. FERRIS. You were the sole man in charge of this end of the work all the time?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. And you were in charge during all the time, during these periods when Mulhall alleged to have paid them this money?

Mr. EMERY. Well, with respect to Mulhall, he reported—up to 1909, while he was nominally in my charge, he reported directly to the St. Louis office constantly, and he did a great many things by their direction and suggestion that I did not know anything about, matters of information that he was to collect, and things of that kind, and when he left Washington he was entirely in their charge. He was substantially under my charge when he was in Washington, and was up to May or June, 1910, at which time he went under the charge of Mr. Bird.

Mr. FERRIS. Were you ever consulted by Mr. Schwedtman or Mr. Van Cleave from the St. Louis office, or by Mr. Bird from the New York office, with reference to the employment of these two colored boys?

Mr. EMERY. Never.

Mr. FERRIS. Or of McMichael?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. You never had any conversation or conferences, or gave any instructions to them about these matters at all?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. If McMichael was ever a regular, paid employee at $50 a month, you know nothing about it, then?

Mr. EMERY. The only period of which I have any knowledge is the period between December, 1909, and June or July, 1910.

Mr. FERRIS. How much was he paid during that time?

Mr. EMERY. By me?

Mr. FERRIS. Yes.

Mr. EMERY. I did not pay him directly, but I gave Mulhall fifteen or twenty dollars a month, and it varied in amounts.

Mr. FERRIS. Any more than that, do you think?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I am positive of that.

Mr. FERRIS. Did he get any money from Mr. Bird in the New York office?

Mr. EMERY. I have no knowledge of it.

Mr. FERRIS. There are some accounts that show he carried some items for these boys or for McMichael?

Mr. EMERY. There are just one or two.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you have any conversation with Mulhall with reference to McDermott getting a part of this money?

Mr. EMERY. No; I have never had any conversation with Mulhall about McDermott, and I do not remember anything beyond the mentioning of his name.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you have any conversation with McDermott or McMichael as to what McDermott's attitude was?

Mr. EMERY. I never had any conversation with McDermott.

Mr. FERRIS. You never talked to him at all?

Mr. EMERY. Never.

Mr. FERRIS. You did have conferences with Mulhall about different Members at that time?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; from time to time.

Mr. FERRIS. He did talk about McDermott?

Mr. EMERY. No; I never remember the name of McDermott, except in some passing way.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you know of these nightly escapades with McMichael and McDermott that went on constantly, for a year or two, as appears in some of the testimony?

Mr. EMERY. I never heard of them.

Mr. FERRIS. You heard Mulhall tell how they were getting money out of him, and he was spending large sums to control them. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I never heard of it until I heard it here.

Mr. FERRIS. Did Mulhall, in giving his accounts, or in conferences with you, say anything about McDermott at all?

Mr. EMERY. No; his accounts never came near me.

Mr. FERRIS. Then you might not know about these things?

Mr. EMERY. No; his accounts never came near me. Of course, I heard him refer to McMichael, because we had employed McMichael in some capacity or other, but I do not recall anything until the time of his separation from the association, and some time in the early part of January, 1912, he came to my office several times, asked me to intercede for his employment, and one of these occasions he told me—I can not remember more than the substance of it—that he and McMichael were going to open a detective bureau here in Washington. That was along in the spring of 1912.

Mr. FERRIS. Mulhall did come up during the time and appear at your office, and was working in harmony with you, and he would make reports about conversations he had with Members?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you rely on those reports he made?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, and no.

Mr. FERRIS. When did you really change, and when did you cease to rely on them?

Mr. EMERY. I relied on them generally, except that I allowed him a certain amount of fringe.

Mr. FERRIS. You thought he mingled some truth with an inflated statement of what actually occurred. Did you doubt any of them?

Mr. EMERY. In the latter days I was inclined to think the colonel suffered from a form of meglomana. He overexaggerated his part in anything he did.

Mr. FERRIS. You mean that you held him in higher regard earlier during the period when you knew him; from the tenor of your letters I should say that was true.

Mr. EMERY. I did not hold him socially in that regard.

Mr. FERRIS. I know, but so far as his line of work was concerned, you must have relied on him at that time.

Mr. EMERY. Until 1910 I never had any doubt of the man's complete honesty.

Mr. FERRIS. He had come to you well recommended from the St. Louis office?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. And you had relied on him until about 1910, you say?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; the latter part of 1910. I would not say I lost reliance in him, but he was so difficult to control and so unreliable in the matter of getting him to do the things you wanted to be sure he would do. He was not worth the effort. He annoyed and

bothered me, and the man apparently regarded me as a competitor of his in some respects, because I was here in charge of this province, and after May of 1910, when I had a very considerable friction with him and finally suspended him, while I would not say I lost confidence in him, because I did not suspect him of dishonesty, I merely thought he was very loose-tongued.

Mr. FERRIS. When you began to grow weak kneed on him, did you attempt to corroborate any of these reports, on conferences which he gave you?

Mr. EMERY. I did not doubt his reports. I did not suppose he was deceiving me, because the reports he gave me were rather——

Mr. FERRIS (interposing). Did you cause him to make a poll of the House Members with reference to the tariff commission proposition?

Mr. EMERY. No; I had nothing to do with that.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you see that poll?

Mr. EMERY. No; I did not.

Mr. FERRIS. You have seen it printed, and remember that it alleges that certain Members were in favor of or against it?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you know how he had me recorded there? I do not want to inject anything personal into this testimony, but this is to show that he was not accurate. He has me recorded there as being among those whom he had interviewed, and as being in favor of a tariff commission. I have always been opposed to a tariff commission, and I never saw Mulhall until this hearing began, and I am wondering if the rest of the reports were as inaccurate as that.

Mr. EMERY. I never saw that poll.

Mr. FERRIS. You saw it printed, a great list, nearly a mile long?

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Schwedtman, as secretary to Mr. Van Cleave, gave him the instructions for that work. That was entirely out of my province.

Mr. FERRIS. When you were sending him here to get information about the views of certain Members, did you swallow everything he told you?

Mr. EMERY. When he did that for me, he went on some specific errand that did not cover that particular feature. I might send him here to ascertain whether such a bill was to be considered by this or that committee, to find out whether hearings were to be had on it, and to find out whether the chairman would permit hearings, or things of that kind. As a rule he had to find out whether that bill was to be argued, and he would tell me what the clerk of the committee said about it. I would also send him to the departments for specific information.

Mr. FERRIS. You do not know whether the clerk said what he said or not?

Mr. EMERY. No; I only knew if the hearing was to be had——

Mr. FERRIS. You did not know whether he even saw the clerk?

Mr. EMERY. No; except in so far as he told me. In matters of that kind, of course, if it had been two and three times when something had happened, and the bill had been reported up, and if I wanted to argue it I would not have had a chance, I would have suspected the source of his information.

Mr. FERRIS. You heard McMichael and Mulhall both, at great length, tell about this $50 salary he was getting. Is it or is it not possible that could have been going on independent of your knowledge?

Mr. EMERY. I think it is quite possible that Mulhall would have paid it himself.

Mr. FERRIS. That is rather improbable?

Mr. EMERY. No; because Mr. McMichael did his work for him.

Mr. FERRIS. Mulhall was not paying money out of his own pocket for that?

Mr. EMERY. But Mulhall was evidently in possession of such amounts that he could have paid McMichael.

Mr. FERRIS. Would not that have been a very unreasonable assumption?

Mr. EMERY. I do not think he took it from his own salary.

Mr. FERRIS. He had an expense account at that time?

Mr. EMERY. In these accounts over here he had some money paid to political workers, and some of the political workers he had named have denied the receipt of such money. This man Sweeny, whom, I observe, is down in these accounts as receiving $80 a month, denies the receipt of the money, and was cleared by his local labor counsel after a trial, so the papers state.

Mr. FERRIS. Has anybody else found out from any outside source in any way whether or not this money was actually paid to these parties, to these colored boys and McMichael?

Mr. EMERY. No; I have never seen these colored boys since this matter began. I was very anxious to question them in regard to the matter, but since I supposed they were prospective witnesses I did not communicate with them.

Mr. CLINE. I want to ask you one question about the colored boys, so as we will not have to fix that up any more. Did you ever have any talk with Mulhall about these two colored men?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I remember having some talk about them before I sent him that check.

Mr. CLINE. About their employment?

Mr. EMERY. No; about the services they had performed for members of the association and for him. They had performed a good many courtesies, at my request, and some of them at his. He told me of the various services that they had done for him and how they could get Members on the floor for some of our visiting members who wanted to see the members of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. CLINE. Had they been paid any money before you paid them the $25?

Mr. EMERY. Not that I know of.

Mr. CLINE. Do you remember your report on that; what you wrote about the $25; the language you used?

Mr. EMERY. No; the only thing I can remember about that was that I had gone up to the Capitol and had been up here and had intended to pay them personally. I wanted to thank them personally for their courtesy.

Mr. CLINE. In your letter of July 11, 1910, a letter which you wrote to Col. Mulhall discussing other matters, you inject this statement into that letter:

I left Washington on a hurried western trip that took me as far west as Chicago and St. Paul, and did not get back into Washington until the 7th. I

found neither Neal nor Harry at the Capitol, but I know you will be able to locate them, so inclose herewith my check for $50, from which you can give them $25 each.

Do you not think that language, fairly construed, would lead one to understand that Mulhall was in possession of certain information with reference to the payment of money to those parties that he and you understood about?

Mr. EMERY. I can not tell how you would construe that. I can only tell you out of my own knowledge of the fact. The fact was I had been away on a western trip and was sailing for Europe.

Mr. CLINE. I am not talking about that at all, but I am asking if that would seem to be the construction to be put upon it by a party who knew nothing about the circumstances? Would not the reading of the language give you to understand that there was some understanding between the party you were sending this check to and yourself with reference to the employment of these parties that was not disclosed in this paragraph?

Mr. EMERY. I think the colonel knew very well that part of it. He had spoken to these men. He knew I had intended to give them the gratuity.

Mr. CLINE. Did he know the amount?

Mr. EMERY. I do not think he did.

Mr. CLINE. Had you talked to him about it?

Mr. EMERY. I do not think so. I might have done so or I might not.

Mr. CLINE. They had gotten some bills?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; and during a period of six or eight months they had performed a number of courtesies.

Mr. CLINE. You say that since Col. Mulhall quit Mr. Nunamaker has been getting the bills for you?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Does he get them regularly for you?

Mr. EMERY. No; he did get them regularly.

Mr. CLINE. He went to the document room to get them?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Did he have any particular party there who prepared them for him?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know whether he did or not; I do not think so. He could not do that very well, because we do not get all the bills.

Mr. CLINE. You get the bills you are interested in?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Did you ever pay anything for getting those?

Mr. EMERY. I do not think so.

Mr. CLINE. Do you remember definitely?

Mr. EMERY. No; Mr. Nunamaker——

Mr. CLINE (interposing). Did you have anybody in the document room, not employed, but to whom you occasionally gave some money for getting those matters?

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Nunamaker would know more about that.

Mr. CLINE. Do you know whether there has ever been any money paid in that way?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. CLINE. You say that—can you tell the committee who would know whether Mr. Fairchild had ever been a member of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; the record ought to show.

Mr. CLINE. The record might not show, as I understand; he might have been a member several years ago.

Mr. EMERY. The record would not show that he personally had ever been a member, but some corporation or firm of which he was a director may have been a member, and that would show.

Mr. CLINE. That is the proposition. That is the question involved here, as to whether he himself was a member of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Do you remember the Fox Hall campaign against Hughes?

Mr. EMERY. McClave, do you mean?

Mr. CLINE. The McClave campaign.

Mr. EMERY. The McClave campaign in 1910?

Mr. CLINE. Fox Hall was a candidate against Hughes?

Mr. EMERY. I guess that is at an earlier period; in 1908.

Mr. CLINE. No. I do not have the letter before me, but it was a case in which the association participated. Not the council, but the association; do you recall it now?

Mr. EMERY. If that is the campaign of 1908, I did not recollect the opposition candidate's name. I remember McClave in 1910. I do not remember the name of the opposition candidate prior to that time.

Mr. CLINE. Frequently you sent the colonel into districts to make some canvass for a candidate or system, where the association was not taking any particular part in it otherwise than to pay his salary and expenses?

Mr. EMERY. I do not think I sent him personally into any district. His field work was always under the direction of either the St. Louis or the New York office.

Mr. CLINE. You understand what I mean?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; I understand.

Mr. CLINE. I mean to say, you sent him into districts where the association did not make an active fight. For instance, he was sent to assist Senator Aldrich, according to your former testimony here, in Rhode Island.

Mr. EMERY. Yes; he went into Senator Aldrich's State.

Mr. CLINE. As I understand, those were not included where you had made a contest?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, no. The colonel's former connection with the national Republican committee and some of the relations he had formerly had led him sometimes to do acts of that kind for men he had been related to in that way.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY F. TAFF.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please state your full name?

Mr. TAFF. Henry F. Taff.

The CHAIRMAN. Your business?

Mr. TAFF. Manager of the Washington office of the Western Union Telegraph Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Taff, as manager of the Washington office of the Western Union Telegraph Co. do you have the custody of tele-

grams that are sent or copies of the telegrams sent from this office and also copies of telegrams received at this office?

Mr. TAFF. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish to inquire whether along about the last of June a telegram was received at your office addressed to I. H. McMichael, I think, perhaps, coming from the New York World? May I just see that subpœna a moment?

(The subpœna referred to was handed to the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN (after examining subpœna). I will ask you to state if there was a telegram received here at your office addressed to I. H. McMichael, care of Superintendent of House Office Building, or 607 Fourth Street NW., sent by Mr. Mulhall from New York under date of June 30, 1913.

Mr. TAFF. The record shows there was.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you to state if you have a copy of that telegram in your possession now.

Mr. TAFF. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you file that with the committee, please?

Mr. TAFF. The rules of the telegraph company provide that in all cases where messages are subpœnaed on behalf of other than the sender or addressee that the manager shall take the message into court or before the committee or tribunal and shall submit that he ought not to produce it or testify concerning it unless a rule or order be entered requiring it, for the reason that telegrams are of a confidential nature and are claimed to be privileged. I would therefore submit that message to the chairman for a ruling.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will rule that it is perfectly proper for you to produce that telegram.

Mr. TAFF. In accordance with that ruling I produce this copy of the telegram referred to [handing copy of telegram to the chairman].

The CHAIRMAN (examining copy of telegram). Is this a copy of the telegram referred to?

Mr. TAFF. That is the office copy of the original message received and delivered in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. This reads as follows:

[Copy of telegram.]

844. Washington, D. C.
F4NYPA. 42. RXX. 8 Ex.
WO. NEW YORK, *June 30, 1913.*

I. H. MCMICHAEL,
Care Superintendent House Office Building (or 607 Fourth Street NW.):

I have seen parties here that I was talking to you about. They have instructed me to telegraph you to come right over here at their expense. Wire answer to me at Hotel McAlpin.

MULHALL.

5.50 p. m.

You desire that copy returned to you?

Mr. TAFF. If it is desired to have a copy made, I will leave it with the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be returned to you as soon as a copy is made.

(Thereupon, at 10.30 o'clock p. m., the committee stood adjourned to meet to-morrow, Wednesday, September 10, 1913, at 9 o'clock a. m.)

SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBY INVESTIGATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, September 10, 1913.

The committee assembled at 9.15 a. m., Hon. Finis J. Garrett (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Cline, Russell, Ferris, Willis, Stafford, and MacDonald.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES A. EMERY—Continued.

Mr. EMERY. I should like to call the committee's attention, if it is ready to proceed, to one matter. I was interrogated yesterday with respect to the membership of the National Association of Manufacturers; that is, the individuals or firms that were also members of these various associations which attended the preliminary meetings or conferences out of which the council grew in 1907 and 1908. The members of the committee and the chairman, I think, particularly, showed a desire to learn what relation there was, if any, between the joint membership of these associations. I caused an investigation to be made, and according to the best information we can obtain, two of the largest organizations which attended the conference were the United Typothetæ of America, which was the national organization of employing printers, and the National Lithographers' Association, which comprised in its membership about 3,800 firms engaged in lithography and printing. Of the total membership of approximately 3,000 firms or business houses, members of the United Typothetæ, there was but one member of the National Association of Manufacturers, and I do not know of any members of the lithographic trade at the time those meetings were called.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with that I call your attention for a moment to this statement in the World article, concerning which Mr. Mulhall was questioned pretty closely by Mr. McCarter, in which he said:

> In addition to the revenues collected from the National Council for Industrial Defense and the $50 a year they got from the members of the National Association of Manufacturers, this organization, to my certain knowledge, has collected moneys from every trust in the United States, not exempting the Standard Oil, the Steel Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Wire Trust, the Tobacco Trust, the Railroad Trust, and the Banking Trust.

From the questioning of Mr. McCarter I took it that it would be insisted that these trusts were members of the organization. I

want to ask you, if, as a matter of fact, some of them are not members; for instance, the Standard Oil Co.; is not that a member?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It was, was it not, in 1910?

Mr. EMERY. I have always been informed not. You mean a member of the National Association of Manufacturers?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. EMERY. If it is in the record there; if you will tell me——

The CHAIRMAN. It is given here in this American Trade Index. The Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey was the parent company, was it not?

Mr. MACINTYRE. That was the parent company.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, since that time that has been dissolved. It gives here the Standard Oil Co., 26 Broadway, New York.

Mr. MACINTYRE. Those people have nothing to do with the council.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand, but they are members of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. MACINTYRE. If they are given there at that time they undoubtedly were.

The CHAIRMAN. But they are not members of the council?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir. As a member of the National Association of Manufacturers, if it is one, Mr. Chairman, it would pay $50 a year like any other member. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. With respect to the Sugar Trust, the American Sugar Refining Co. is not listed here as a member.

Mr. WILLIS. Is the Federal listed?

The CHAIRMAN. It gives the Amalgamated Sugar Co., of Ogden, Utah. That is a beet-sugar concern?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Which the American Sugar Refining Co. and the Havemeyers together own, or did own, unless they have reduced their holdings 50 per cent—or do you happen to know how that is?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know anything about that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, or was, a fact.

Mr. EMERY. I do not know whether it is now or not, but I know it was a few years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the Leon Godchaux Co. (Ltd.), of New Orleans, is a cane-growing company, I presume. You do not happen to know how that is?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The W. J. McCahan Sugar Refining Co., of Philadelphia, Pa., I understand to be a subsidiary of the American Sugar Refining Co.

Mr. EMERY. I do not know, sir. There are a great number of corporations and firms given there, members of the National Association of Manufacturers, and we know nothing about their affiliations or relations in what would popularly be termed a trust.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is the Warner Sugar Refining Co., the National, and the Western Sugar Refining Co.

Mr. MACINTYRE. The Warner Co., over at Hoboken, is independent.

The CHAIRMAN. The National and the Western are members of the American Sugar Refining Co.

Mr. MACINTYRE. Of course, there are a great many of those firms that take advantage of that index on account of its wide distribution.

The CHAIRMAN. Reference was made to the wire people. There are all sorts of wire manufacturers listed here. The American Steel & Wire Co., of New York, is listed, and a very large number of others. I do not know just what the relations of these various firms are, but they are in a way subsidiaries of the United States Steel Corporation, are they not?

Mr. MACINTYRE. Undoubtedly; but I think what he had in mind was the Roebling concern.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not find that listed here; I have not looked for it especially.

He referred to the Tobacco Trust. I am not sufficiently familiar with the subsidiaries of what was the American Tobacco Co. to know whether any of those listed here are or were members of that or not. The company itself is not listed here.

Mr. EMERY. I suggest to the chair, with all due respect, that if there were read into the record the names of members of the association who are members of alleged trusts, there ought also to be read into the record the various independent organizations that are also members, because if it were intended to intimate that there was any control or improper influence exerted by any particular combination that incurs the popular displeasure or popular criticism, then the balancing membership ought also to appear.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no objection to that. The only reason I was asking these questions was——

Mr. EMERY. I should like to call the attention of the chairman to the board of directors of the National Association of Manufacturers, since it is a subject of inquiry. If I may read the board of directors and the names of the companies which they control, I think you will recognize at once that they are all what might be termed middle-class manufacturers. Here is the board of directors at present, and I will call them to the attention of the chairman if you will permit me:

President, George Pope, Pope Manufacturing Co., Hartford, Conn.; Treasurer, Alonzo B. See, A. B. See Electric Elevator Co., New York, N. Y.; J. G. Battelle, Columbus Iron & Steel Co., Columbus, Ohio; C. S. Brantingham, Emerson-Brantingham Co., Rockford, Ill.; H. S. Chamberlain, Roane Iron Co., Chattanooga, Tenn.; Howell Cheney, Cheney Bros. (Inc.), South Manchester, Conn.; Alfred E. Cox, Altantic Works, East Boston, Mass.; F. B. Farnsworth, Eastern Machinery Co., New Haven, Conn.; A. B. Farquhar, A. B. Farquhar Co., New Haven, Conn.; Isaac W. Frank, United Engineering & Foundry Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.; John Kirby, jr., Dayton Manufacturing Co., Dayton, Ohio; Stephen C. Mason, McConway & Torley Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.; Constant Meese, Meese & Gottfried Co., San Francisco, Cal.; C. Edwin Michael, Virginia Bridge & Iron Co., Roanoke, Va.; H. E. Miles, Racine-Sattley Co., Racine, Wis.; Ludwig Nissen, Ludwig Nissen & Co., New York, N. Y.; David M. Parry, Indianapolis, Ind.; Enos Paullin, Ferracute Machine Co., Bridgeton, N. J.; F. C. Schwedtman, St. Louis, Mo.; George D. Selby, Selby Shoe Co., Portsmouth, Ohio; E. C. Spear, Cheney Bigelow Wire Works, Springfield, Mass.; Albert J. Thornley, Narragansett Machine Co., Providence, R. I.; and John Trix, American Injector Co., Detroit, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Emery, did your organization take any interest in the corporation-tax proposition?

Mr. EMERY. When you say that, Mr. Chairman, are you speaking of the National Association of Manufacturers or the council?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, both or either.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; to this extent, if I remember: After the passage of the corporation tax, you remember, there were a great number of inquiries as to the privacy of returns made by corporations in respect to the tax, and the question arose here as to whether or not these tax returns were records in the sense that anyone had access to them. A great number of manufacturers in different parts of the country were very much concerned about the privacy of these returns, and there was a meeting held here in the city of Washington of manufacturers, which I attended. Some were members of the council and others were not, but I did not attend it really in the interests of the council; it was on account of four or five of the council associations, particularly the National Association of Manufacturers. At that conference it was agreed to make representations to the Secretary of the Treasury in regard to it, inasmuch as it was alleged that the Commissioner of Internal Revenue had turned over to someone the returns from the corporation tax, and in that way the privacy which they believed to be assured by the law had been violated.

I called afterwards with Mr. Kirby upon Secretary of the Treasury MacVeagh, and discussed this matter with him. My recollection is that Secretary MacVeagh said that so far as he was concerned those returns were under the law absolutely private, and that the one or two instances in which they had been violated had been unintentional or through a misunderstanding of orders or directions. The Secretary of the Treasury expressed himself very strongly on that subject, and also told us he had recommended, or would recommend—I do not know which it was now—to the President that the privacy of these returns be assured by proper regulations, either through an Executive order or through an order of the Department of the Treasury. My recollection is that was made. That is the statement I remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a letter along that line; I did not read it until just this moment. It is E 1681–1682 in this confidential print No. 7:

FEBRUARY 4, 1910.

Mr. J. P. BIRD,
Business Manager National Association of Manufacturers, New York.

MY DEAR MR. BIRD: Mr. Nevin has doubtless kept you fully informed of the developments here up to the time of his departure in the work of the committee on the ground from Chicago with reference to the corporation income tax. Mr. Nevin doubtless informed you of the position which we took in opposition to the determination first expressed by the committee in accordance with resolution adopted in Chicago to agitate for a repeal of the act in its entirety. Our suggestion, in view of the existing political situation, was to secure:

(*a*) An extension of the time within which statements were to be filed.

(*b*) The repeal or modification of the publicity clause.

(*c*) The issuance of an Executive order or the assurance that such Executive order would be issued protecting the publicity given by the act against abuse, if such Executive order could be validly issued.

When Mr. Nevin left, the committee, of which Mr. Noyes and Mr. Glenn were the moving spirits, was slowly moving to an acceptance of our suggestions with regard to a limitation of action, and especially that the chief influence exerted should not be upon Congress, but upon the President, in view of the fact that owing to the internal strife in the legislative branch it would be practically impossible to secure legislative action until the Executive approval had been had.

I am pleased to report that on Wednesday night Mr. Noyes and Mr. Glenn left for Chicago, having first informed me that their experience during the week had convinced them that we were right in insisting that any influence exerted should be confined to an attempt to repeal or modify the publicity clause, or secure the assurance of a ruling that would protect it against misuse; and finally that both gentlemen were returning to Illinois satisfied that they could do nothing further here, and determined to exert every pressure exclusively upon the President.

I am now authoritatively informed that at a meeting of the Cabinet Tuesday, and after further discussion with Secretary MacVeagh since that time, the President is satisfied that he can issue an Executive order which, to his mind, makes any modification of the publicity clause unnecessary, inasmuch as other statutes containing identical language in that respect to public records have been the subject of Executive orders, giving only a very limited inspection, and that subject to permission of the Executive or Cabinet head. Further developments with regard to this view are expected at the Cabinet meeting to-day.

So you will observe that it can properly be said that every exertion consistent with the obtainment of a practical result of real benefit to the persons involved is being had with reference to the corporation income tax. I am,

Very respectfully, yours,

JAMES A. EMERY.

(Copies to Messrs. Schwedtman, Kirby, and Nevin.)

Mr. MACINTYRE. Pardon me, Mr. Chairman, but D2073–2075 will give you information that will show what led up to that letter being written. It is in that same volume—D2073 and D2075.

Mr. EMERY. What I gave you, Mr. Chairman, was my recollection of the substance of the final outcome of it.

The CHAIRMAN. What you did in that you did in the capacity of counsel for the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. EMERY. Especially for the three or four members that came here and attended this conference. They were very much concerned about the apparent publicity given to the returns of these corporations—that is, almost everybody; there was total misapprehension. I think the Illinois people particularly came here with a complaint, and it was only after investigation and conference with the Secretary of the Treasury that we discovered there had been no general publicity as was assumed by those who came here, but that in one or two instances returns had been made public on the application of an officer, it seems to me, from some State. After that the Secretary of the Treasury or the President issued an Executive order which protected these returns except against official inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. I have no objection to those letters being inserted in the record. I think, however, that the reference to them is sufficient.

Mr. EMERY. Those are letters, if I remember right, Mr. Chairman, in which the Illinois manufacturers wrote to inquire if such a conference could be called here, because they thought it was a matter of grave concern to the business men involved.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you turn to No. 3304 Con.; F499,501? That is a letter addressed by you to Mr. John Kirby, jr., under date of June 3, 1910. It is quite a long letter, and I do not care to read it all, but if it should be necessary there is no objection to putting it into the record. It makes reference to the Moon bill. I presume that is the Moon injunction bill.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And then it makes reference to the Overman amendment or the Overman bill, providing for three judges to grant restraining orders.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And then it makes reference to the Hughes amendment:

Yesterday Mr. Hughes, of New Jersey, contributed the most remarkable legislation that has yet been seen in Congress. The House, having under consideration an item of the sundry civil bill, appropriating $100,000 for the enforcement of the antitrust law, Hughes offered an amendment which provided.

Then it comments on the debate, particularly on the remarks of Mr. Hughes on it, and gives an account of the vote in the Committee of the Whole and speaks of the Republicans being caught napping—

And there is a good deal of exasperation over the vote, and after a conference with several of the House leaders to-day I believe that an attempt will be made to defeat the amendment or it will be thrown out in conference, but no more astounding proposition has ever been made upon the floor of the American Congress than to deliberately suggest that money appropriated for the enforcement of the law shall under no circumstances be used against one class of persons who have been held to be and who by their conduct at any time may become violators of that law.

After a week of planning, the Democrats intend to-day to endeavor to tack the substantial features of the eight-hour bill on the tail end of the sundry civil bill. Up to the time I left the House at 4 this afternoon, the effort had not yet been made, but it is looked for and the colonel is watching it. The colonel discovered this plot through information supplied by a Democratic friend, and he has warned the House leaders, and every precaution has been taken to defeat their effort. The colonel deserves the greatest praise for the promptness with which he acted and reported the situation as he learned it.

I presume that is Col. Mulhall that is referred to there?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I call your attention particularly to that statement: "The colonel discovered this plot through information furnished by a Democratic friend, and he has warned the House leaders." Do you remember anything of that, Mr. Emery?

Mr. EMERY. I did not remember this until I read it here, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that refresh your recollection in any way? Does it bring to mind anything that Col. Mulhall reported to you at the time as to the source of his information?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I do recollect some statement of his at that time. I can not remember the detail of it, or who his source of information was.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you are quite familiar with the testimoney that has been given here with respect to this note that was alleged to have been handed him by McMichael?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you if, taking this letter in connection with that note, both occurring about the same time—I believe this letter is under date of June 3, 1910—it serves to refresh your recollection so that you could give us any information?

Mr. EMERY. No; I am very positive, Mr. Chairman, at least in this regard: The colonel did not tell me that Mr. McMichael gave him the information, but I can not recall clearly knowing of any other source; that is, of any particular source of information on the matter—that is, as to the colonel's particular source of information.

I have the idea that with respect to this matter or the other, the sundry civil bill—I do not know which—the colonel told me that some Maryland friend that he rode over on the train with from Baltimore told him something about it. I can not distinctly recall

that, except I know that the colonel claimed to be a personal friend of some of the members of the Baltimore delegation from his own city, and he frequently chatted with them on political matters. I know he used to tell me something now and then of some things they told him on political matters.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, 3306 Con. is another letter under date of June 6, 1910, which you wrote to Mr. Kirby:

JUNE 6, 1910.

Mr. JOHN KIRBY, Jr.,
514 Reibold Building, Dayton, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. KIRBY: In accordance with the warning received, an account of which was given you in my recent letter, an attempt was made by the Democrats to attach the eight-hour bill to the sundry civil bill on Saturday afternoon. The colonel's authentic advance information enabled ample warning to be given to the Republican whip, and the prompt and efficient assistance which the colonel gave secured every precaution.

Kendall, of Iowa, moved an amendment containing the substantial features of the eight-hour bill. On a point of order made by Tawney, Mann, of Illinois, acting as Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, held the amendment out of order. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, treasurer of the miners' union, took an appeal from the decision of the Chair, but the Chair was sustained by a vote of 99 to 61. Kendall attempted two further amendments of the same nature, both of which were held out of order, but the crushing and unexpected defeat of the first appeal from the decision of the Chair prevented further effort to use the same weapon.

The second and third amendments would have been more drastic than the eight-hour bill, as they made no exceptions in favor of contracts for transportation and the transmission of intelligence and no provision for emergencies. The colonel deserves the greatest credit in the manner of obtaining his information and the promptness and efficiency with which he applied it.

With best of good wishes, ever yours,

JAMES A. EMERY.

(Copies to Messrs. Hanch, Jarvis, and Bird.)

That is authentic, is it—that letter?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And, of course, that states what you thought was correct at the time you wrote it?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Were you present in the gallery when that discussion was going on and when that appeal was taken?

Mr. EMERY. You mean about Mr. Kendall, of Iowa?

Mr. CLINE. The incident referred to in this last letter. Did it occur when you were present, when the appeal was taken from the decision of the Chair?

Mr. EMERY. I am not sure whether I was or not, Mr. Cline.

Mr. CLINE. What is your best recollection?

Mr. EMERY. I remember distinctly I was present in the gallery and heard the discussion about the Hughes amendment to the sundry civil bill, but as to this Kendall amendment I am not at all certain.

Mr. CLINE. You were pretty familiar with the Kendall amendment?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And the circumstances surrounding its offer?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; I was pretty generally informed on that.

Mr. CLINE. Do you not recall that you were present in the gallery at that time?

Mr. EMERY. I may have been, Mr. Cline, but I do not recall definitely. I would not say I was not, but I do not recall that I was

there. I was there when the Hughes amendment was concurred in, I think, on the 4th of January (I would not be sure about that date), and Mr. Kendall's amendment extended over a longer period of time, because I recollect that he made an attempt to get a rule discharging the committee from further consideration of the eight-hour bill, to bring it on the floor, and gave notice about it full two weeks before this. This attracted more attention than the other; that is my recollection.

Mr. CLINE. The reason I inquire is because the minute details set out in the letter with reference to the remarkable situation would indicate you were there and knew about it.

Mr. EMERY. Of course the Congressional Record would contain that information just as fully as if I were here, and I read the Congressional Record on all those matters with great care.

Mr. CLINE. Yes; but in making up your letter it is probable you would not copy it out of the Congressional Record.

Mr. EMERY. I would have taken any account of the proceedings on the floor from there, Mr. Cline, and very commonly do, because I read the Record very carefully on all these matters in which we are interested.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Judge Cline, if you will look at the report of Mr. Arthur Holder, of the American Federation of Labor, which follows this, you will obtain a very accurate, truthful, and complete report of all these particular incidents. Of course, it does not throw any light on whether this gentleman had any advance information, but it is an admirable document. I think it is to be found in the July number, 1910, of Mr. Arthur Holder's reports, which are the best reports of what occurs in the Congress of the United States in regard to all these matters that can be found anywhere. If you have the July number, 1910, here, you can find it at once.

Mr. CLINE. I am not disputing the facts that are set out there at all; I am asking from the minuteness of the detail in this letter in reference to the matter if Mr. Emery was not present and heard the discussion and observed the proceedings.

Mr. EMERY. I might have been, Judge Cline, but I can not state with certainty.

Mr. CLINE. While we are on this point, and in reference to what Mr. Davenport said, and taking into consideration your evidence yesterday with reference to the Federation of Labor, there must have been some representatives here occupying relatively the same position that you did for the council. Do you know who they were?

Mr. EMERY. Why, the names of many of the legislative agents in the American Federation of Labor are signed to these legislative committee reports. I do not want to take the time of the committee right now to hunt for them, but in answer to your question I will give the names signed right here.

Mr. CLINE. That would not be an answer to the question.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Those are signed by Arthur Holder.

Mr. EMERY. I can give you the names of those I have come in contact with.

Mr. CLINE. I want the names of the members of the American Federation of Labor who are actively employed about the Capitol here, in the capacity Col. Mulhall assumed you were for the National Association or the council, for the corresponding work that was being

done by the American Federation of Labor. Can you give the committee the names?

Mr. EMERY. Arthur E. Holder is one; Grant Hamilton is another; Mr. Moffet——

Mr. CLINE. Can you give Moffet's first name?

Mr. EMERY. Mr. John A. Moffet. Mr. Jacob Tazelaer and Thomas Tracy. I do not know whether all of these men are employed here at the present time, Judge Cline, but they are the men I have come in contact with.

Mr. CLINE. Do they have their business location in this city?

Mr. EMERY. I assume their offices are at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. Then there are one or two representatives of the railway brotherhood—Mr. Wills.

Mr. CLINE. What is his given name?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know.

Mr. RUSSELL. H. E.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Wills is a very able man, representing the railway brotherhood.

Mr. STAFFORD. Were all these men acting in the same capacity—doing the same work?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; with the exception of Mr. Wills; the other men are, as I understand it, either members of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor or they were organizers who were called in from time to time to assist the standing members of the legislative committee. The reports in the Federationist show with the organizers—one of the last reports shows there were 1,682, both paid and voluntary, regularly in the employ of the American Federation of Labor, engaged in it from time to time upon the road as well as here.

Mr. STAFFORD. Who is the man who has the superintendence of this work here?

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Gompers, I take it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, he is not active.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; he is very active.

Mr. STAFFORD. I mean in regard to the men that did the work, corresponding to the work you did for the association or council.

Mr. EMERY. I do not know whether they have any council here. I was not in the Capitol personally very often in the four years I have been here, but Mr. Arthur Holder seems to be the most active spirit here.

Mr. STAFFORD. You would assume he was the directing manager or superintendent?

Mr. EMERY. Under the direction of Mr. Gompers. I think Mr. Gompers and the resident members of the standing council who live here in Washington are themselves in active charge of this work.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am just trying to ascertain the working force.

Mr. EMERY. I am giving you the best information I have.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Under vote of the American Federation of Labor convention the executive council, consisting of the president, the secretary-treasurer, and eight or nine vice presidents, appoint a legislative committee consisting of three resident members, who are now Mr. James O'Connell, Mr. Frank Morrison, and Mr. Gompers. They employed a legislative committee which, in 1906, I think, was the first time Mr. Holder became a member of that legislative committee.

Previous to that time Thomas F. Tracy, Mr. Grimes, and, I think, a man by the name of Newton constituted that committee. The arrangement is that the executive council, under direction of the convention, appointed a legislative committee from its own members, consisting of three resident members, Mr. Gompers, Mr. Morrison, and Mr. O'Connell, and they in turn employ this committee; and a more thorough, complete, accurate, and truthful report of what is going on here in Congress could not be found than those reports of those gentlemen—truthful and just.

Mr. STAFFORD. Which gentlemen—the committee of three consisting of Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Morrison, and Mr. Gompers? Whose reports?

Mr. DAVENPORT. The reports of the legislative committee are made through those gentlemen. They are addressed to Mr. Gompers, and you find that when Mr. Gompers reports to the federation convention he embodies in his annual report very much of their reports, in the same language. But if you gentlemen will turn—if Mr. Emery will provide you with a copy—I believe it is to the July number, 1910, legislative report, made to Mr. Gompers and signed by Mr. Holder, you will get a better idea of what was going on in Congress than you could get——

Mr. STAFFORD. A better report than what we ourselves would know, being on the ground, I suppose?

Mr. DAVENPORT. Or, if you had read the record made by this man; because he is a very accurate observer and an able man, and a very truthful man.

Mr. EMERY. In explanation of what I said, Mr. Chairman—of what I said about the increase and decrease in the number of the active legislative representatives here—I call attention to the American Federationist of August, 1908, at page 610, where there is a report of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor, published in the front part of the American Federationist, where it says:

> Read the report of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor, published in the front part of this issue of the American Federationist. Early in the year a number of organizers on the road were called to Washington to act in the capacity of legislative committeemen. The only instructions given them were to faithfully work for the passage of such measures as would protect and promote the rights and interests of the working people. The politics of these men were neither known nor questioned. The committee performed its duty faithfully, and the report submitted and published makes exceedingly interesting reading and is a valuable contribution to the history of labor and progress.

The report referred to is signed, as appears on page 595, by Thomas F. Tracy, Arthur E. Holder, James E. Roach, James D. Pierce, Jacob Tazelaar, M. Grant Hamilton, and E. N. Nockels, legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor.

Those legislative committeemen vary in number, and I think at the present time you will find the names of Mr. Holder and Mr. Grant Hamilton, and I do not know whether Mr. Moffett is the third member now or not.

Mr. CLINE. Which one of these men writes these accurate reports Mr. Davenport refers to?

Mr. EMERY. They are signed by all. Merely the point I made is that they are largely prepared by Mr. Holder, and I join with all

Judge Davenport says with respect to his ability and the accuracy and remarkable detail of the statements as to their activities, that you will find in the latter part of the American Federationist, referring to the legislative expenses incurred, the membership, the action of these members in calling on Members of Congress, set forth at great length in these reports.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do I understand you that the reports of the legislative committee of which Mr. Holder has charge are published in full in the Federationist?

Mr. EMERY. There are a great many published there?

Mr. DAVENPORT. They are all published. Usually there are two or three during the course of a session, and at the end of the session he makes a final and complete report up to date.

Mr. STAFFORD. And they are the reports you just referred to as giving a very complete description of things occurring in the Capitol of interest to the labor end?

Mr. DAVENPORT. As to these various bills, because Mr. Holder knows and does not misrepresent in any way, nor exaggerate, either.

The CHAIRMAN. Just in passing, Mr. Emery, I call your attention to the next letter on the same page. It does not bear upon this particular matter. It reads:

MY DEAR MR. BIRD: I inclose herewith financial statement, Washington office of National Council for Industrial Defense.

While somewhat in doubt, I have included the item of $408.75 paid by me to the colonel, and for which I received a council voucher. Is this intended to be a charge against the council or against the association? You can, of course, correct this by transfer on your books if any change is necessary. I am,

Very truly, yours,

JAMES A. EMERY.

Then, on the next page, 3309, at the bottom of the page, seems to be an acknowledgment of that same letter. This is addressed to you and reads:

DEAR MR. EMERY: Your letter of June 9, inclosing statement of expenditures of the Washington office, duly received. I can not see that it makes any difference in reference to the item of $408.75, as long as you give us credit for it and take debit for it.

Mr. EMERY. The latter part of that letter is rather interesting, Mr. Chairman. With an organization with $200,000 in its treasury——

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

The condition of the finances of the council are giving me considerable concern, and without some strenuous work is done the balance of this month we shall be on the rocks, for we only have about $300 in the treasury.

Yours, very truly,

J. PHILLIP BIRD.

Mr. EMERY. The item referred to there was a personal request from Mr. Bird to advance the colonel that amount, and I gave him my personal check for it. It was some work he was doing for the association; he was going away somewhere and I gave him that amount, and they sent me a check for it. The request was made over the phone, I think, when he was leaving here. That is all there was to it.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter dated June 9, 1910, does not state what the payment was made for. You have stated all you remember now, I suppose?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Didn't it strike you that Mr. Mulhall's expense accounts were amazingly high, Mr. Emery—$400 here and $80 here and $275 here? What did you think about Mr. Mulhall as to what he was doing with this money? It seems to me that was a matter that must have excited your attention as a lawyer and a business man—the expenditure of this amazingly large amount of money.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Willis, I never saw the expense account of Col. Mulhall until this investigation begun.

Mr. WILLIS. Does it not strike you as amazing that somebody somewhere in this association of business men did not check that up and call attention to it? Mr. Mulhall was under your direction?

Mr. EMERY. Never in respect to field matters. He was only under my direction when in the city of Washington, and then only partially, and I had never seen the expense accounts of his until this investigation begun. I had nothing whatever to do with the business side of these matters.

Mr. WILLIS. I understand that, but yet it seems to me so amazing that an organization of business men, and I am frank to say undoubtedly good business men, would have such a system as this—that a man is given hundreds of dollars which he is allowed to expend and no check put on him anywhere, and nobody make any inquiry. It seems astonishing to me.

Mr. EMERY. I think in respect to that, Mr. Willis, you will observe that those are not large expenses per month—not as great as you think. I do not know anything about conditions at the office, but I expect, from my familiarity with the New York office—it is a very big office and it has an immense amount of work—it has an enormous amount of work which has been called to your attention but slightly, respecting the foreign department, foreign translations, foreign shipments, foreign collections and domestic collections, and it is an exceedingly busy department, and an exceedingly small part of its time and attention is given to these matters. I do not know what system Mr. Bird provided, or whoever is responsible, in respect to the audit of these accounts, beyond what I have heard here; but I am sure during the early part of my connection with the association, up to the early part of 1910, every one had confidence in the colonel and believed him to be honest, truthful, and loyal.

Mr. WILLIS. These accounts that are so numerous and multifarious in this correspondence, where they show so much paid a member of silk weavers' union, and $80 a week to some other member, and so on—these items occurring week after week, it seems to me somebody somewhere in this organization should have had it designated his duty to check up on this thing. But that did not come within the province of your activities; you have nothing to do with the financial part?

Mr. EMERY. No. I could not discuss it with you; I do not know anything about it.

The CHAIRMAN. As evidencing the carefulness with which accounts were scrutinized, I am going to read just this letter here, 3311, confidential, E 1758, to Mr. F. C. Schwedtman, 1005 Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo.:

MY DEAR MR. SCHWEDTMAN: Your letter of June 4, inclosing financial statement of the National Council for Industrial Defense, May 1 to June 1, duly received.

I find there is a small error in this, and I am therefore returning it to you for correction. You will note that the balance on hand May 1 was $235.05, and while the total of expenditures during the month shows on the statement as $235.05, the items show but $235. Kindly attach the 5 cents where it belongs and I shall be glad to pass this to your credit, with Mr. Kirby's sanction of the expenditure for $165, as explained by you.

Yours, very truly, J. PHILIP BIRD, *Treasurer.*

It is evident they kept their books straight.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a matter where there was 6 or 8 cents spent in postage to get a nickel straightened out on the books.

Mr. EMERY. It is perhaps difficult under the circumstances of an investigation like this to preserve a proper perspective, but I can call the attention of the committee that in the testimony before you and the Senate committee, out of the gross expenditures of over $200,000 a year, Col. Mulhall expended, during the course of those 10 years, or there was expended through him, but $5,000 a year for his salary and expenses. I do not say that to belittle for a moment that the greatest care ought to be taken, but I do say it for the purpose of calling your attention to the fact that there is a proportion to be observed between his expenditures and the general office expenditures of the association.

Mr. WILLIS. There have been several interrogatories here relative to these expense accounts, and I want to get your specific answer to two or three of these expense accounts right on this point. Here in letter 2586, which is one of Mr. Mulhall's expense accounts. Here it says: "Paid Speaker's messenger for services rendered, at request of Mr. Emery, $10."

What do you say about that, Mr. Emery?

Mr. EMERY. I have no recollection whatever of ever authorizing or directing such an expenditure.

Mr. WILLIS. Right below it is, "Paid messenger of Ways and Means Committee, at request of Mr. Emery, $5." Do you make the same reply as to that?

Mr. EMERY. Yes. I can not conceive such an expenditure being authorized. If the boy up there had done anything for me, gotten me some documents, papers, or anything of that kind, and I thought he deserved any such remuneration for his services to me, in the form of a gratuity, I would have paid it myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it not be possible that there might have been some such occurrence like that, very much like this other occurrence, where you did send $50 to Mr. Mulhall to be divided between them, because you yourself could not find them?

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not possible that the same occurrence might have happened, in which you did the same thing?

Mr. EMERY. It is possible, but I have no recollection. Will you give me the date of that, please?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes; March 28, 1909. Here is another one of September 3, 1909, "Paid messenger Ways and Means Committee, services rendered, $5."

Mr. EMERY. September 3, 1909, I was in California and had been for three months.

Mr. WILLIS. To be fair to Mr. Mulhall, it does not mention you in this account, but only in these other two over here, of March 28, 1909.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Now, as to the McMichael business, I want to get your categorical answer as to those items. Here is an item on January 3, 1911, which is an expense account, "Paid J. H. McMichael, for services rendered for the month of December, 1911, as per instructions Mr. J. P. Bird, $30."

Did that ever come to your attention before this investigation began, Mr. Emery?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; it did not. You say January 3, 1911, instructions J. P. Bird?

Mr. WILLIS. January 3, 1911. This is under an expense account for December 30 of the preceding year, undoubtedly, and it says, "Paid J. H. McMichael, for services rendered for the month of December, 1911." Obviously that should be 1910.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not we find the date of that letter was wrong?

Mr. WILLIS. I have simply made a deduction; I do not recall any testimony.

Mr. EMERY. You see the letter is dated 1911 and refers to 1910, obviously.

Mr. WILLIS. No; here is a letter dated January 3, 1911, and then it says down under the items for December 30, "Paid J. H. McMichael for services rendered for the month of December, 1911." Of course, that can not be so.

Mr. EMERY. It must be 1910.

Mr. WILLIS. That must be 1910, obviously. Now, there is an expenditure to an employee of the House. Under the financial system you had here, if Mr. McMichael was doing services for you, would not that account have come to you?

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. Or would he have been paid directly from the New York office? How was that done?

Mr. EMERY. No; he would have been paid by me. I paid McMichael up to June, 1910, through Col. Mulhall, as I have testified, for the bills and documents, etc., that were furnished me under that arrangement, and that ceased when I went to Europe, and when I returned I declined to reemploy him. I did not find any reason for it, and told the colonel if he wanted to do so, he would have to pay him. In December, 1910, if I remember rightly—that was about the time Congress convened—the colonel raised that question with me, and I said there was no use continuing his employment.

Mr. WILLIS. Therefore he must have been employed through the New York office and paid by the New York office?

Mr. EMERY. For any other expense after that.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes. Here is another one I want to read: "Balance paid J. H. McMichael, $20." That was in letter 4022, dated January 3, 1911. Now, further along, in letter 4319, November 11, 1911, "Paid J. H. McMichael for services rendered National Association of Manufacturers for months of September and October, $100." That is in Mr. Mulhall's report to the New York office, and this passed through all right. There must have been some understanding with Mr. Mulhall. You say you know nothing about it?

Mr. EMERY. No. The thing that interested me is, there is an item there apparently for services rendered in December, 1910, and then the next item that later appears is almost a year later, October or November, 1911, and no intervening statement.

Mr. WILLIS. None I have been able to find; no.

The CHAIRMAN. I have been rather impressed with the idea somehow that the letter got out of place in the print. Of course it is merely a deduction, but I think that letter ought to have been dated 1912, and then that would be correct; that it was for services rendered during December, 1911, because Mr. Bird has testified before the committee that he knew about this arrangement and that by his direction there were payments made for the months of October and November, and, if I remember correctly, December.

Mr. EMERY. Monthly. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And I really believe that perhaps the date of that letter is wrong, and it got into that print at the wrong place. That is merely my deduction, however.

Mr. WILLIS. That may be so.

Here is another one under date of December 30, 1911, letter 4330, "Paid J. H. McMichael for services rendered during the month of November, 1911, as per agreement and instructions of Mr. Bird, $50."

Of course, if none of these accounts came before you, you have no knowledge of them?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir. Mr. Bird testified in respect to those last items.

Mr. WILLIS. Now, I want to find out a little bit more about this relationship with Mr. McMichael.

I call your attention to a statement, as follows:

I informed Mr. Emery, chief lobbyist in Washington at that time, of the suggestions made to me by Mr. McDermott, and he approved of the scheme at once. He not only instructed me to go ahead with the proposition, but later on he gave orders to me to have McMichael send the pages of the House with documents and bills that he might call for and act as messengers from the Capitol Building to Emery's office, Nos. 611 and 613 Union Trust Building.

What do you say as to that proposition? Have you any recollection of that?

Mr. EMERY. You mean about giving the instructions with reference to the pages of the House?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. EMERY. That is a pure fabrication. No such proposition was ever made to me by Mulhall, either directly or at the suggestion of anybody else, and, as I stated, Mr. McDermott's name meant little or nothing to me. When this investigation began, I first read it in the newspapers. I did not distinctly recall his name any more than the names of numbers of other Congressmen. That statement is entirely false.

Mr. WILLIS. Before you leave that statement, Mr. Emery, I want to ask you this question: As a matter of fact, did the pages of the House of Representatives ever bring bills and documents to your office?

Mr. EMERY. Well, I have this to say about that: When McMichael was supplying us with the documents down here, there were several occasions—I do not remember how many; maybe three or four—when I wanted some bill quickly and Col. Mulhall was to get it for

me, and if he could not bring it himself immediately, he would have the bill sent down, and bills have been brought to my office, I do not know by whom. I have never personally seen a page of the House who delivered anything to my office. That may have been done; but if it was done, it was without my knowledge at the time and was not at my request. I was perfectly willing to pay a messenger when I needed anything quickly, and if the Colonel could not get it to me himself, he could have called a messenger and sent it down on these special occasions when I wanted some matter quickly for immediate use.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you have any conference or understanding with Mr. Mulhall or McMichael that McMichael was to collect information, spy upon Members of the House, and convey that information to you? That charge is made in another part of this article. What have you to say about that?

Mr. EMERY. I never had a conversation with McMichael as to his services in connection with my office at all, nor did I have any conversation with him at any time or at any place with respect to the supplying of information of any kind. The only service that he was rendering me, so far as I knew, was to obtain these papers and documents through an arrangement made by Mulhall and to send them to my office during that period of time and to supply such further documents as were at any time requested. That was the only service which he was rendering me that I knew of, and I did not distinctly remember his name in reference to——

Mr. WILLIS (interposing). Did you have any understanding with Mulhall that he was to direct McMichael to collect information and have the pages watch the Members and send that information to you? Was that an understanding you had with him?

Mr. EMERY. None whatever, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Here is another item which is not of special importance and I will read the complete paragraph:

> Mr. McMichael told me on June 25 last that Mr. Emery owed him $16 advanced by Mr. McMichael as car fare for page boys sent to Emery's office with reports and public documents.
>
> About the time that Mr. Emery approved of the suggestion he put on the pay roll Mr. McMichael at $50 a month, with instructions that if any piece of information that McMichael or McDermott might pick up would be useful we would pay extra for it.

That latter statement is the one I am most concerned about. Did you have an understanding he was to go on the pay roll at $50 a month, and that he was to receive extra pay for any piece of information that he, McMichael, might pick up.

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; none whatever. I never had an understanding to pay him $50 a month, and I never had an understanding to pay anything for information of any kind, and the only arrangements I had with him was that related already, which was arranged by Mulhall, and he was not to be paid anything extra. I was not any more personally interested in that than I was in the employment of a messenger.

Mr. WILLIS. I want to ask you about another item in this World article. I interrogated Mr. Bird about this, and I want to know what you say about it. The paragraph which I am going to read is a paragraph which relates to the activity of the National Association

of Manufacturers concerning labor legislation, and this is the statement—you will remember it, I think:

> There was no decent piece of legislation wanted by the working people, such as the child-labor law, compulsory education, laws to shorten the hours of children in shops and factories, laws to better the condition of employers in shops and factories, principally the women employed in the stores, that the officials of the N. A. M. have not opposed with all the vigor in them.

Let us take that up. Has your association taken any position on child-labor legislation?

Mr. EMERY. You mean Federal child-labor legislation?

Mr. WILLIS. I assume that is what it means.

Mr. EMERY. The only one I have any knowledge of—there have been several child-labor bills with respect to the District of Columbia from time to time. I have never personally or as a representative of either association participated in any argument in respect to them, or in any way been related to their construction. When the Beveridge child-labor bill, so called, was pending in the Senate, while I took no part either in the promotion of or opposition to it, I wrote several letters in response to inquiries in which I expressed the opinion that the principle laid down in the Beveridge child-labor bill involved a regulation of production and not of commerce by Congress. I thought the principle itself was an unsound one. That was an expression of opinion in reference to the legal proposition involved in the matter.

Mr. WILLIS. That was your opinion as a lawyer and as counsel for the N. A. M. Did the organization as such ever take any action with regard to that bill?

Mr. EMERY. Never, to my knowledge. I do not remember that they have ever taken part in any child-labor legislation in any way.

Mr. WILLIS. Ever issued any circulars on that subject?

Mr. EMERY. I think you will find in one of my circulars and digests a reference to the Beveridge child-labor bill of the kind which I have just given you, but none other, to my knowledge.

Mr. WILLIS. What about compulsory education?

Mr. EMERY. Compulsory education?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes. It is alleged here that the officials of the N. A. M. have opposed, "with all the vigor in them," laws with reference to compulsory education.

Mr. EMERY. I never heard of a compulsory education bill in Congress. If there was such a one it never came to my notice, and we took no part in it. I thought possibly that might be a stumbling reference to compensation.

Mr. WILLIS. It says here "compulsory education." The next is in reference to "laws to shorten the hours of children in shops and factories."

Mr. STAFFORD. It could not refer to a compulsory pilotage law?

Mr. EMERY. We have never taken any part in legislation on that subject. A very active committee of the N. A. M. has been active among members of the association with reference to these things and made some very strong recommendations in connection with welfare work in their own factories. I have never personally, or as a representative of the association, opposed or promoted any such legislation here, directly or indirectly.

Mr. WILLIS. Then, the last count in the indictment is in reference to "laws to better the condition of employees in shops and factories, principally the women employed in the stores." Has your association taken any position with reference to such legislation?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; never here. It has had, as I say, a very active committee, which has directed the expenditure of a great many thousands of dollars in connection with the institution of welfare work among the employees of both sexes in factories and shops. We have also taken a very active part in the various States and have participated in the arguments before the Federal Employers' Liability Commission with respect to accident prevention, and we have laid especial emphasis on the prevention of injuries. We have made a special study of that and have gone into it as carefully as any men could, with all the foreign experience we could obtain, and we have placed at the service of all persons interested in a subject of that kind a vast amount of information, and have been willing to lend assistance to members of State legislatures and public men generally and any association or organization that was interested in the furtherance of the project which involved the substitution of a study of workingmen's compensation for the prevailing idea of employers' liability.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to call your attention to No. 3330 in the confidential print, if you please. I want to read that preliminary to calling your attention to No. 3331. No. 3331 appears to be a letter written by you to Mr. Schwedtman under date of June 24, 1910. The first part of it is not of any interest in this inquiry and speaks of your getting letters of introduction and recommendation to the Secretary of State. I presume that was when you were preparing for your trip abroad?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The latter part of it says:

> You will have received by this time a full report of the fight over the Hughes amendment, and I am glad to say that your man Bartholdt was very effectively prodded from St. Louis, because he came to us and said that he would not only personally vote but that he would do his best to get some other votes. I do not think he relished it, but he stood there and voted like a little man. Everybody, however, thinks to-day that we won a very wholesome victory.

And then it goes on—

> Personally, I think it one that is going to have a very considerable effect upon the coming campaign. I believe the issue will be distinctly raised. The technical legal value of the Hughes amendment was very slight—the moral effect of defeat would have been very great. As it is, the defeat administered on top of the overwhelming victories previously won, has left our friends chagrined beyond measure. Our labor friends believed victory was certain, indeed, I have evidence from the newspaper people that they had statements issued for the Associated Press and that telegrams to two newspapers were sent before the event, so certainly was victory anticipated.

Mr. Emery, if a man by prodding, by pressure, were induced to vote against his judgment, would you say that those who had been responsible for the prodding and the pressure had been guilty of impropriety?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I should be inclined to think so. In this particular case, I recollect very distinctly Mr. Bartholdt's position with reference to the Hughes amendment. I know he was very much against it. He expressed himself so, and I know he was under very

severe pressure from a labor organization which desired to get him to change his vote, and vote for the Hughes amendment.

Mr. STAFFORD. He expressed his positive stand before any pressure was brought to bear by your association?

Mr. EMERY. My best recollection of Mr. Bartholdt's statement to me, the only time I can remember any conversation with him, was that the Hughes amendment was a bad proposition, and while I can not recollect the conversation distinctly, I know he made some reference to the charge that matters of this kind, questions of this kind, brought tremendous difficulties to individual Members of Congress, and I know that telegrams were sent to Mr. Bartholdt from his constituents in his home district. Mr. Schwedtman was one of them. He lived in Mr. Bartholdt's district and was a personal friend of his. The object of those telegrams was to make a man like Mr. Bartholdt feel that his convictions were entirely shared by men in his own district whom he knew, and when he did vote in concurrence with his convictions, he was assured of the support and sympathy of men in his own district who believed as he did. The object was to prevent a man from being substantially coerced into voting against his convictions by the fear of a dominant labor influence.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not mean by the question to intimate in any way that I had any such opinion about Mr. Bartholdt's convictions upon the subject. I merely asked you that question to get your idea in regard to the matter. There is this expression in there, Mr. Emery, which might be capable of a different construction of that act of Mr. Schwedtman and others in sending telegrams of the kind which you have just given. I refer to the expression "I don't think he relished it, but he stood there and voted like a little man."

Mr. EMERY. That was simply an expression of personal opinion. I probably thought at that time that Mr. Bartholdt would prefer not to have voted upon that subject. That is simply my personal opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, that might be easily capable of some other construction, "I don't think he relished it, but he stood there and voted like a little man." That might easily be capable of the construction that his convictions might have been the other way.

Mr. EMERY. No; I am very positive of Mr. Bartholdt's convictions on that subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will pass that.

Mr. CLINE. I want to ask a question there, before you leave that, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, Mr. Cline.

Mr. CLINE. I want to ask, Mr. Emery, do you think, considering all the parties, the high official position that Mr. Bartholdt occupied, the magnitude of the question that was involved, that that is a proper characterization of a Member of the House?

Mr. EMERY. What is that? You refer to this letter here?

Mr. CLINE. Yes.

Mr. EMERY. Let me say, Judge Cline, in the first place, that that is a purely private letter, private correspondence between two friends, which has been put into this correspondence for reasons best known to those who put it here. I wrote with the entire freedom of two friends talking colloquially with one another. The expression, "Your man Bartholdt," was nothing but a reference to the fact that he was Mr. Schwedtman's Congressman, that he was

from his home district. The statement that he was prodded simply referred to the telegrams he received. It was no reflection on Mr. Bartholdt in any way.

Mr. CLINE. It expressed your mental attitude at that time toward the conduct of Mr. Bartholdt on this proposition, did it not?

Mr. EMERY. I presume I wrote with more intimacy and more freedom of expression in a private letter to a friend than I would in any public statement.

Mr. CLINE. And very frequently you write more sincerely as to your convictions than you do when writing to somebody else, do you not?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; that is absolutely true. I think you might assume that from what my information was about Mr. Bartholdt at the time.

Mr. CLINE. No; I am taking your mental attitude from a letter you wrote to your friend. That must have expressed your sincere convictions as to what the National Association of Manufacturers and those who were working with them were able to accomplish with Mr. Bartholdt on that proposition. Let me ask you another question in this connection, and this is the last one I will ask you on this proposition. Do you not think that a man elected, for instance, as Mr. Bartholdt was, 8 or 10 times from a district representing 300,000 people, his frequent return to Congress having indicated to his constituents that he was a man of fixed convictions, that if he was compelled, as intimated in this letter, to change those convictions, and vote contrary to them on a proposition through some ulterior forces, that that is verging pretty closely on to unwarranted activity on the part of those forces?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; and it was exactly for the purpose of protecting Mr. Bartholdt against such a situation we urged the business men in his district, whom he knew, to assure him that they shared the sentiments which they believed were in his own mind.

Mr. CLINE. I think, Mr. Emery, knowing Mr. Bartholdt as well as I do, that you had an unwarranted anxiety with reference to Mr. Bartholdt. I believe he is one of the strong, substantial, able men in this Congress.

Mr. EMERY. I share all of that, but I think at times the best of men, in the face of a political threat that embodies danger to his political future, does well to receive the assurance of his constituents that they believe with him. I think it is a duty the Congressman's constituents owe him when he is standing in a difficult place, with a threat hanging over him that if he does not vote contrary to his convictions that he will suffer defeat, that those men who believe as he believes should express that belief to him.

Mr. CLINE. Well, Mr. Emery, if you open that door and follow out that philospohy, you open it to the most serious and pernicious activity imaginable on the part of these outside forces.

Mr. EMERY. What outside forces, Judge Cline?

Mr. CLINE. I do not care whether you take the labor forces, or the amalgamated forces of the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Council for Industrial Defense, or what forces you take. If a Member of Congress must be surrounded and coerced and driven to support a measure of this kind, I say it verges very closely

on pernicious activity, and it is a matter that ought not to be permitted in a legislative body like the Congress of the United States.

Mr. EMERY. So far as our organizations were concerned, we were confronted with a condition and not a theory. We found these active forces at work here, exerting themselves.

Mr. CLINE. That does not justify their existence at all.

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not think it does; and I think it is entirely within the power of Congress to protect itself in such a situation, and I should be glad to see them do it.

Mr. WILLIS. What kind of legislation could be enacted which would prevent Members of Congress from receiving letters or telegrams from people living in their congressional district or from writing to their constituents; how can you prevent that by legislation?

Mr. EMERY. There is no way at all to do that except by changing the form of Government. But the Congress of the United States may protect itself against having any Member of that body pledged and giving his assurance that he will vote for legislation for or against a particular class. You are the sole judges of the qualifications of your own Members, and you can expel a man for having made such a promise, whether it be made to the American Federation of Labor or to the National Association of Manufacturers, so that it can not be written into the record that the American Federation of Labor elected 16 Members of Congress. If the National Association of Manufacturers published in "American Industries" a statement that they elected 5 Members of Congress, or 10 members of the association to Congress, or that they had a member of the President's Cabinet, every yellow journal in America would have a hemorrhage to-morrow morning.

Mr. CLINE. Do you not think that one very reliable method of preventing this condition would be to turn the daylight on all these forces that are lingering around this Capitol at the present time, and have been all these years?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And let the people know what is going on here?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And compel a man who comes here to represent an interest to go on record as to whom he represents and what he is here for?

Mr. EMERY. I could not imagine anything in this entire matter that would show that every man involved with us has not been on record.

Mr. CLINE. I am not referring to your association; I am dealing with it as a general proposition.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; I believe in that thoroughly, and that you can protect yourselves by appropriate legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. When you come to work out the details of that proposition, you will be confronted with a great many difficulties.

Mr. EMERY. You will be. On the one hand you have the great class of men who talk about a greater participation of business men in politics. Here is the situation that led to our establishment here; I only call your attention to this from a business standpoint. There are just a few lines here which I desire to read to the committee bear-

ing very closely on this subject. This is from an address which I delivered in 1910:

In 1908–9 there were proposed in the English Parliament 547 measures and there were enacted into law 239. In this country, with ninety millions of population, there was proposed one new law for approximately every thousand of the population, while in Great Britain they proposed one measure for every 77,000 of the people. In the United States, with 90,000,000 of people, we enact one new law every year for every 4,500 of our population, and in Great Britain, with 40,000,000 population, they enact one new law every year for every 180,000 of their population.

We are a people with a penchant for lawmaking, and we are developing an increasing tendency to regard our legislatures, or permit them to regard themselves, as political physicians possessing unfailing remedies for all evils, even to leveling the inequalities of life and supplying the deficiencies of nature. This vast volume of legislation must necessarily contain many problems of unusual interest and importance to commerce and industry. The business man is merely the citizen at work, and whatever affects the citizen at work, whether you call him manufacturer, merchant, or commercial agent, or workman, mechanic, or laborer, must necessarily affect every activity of the citizen in every department of life, because the principal business of man is to earn a living.

The CHAIRMAN. Now I direct your attention to No. 3333.

That has already been read into the record by Judge Russell, at the time Mr. Bird was on the stand. There is a question or two I want to ask you about it. It purports to be a letter written by you to Mr. Kirby.

I had the pleasure of wiring you last night the news of victory on the Hughes amendment, after the closest and hardest struggle of the session.

Returning here Wednesday morning from our New York meeting, an interview with the colonel, Mr. Dwight, and Senator Heyburn, showed the Senate to be determined, the House exceedingly weak. Mr. Gompers made his headquarters in the office of Representative Cary, of Wisconsin, in the House Office Building, and had something in the neighborhood of one hundred aids about him, making a persistent office canvass, petitions and memorials being piled in from every union source. I called at the White House, and being unable to see the President because of engagements, took the matter up with his secretary, who showed the greatest interest and declared he believed the President would take personal part in the fight, and this the President did on Wednesday night.

In the meantime, after an hour's conference with Mr. Dwight, the whip of the House, at this office—

Mr. EMERY. I think I undertook to correct that typographical error; it should be "his office."

The CHAIRMAN. It should read at "his office."

It goes on to say:

the program was outlined and carried out to the letter. To the colonel was given a list of 14 names, some Democrats, some Republicans, who voted with Hughes. He accomplished his work so successfully that of the 14 but 1 failed to either absent himself or vote with us yesterday. I communicated with Mr. Bird, requesting certain telegraphic assistance through his office, and this was carried out with extensions suggested by himself with splendid success. In the meantime, we hammered the South and West, and while we changed but 2 Southern votes on the roll call, 28 Democrats who voted with Hughes, on the last roll call remained away and were as good as votes for us. This demonstration of what our Southern friends can do is most encouraging. Especial thanks are due to Capt. Chamberlain, of Chattanooga; the Georgia Industrial Association, who influenced the Savannah, Atlanta, and Columbia and New Orleans members, who did likewise with their Representatives.

That letter is authentic, is it?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The particular part I want to inquire about is in regard to the list of 14 names given to the colonel. Do you remember any of those?

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not remember one of them, Mr. Chairman, at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Who gave him the list; can you say?

Mr. EMERY. I think I can. I talked with Mr. Dwight. I had been in New York and came back here and talked with Mr. Dwight and with Senator Heyburn, because this matter was in conference then, and the contest was on in the House and Senate, and I went to see them and ask them in regard to the condition of the matter. They knew we were deeply interested, and after talking with Mr. Dwight and Senator Heyburn and getting their views of the legislative situation I must have taken the names from the list; I probably saw it in Mr. Dwight's office. I saw the vote that had been taken the last time and possibly talked to him with reference to the particular position—the general position of the Republican Members on the matter. We then sent a large number of telegrams to business men, requesting that they send word to the Members representing their various districts, calling the attention of the members of our associations in those districts to the situation in this fight in the House and urging them to communicate with their Member of the House and ask him to oppose this proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. This list that was given to Mr. Mulhall, I suppose, was not picked out at random; I suppose these names were chosen with particular reference to your ability to reach them.

Mr. EMERY. As I remember the matter, we all undertook to interview Members of Congress, and Col. Mulhall was given a list, and I think I interviewed several Members myself. I am not sure about that now.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know why he was given just 14 names?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know any special reason for that at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course the men you undertook to interview were men concerning whom you had some information about their views?

Mr. EMERY. Yes. I think the names given to him were names of men he was supposed to know specially, because they came from his own district, or men that he knew better than others.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I was asking.

Mr. EMERY. I do not know whether he selected that list himself or made up that list or whether it was given to him, but it was a list of 14 names that he was assumed to know better than others. The telegraphic request for expressions of opinion from constituents of these various Members was sent out at the same time.

Mr. RUSSELL. The whole 14?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, more than that; I think those telegrams were sent to probably 200 districts.

Mr. STAFFORD. Who paid for those telegrams? The National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; they were sent to the associations of the council in these different localities. They all had a bulletin on the subject which detailed the amendment and made the argument for

and against it. The labor organizations, as the letter indicates, were carrying on a very active fight to pass the amendment.

(Thereupon, at 10.50 oclock a. m., a recess was taken until 2 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

At the expiration of the recess the committee reassembled.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Chairman, Judge Cline this morning inquired with regard to parties making legislative reports, to which matter some reference was made. For the purpose of the record I should like to give the information available. The first is found in the American Federationist for May, 1910, page 426, a legislative committee report signed by Arthur E. Holder, legislative committee, American Federation of Labor. They make special reference here to the injunction and contempt bills in which they were interested and which were then pending. The bills in which they are interested are given here—the injunction and contempt bills, and opposition to the Moon bill.

Then in the Federationist for July, 1910, at page 615, is given the second legislative report, under date of June 18, 1910, also signed Arthur E. Holder, legislative committee, American Federation of Labor. It contains that to which your attention was particularly directed this morning, a history of the eight-hour bill, and of the so-called Kendall amendment, to which I should like to call your attention.

EIGHT-HOUR BILL TO COVER GOVERNMENT WORK BY CONTRACTORS AND SUBCONTRACTORS.

Representative Kendall introduced House resolution No. 706 on May 19, calling for the discharge of the House Committee on Labor from further consideration of the eight-hour bill, H. R. 15441 (indorsed by the American Federation of Labor), and that the bill be immediately considered in the House as though regularly reported by said committee. This resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules, of which Representative Dalzell is chairman. Up to this writing no meeting of the Committee on Rules has been called to consider this resolution.

On June 4 Representative Kendall introduced an amendment to the sundry civil bill providing that the public work included in that appropriation bill for the United States Government by contractors and subcontractors should be performed under eight-hour regulations. The amendment was ruled out of order by Representative Mann, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House. Representative Wilson, of Pennsylvania, immediately appealed from the decision of the Chair, and after a spirited debate the committee divided. The vote stood 99 yeas to 61 nays. The decision of the Chair was sustained. The eight-hour amendment was rejected. Mr. Kendall immediately followed with another eight-hour provision to cover new contracts and making an exception to existing contracts. Representative Tawney promptly objected, and the amendment was ruled out on a point of order.

There follows then the history of the remaining effort to attach provisions to the naval appropriation bill, and on page 617 is given the history of the fight over the antitrust amendment to the sundry civil bill, together with the criticism of the Senators who voted against it and a list of the yea-and-nay vote in the Senate, to which special attention is called. I should like to indicate that at page 617, and ask that it be included in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. If there be no objection, that will be inserted.

Mr. EMERY. I am doing that without reading it to save the time of the committee and in order that you may have the information in the record.

(The portion of the article referred to is as follows:)

ANTITRUST AMENDMENT TO SUNDRY CIVIL BILL.

During the consideration of the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 25552) in the House, when the section was reached on June 2 making appropriation for the enforcement of the antitrust laws, Representative Hughes, of New Jersey, offered this amendment: "*Provided further*, That no part of this money shall be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, shortening of hours, or bettering the condition of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof not in itself unlawful." This amendment made the creatures of the "system" squirm, and every possible parliamentary motion imaginable was made to prevent it going to a vote, but it finally passed the Committee of the Whole House by a vote of 82 yeas to 52 nays. The sundry civil bill as amended passed the House of Representatives June 4; it was reported out of the Senate Committee on Appropriations to the Senate on June 7, and the antitrust amendment herein referred to was stricken from the bill by the committee. President Gompers promptly dispatched a circular letter to officials of affiliated organizations urging protests to be sent to the Senators against this proviso being taken from the bill and "insisting that the House provision be maintained." This effort was ably seconded by legislative representatives, Messrs. Roe and Wills, of the railroad organizations, and every possible effort was made with Senators individually to restore this proviso to the bill. In the meantime the employers' associations and the "interests" had been active and they urged Senators to strike the proviso from the bill. The amendment was reached in the Senate on June 9; Senators Bacon, Owen, and Gore ably defended the rights and interests of the workers, while Senators Heyburn, Hale, and Gallinger displayed a most bitter spirit toward the amendment. Heyburn was particularly coarse and vicious, and he vented his evident hatred and contempt for laborers and labor organizations without stint. A yea-and-nay vote was called for by Senator Gore; it was conceded after some sparring, and the United States Senate therein placed itself on record as being opposed to any organization or individual making an organized effort to increase wages, to shorten hours, or to better the condition of labor without running the risk of criminal prosecution under the provisions of the antitrust law. No act of Congress, nor any vote ever taken in Congress has shown such a transparent contempt for the workers as this record vote displays for all the world to see. This action on the part of the Senate will throw the Hughes amendment into conference and will afford our friends an opportunity to again make it an issue when reported to the House and the Senate by the conferees.

For the information of those who desire to know how their Senators voted upon this question, the roll is here given and explained. Senators voting "yea" wanted the Hughes amendment eliminated. Those voting "nay" wanted it restored.

YEAS—34.

Borah, Bourne, Brandegee, Bristow, Brown, Bulkeley, Burnham, Burrows, Burton, Carter, Clapp, Clark (Wyoming), Crane, Crawford, Cullom, Dick, Dixon, du Pont, Flint, Frye, Gallinger, Gamble, Hale, Heyburn, Kean, McEnery, Nelson, Oliver, Perkins, Smoot, Stephenson, Stone, Warren Wetmore.

NAYS—16.

Bacon, Burkett, Chamberlain, Dolliver, Fletcher, Frazier, Gore, Jones, Martin, Newlands, Owen, Page, Percy, Simmons, Smith (South Carolina), Warner.

On June 16, during the consideration in the House of the Porto Rico bill, H. R. 23000, Representative Wilson, of Pennsylvania, succeeded in amending it so that "eight hours shall constitute a day's work * * * on behalf of the Government or any municipality," and a 14-year limitation for age of children employed in hazardous or unhealthful occupations. He also secured another

valuable amendment to the bill guaranteeing the right of action for the workers to recover damages for injuries incurred during employment.

Many other matters have engaged the attention of the legislative committee, but lack of space forbids reference thereto.

ARTHUR E. HOLDER,
Legislative Committee, A. F. of L.

Mr. EMERY. In the August, 1910, Federationist, at page 701, there is a legislative committee report, signed by Arthur E. Holder, legislative committee, A. F. of L., giving the further history of the Hughes amendment and those who participated in it. It is stated that—

Great excitement prevailed in the House during the debate, and when the vote was taken the opponents to labor made a desperate effort to muster a large vote, and many Members apparently absented themselves rather than go on record. Constituents should ask their absentee Representatives this pointed question, "Why did you fail to vote upon this important legislation?"

And at the end of the report—this is under date of July 7, 1910—special reference is given to those representatives of labor who assisted in the fight, the committeeman saying:

I can not conclude this report without paying tribute to Representatives Anderson, Cary, Jamieson, Martin, McDermott, Murphy, Nicholls, Sherwood, Wilson, and Hughes, all of whom worked cheerfully, persistently, and loyally for the best interests of their constituents and all the people.

The final report to which I especially direct your attention is found in the April, 1913, Federationist, under the title of Congressional Achievements of Labor; report of A. F. of L. legislative committee. This begins on page 277, under date of March 7, 1913, with a very handsome reference to the comparative value of the Sixty-second over the Sixty-first Congress, and proceeds to discuss the various measures in which they are interested, with special attention to antitrust legislation.

Then, on page 280 is given the roll call on the antitrust section of the sundry civil bill, and on page 281 is given the roll call on the contempt bill, and on page 291 is given the roll call on the Clayton injunction bill.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not want all those roll calls to go in the record?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I merely call the attention of the committee to the place where they can be found, and I call your attention to the following on page 279:

The following is the record of the votes cast by the Members of the House of Representatives on March 4, 1913, in favor of and in opposition to the veto of the President, on the antitrust section of the sundry civil appropriation bill, which was under consideration. It also records those who failed to vote. In this instance, those voting "aye" voted for labor and against the President's veto. Those voting "nay" voted for the President's veto and against labor. Those failing to vote signified their indifference to the question.

There is also given, on page 290, the letter which was sent by Messrs. Gompers and Morrison to each Member of the Senate of the United States, asking their support for the injunction bill then pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Also in that connection I want to include as a part of the record with reference to the policy pursued by the A. F. of L. in these matters, the following from the statement by Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, November 19, 1912, at the Thirty-

second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Rochester. N. Y., to be found at page 304 of those proceedings:

I have heard it said that we go begging and pleading. Well, if any man would go to the committee of Congress and hear the statements made by the legislative committees, by the representatives of international unions, by the representative of the American Federation of Labor, by myself, he would find there is no pleading and there is no begging: it is the assertion, man fashion, of the rights to which the toilers are entitled and upon which they insist. Indeed, Walter Drew, the attorney of the Erectors' Association, one of the bitterest antagonists of organized labor, said last July before a meeting of the Judiciary Committee that he never heard Mr. Gompers make an address or argue before any committee of Congress unless it was accompanied with a threat. And when the opportunity was offered me I admitted that I did threaten, and propose to continue to threaten, the Members of Congress with the assertion that if I could help to secure the defeat of men who opposed the legislation labor demanded, I would not only repeat but emphasize and endeavor to carry that threat into effect. That statement is in print.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Emery, in your principal examination you made reference to not being up at the Capitol very frequently. Will you state specifically what were your duties for the N. A. M. or the N. C. I. D. so far as congressional legislation was concerned?

Mr. EMERY. I examined all bills bearing on the principles which I have described, and analyzed and compiled statements with respect to them for reference in the office. I was very much in the library of the Supreme Court, where I worked a great deal in keeping up with the industrial decisions and litigation of State and national character. I often made inquiries in committees where legislation was pending as to hearings, if any were to be had, and usually filed formal application for them.

Mr. STAFFORD. You made application to whom?

Mr. EMERY. To the chairman of the committee or whoever happened to be in the room. If it happened to be a clerk, I usually filed a formal application with him and endeavored to ascertain whether or not the committee was likely to have hearings; or if the chairman was not there, I would see a member of the committee and ascertain the probability of their having hearings and request an opportunity to be heard.

In addition to this we were constantly supplying information to all the bodies connected with the council and to such individuals through members of the council or the National Association of Manufacturers as made application for information on practically any question of a public character, whether it was with reference to public information to supply documents bearing on that or bearing on any public activity of government in which a business man would be interested. I suppose there were long periods of time—sometimes months—that I was never in the Capitol.

Mr. STAFFORD. Separating the time of preparation that you gave from your other work, how much time did you give actually to appearances before committees or speaking with Members concerning legislation—the real legislative work about the corridors and the committee rooms of the Capitol?

Mr. EMERY. That depended on occasions and circumstances, Mr. Stafford, when these matters were up, but even then I did not very often come in contact with individual Members except when some matter was pending before a committee in which I was interested.

To give you an illustration—I can perhaps do better by illustration than by undertaking to recall without the aid of the correspondence. During the time the so-called Moon bill was pending we were very much opposed to that bill. I called upon Mr. Moon several times, discussed it with him, and discussed it with Senator Heyburn at the time that his proposal was pending, which was introduced in the Senate as a part of the revision of laws. I found that Senator Heyburn was not very favorable to it, and Mr. Moon was very strongly for some change in injunctive procedure, and he and I had a number of arguments about it.

Finally he introduced his bill and I wrote a criticism of it, which resulted in Mr. Moon objecting to my criticism, and a very sharp correspondence ensued owing to a misprint and misunderstanding in the beginning. As an example of that kind I suppose I interviewed Mr. Moon and talked to him half a dozen times on that subject. Nearly all those interviews grew one out of the other over some disputed question of law or fact in which I undertook either to find law that would satisfy his judgment or give him facts and data which might prove his own view or contention to be incorrect.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can you give the committee some general idea of the number of times a month, while Congress was in session, that you attended the Capitol in connection with your work?

Mr. EMERY. It was not an average, Mr. Stafford, because there might be nothing pending. If there was nothing pending here before a committee in which I was interested I would not go up to the Capitol unless I went to the law library during the month.

Mr. STAFFORD. During your employment how many times had you legislation pending in which you were interested?

Mr. EMERY. You mean designating the committees by title?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. EMERY. The Committee on the Judiciary of both Houses, the Committee on Labor of the House, the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate, the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the Senate, the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service of the House; I was going to say the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the House, but that matter did not come up. There was a matter pending before the Post Office Committee of the House, before which the Lloyd bill was pending, and I applied to Mr. Moon and had a long conversation with him. At the time it was proposed to draw up an amendment to an appropriation bill, thinking the committee would give some hearing on it, but they decided not to.

Mr. STAFFORD. How frequently during a session would you appear before these respective committees you have named?

Mr. EMERY. Well, it depended entirely upon the time which the committee gave to the hearing of those bills. For instance, in 1912 the Committee on the Judiciary held hearings during January and February on the so-called Clayton contempt bill and the so-called Clayton anti-injunction bill and on the various bills in connection with it. I think there were some 13 bills under consideration. I think those hearings lasted altogether parts of two weeks.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do I understand you, then, Mr. Emery, that you would not be in the Capitol unless there was pending before a committee or under consideration some of the bills you said your association were directly concerned about?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I never frequented the Capitol or made a practice of interviewing Members of Congress on these subjects.

Mr. STAFFORD. We have been quite desirous—I know I have—of ascertaining exactly what the work of Mr. Mulhall was. The testimony shows that so far as polling the House is concerned, on only one occasion did he exercise himself in that way, and that was to take a poll as to the tariff commission, in which another association other than the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Council for Industrial Defense was interested. You stated yesterday that his work was to obtain bills and documents. Now, a secretary could perform that work in a half hour a day——

Mr. EMERY. It was not that alone. I referred also to the fact that he gathered constantly information on subjects that would enable me to answer inquiries from members, either here or in the departments. He went to committees and learned the status of pending bills and the legislative history of bills in response to inquiries which I could answer. He went frequently, or every now and then, anyhow, with inquiries I happened to have to the various departments to get information for me with respect to inquiries made by members of these associations. Sometimes post-office matters——

Mr. STAFFORD. During part of the time in which he was under your direct charge or supervision his salary was increased, was it not?

Mr. EMERY. I think it was in January, 1910.

Mr. STAFFORD. From $250 to $300 a month?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know whether it was $250 to $300, or $200 to $250.

Mr. STAFFORD. At the close of his service with the National Association of Manufacturers he was receiving $300 a month?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; I believe he was.

Mr. STAFFORD. Of course, when he first entered into its employ with Mr. Van Cleave he was receiving $200 a month and subsequently it was raised to $250. Was that increase made upon your suggestion or with your consent and approval?

Mr. EMERY. I do not recall, Mr. Stafford, at the present time, whether I was consulted in the matter or not. I do not think I was.

Mr. STAFFORD. Are you acquainted with the salary that is usually or sometimes paid to railroad lobbyists about State legislatures for representing railroads during the entire year?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I am not.

Mr. STAFFORD. You have no idea what is paid to that character of man who looked after the interests under the old régime before railroads were taken out of politics?

Mr. EMERY. No: I am not familiar with that, Mr. Stafford.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you really think that Mr. Mulhall, as far as his work about Congress was concerned, gathering this information, was performing service of the value of $300 a month?

Mr. EMERY. Well, if you were to concentrate your attention, perhaps, upon some one particular part of that question I should say not. I do not know that I gave any particular thought to that myself. I found Mulhall in the employ of the association when I became connected with it, and I did not feel it within my province to criticize his salary or work. I was away a great deal, as I have said—probably a third of my time when I was in Washington—in

New York or other cities, sometimes making addresses or attending meetings or conferences with other associations. I went on a variety of matters, while there is apparently a continuity of contact between Mr. Mulhall and myself during the periods when I was in Washington, there was, as a matter of fact, only a fragmentary contact. He was away a good deal of the time when I was here and I was away a great deal while he was here. It often happened during a session of Congress that I would see him two or three days in a week, or I might not see him at all, so there was no continuous contact with him.

Mr. STAFFORD. What potency did you give to his having acquaintance with Members of Congress, or with his buttonholding them or besieging them or interviewing them?

Mr. EMERY. Personally, when I came here—Mulhall coming with the letters and credentials which he had, and apparently enjoying the confidence of public men of considerable position, and having had a great amount of political experience—I suppose I looked up to him with the deference which a man has for another man who has had a great deal of contact with a field of which he knows little or nothing.

Mr. STAFFORD. Was that deference due to the character of his talk, the scope of his vocabulary, or any indication of extreme culture and refinement that would give you that idea?

Mr. EMERY. No. The colonel was rough in many ways, but he had a great deal of native force, and he had an entree apparently to the offices of many public men here, and when it was a matter of getting an interview with one of them he very readily got it, from the Vice President down. He appeared to enjoy the respect of these men and to have performed services of a political nature, and to have had political experience which caused them—who themselves had had a broad amount of political experience—to hold him in some measure of favor. As I was somewhat green myself, whatever my own conclusions might have been, I felt that if other men of wide experience gave him testimonials and recommendations they knew a great deal more about it than I did.

Mr. STAFFORD. You mentioned his having an easy entree to the former Vice President, referring, I assume, to Vice President Sherman, for whom he did some work when he was chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee.

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I believe that is the way he became acquainted with him.

Mr. STAFFORD. Now, I ask you whether he ever had the entree to President Taft. I believe President Taft was in the White House during the entire time you have been down here in Washington.

Mr. EMERY. Practically, yes. No; I remember his going up there on some matter of his own once, and I remember that Mr. Van Cleave in 1909, I think, desired to hold a conference with the President over some views he had expressed on the amendment to the Sherman Act. I was in New York at that time, and I telegraphed Mr. Mulhall asking him to call upon the President's secretary and see if a meeting could be had with the President. That is the only time I know of that he arranged any meeting with the President.

Mr. STAFFORD. Would you know if he had arranged any other meeting besides this?

Mr. EMERY. I am sure I would, because I would have known from those who were to participate in it.

Mr. STAFFORD. You have described your work about the Capitol with respect to committee meetings and the like. What was supposed to be your work so far as presenting matters to the President was concerned?

Mr. EMERY. He had nothing to do with that.

Mr. STAFFORD. I say, so far as you were concerned.

Mr. EMERY. Oh, pardon me. If there was some matter of policy or principles in which the President expressed himself on these questions of legislative principle in which we were so deeply interested, we endeavored to call it to the attention of the President. I have only two or three such occasions in mind; two particularly.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will you mention those?

Mr. EMERY. The President made an address at Des Moines, Iowa—I think it was in 1910 in the course of his western tour—that attracted more than ordinary attention, in which he made a statement of his views on the Sherman Antitrust Act.

Mr. STAFFORD. That had been preceded by his address at Detroit on that same trip, had it not?

Mr. EMERY. I remember he expressed himself two or three times, but I recall the Des Moines speech because he more explicitly expressed a view there which involved the exclusion of labor organizations from the operation of the act. I think he said at that time that he would not expressly exclude any class in the community from the operation of the general principle of law, but he thought the necessary legal effect of the form of amendment he proposed was to exclude combinations of that character. I know that those of us who were keenly interested in preserving the Sherman Act from destruction—and I have always regarded it as the Magna Charta of American industry—were of one mind regarding the combination of great industries and the control of raw materials from which the producing manufacturer must produce the things he sells. And it was with that in view that we had passed the Hepburn-Warner bill in 1908, which was understood to have been formulated by the very distinguished counsel of the Steel Corporation.

We sought an opportunity to discuss with Mr. Taft the judgment which he had expressed with him.

Mr. STAFFORD. Who was that?

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Van Cleave, Mr. Kirby, and, I think, two other members.

Mr. STAFFORD. You say the President expressed "with him." Whom did you refer to in that?

Mr. EMERY. Expressed "by him." Pardon me; I missed the preposition. What appointment had been made for the members?

Mr. STAFFORD. At whose instance?

Mr. EMERY. At our suggestion or instance, rather.

Mr. STAFFORD. Who arranged it?

Mr. EMERY. I wrote the President.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Mulhall had nothing to do with it?

Mr. EMERY. Nothing. I either called at the White House and saw the President's secretary, or I wrote to him—I do not recall exactly which now—but at any rate some little time later, a week or

10 days—I had this interview with President Taft in which I took up the expression of opinion given by him at Des Moines, that he intended to make a legislation recommendation along that line and expressed very grave apprehension if the recommendation was followed by the act; and after a discussion of perhaps half an hour or so with the President, in which he went over the whole field and told us what business ideas he had had, and exchanged ideas with us, I said to him, in conclusion, that I would prepare a memorandum of what views I had expressed to him at that time, and he said he would be glad to see it, and I did prepare such a memorandum and submitted it to him.

Mr. STAFFORD. Now, the other instance. You say there are two?

Mr. EMERY. Another time we called on him when this injunction legislation was pending, and the President had expressed views on the subject of injunction, as I recall it, and of course they attracted very wide attention because he had been a judge of very great ability and experience. One was the so-called seven-day proposal which Mr. Moon put in the form of a bill—that no restraining order should be issued to remain in force for more than seven days; and the other was a proposal which he had made at an early time when he was a candidate. It bobbed up again with reference to this discussion in reference to contempt to be tried before a judge other than the one before whom it was committed.

Mr. STAFFORD. How long did that interview last?

Mr. EMERY. I should say half an hour.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did Mr. Mulhall arrange that interview?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; he did not. I arranged it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Would you be in a position to know if Mr. Mulhall had arranged interviews with the President on behalf of officers of the association?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, I am sure I would, because I do not think they would undertake any matter of this character without my being present.

Mr. STAFFORD. I call your attention to the double-leaded paragraph in the New York World of Sunday, June 29, 1913, purporting to be a part of the narrative of Mr. Mulhall, in which he says:

> While I was aiding Emery in Washington and in charge of the field work for the National Association of Manufacturers, I called at the White House frequently and made arrangements for Mr. Van Cleave, Mr. Schwedtman, Mr. Emery, Mr. Bird, and others to see President Taft.

What have you to say as to the accuracy or truthfulness of that statement?

Mr. EMERY. The officers of the association did not call on President Taft on any matter in which I had an interest more than at the most four times, to the best of my recollection—about four times during President Taft's term. I think I called on the President either twice or three times alone; once to invite him, or rather to make an engagement in order that a formal invitation might be given to him to attend the annual banquet of the association; at another time, just after the Chicago convention, at which he was renominated, when I called to pay my respects to him; and there may have been another occasion, which I do not recall. There is this possibility, Mr. Stafford, that I was not in Washington from

May, 1909, until about the 1st of November, 1909, and during that period the National Tariff Commission Association was very energetically undertaking to secure the passage of the tariff-commission bill, and the President was very deeply interested in the establishment of a tariff commission, and I think during that period the officers of that organization, some of the officers of the National Association of Manufacturers, had either one or two interviews with the President on that subject, and it may be that Mr. Mulhall made those arrangements; I do not know.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will continue reading this article:

Meetings of this kind were arranged for at the White House about twice a month. These meetings were always for the purpose of influencing the President against the labor workers and in favor of the bills that the National Association of Manufacturers wanted killed.

During that interim when you were not here, when the tariff-commission bill was pending and when the House was considering, as I believe, only the Payne Tariff Act, what would you say as to the accuracy of that statement—whether that is true or not?

Mr. EMERY. Well, it is a false statement. The interviews with the President in which our officers participated, to my knowledge, on matters of the kind of legislation referred to, were not more than four, or at most five in number, during the period of four years. Two of them, if I best remember, were on those two subjects, the amendment of the Sherman Act—which he had discussed in the course of his public addresses—and the injunction bill, which the public press reported him to have approved; and our call on him was largely for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not he favored injunction legislation at that time, and I discussed that with him very much as a lawyer would discuss such a matter before a judge.

Mr. WILLIS. Before you leave this subject of calls to the White House, I desire to call your attention first to letter 3272, a letter written by you to Mr. Mulhall, under date of November 15, 1909. I desire this letter to go into the record in full at this point. It is a very brief letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it will go in.

Mr. WILLIS. The substance of that letter is this, that you are requesting Mr. Mulhall to arrange an interview at the White House.

Mr. EMERY. That is the letter to which I referred, I think, in which Mr. Van Cleave and others sought an interview with the President to discuss proposed recommendations with respect to the Sherman Act.

Mr. STAFFORD. That was just before the convening of the Congress when President Taft sent a message to Congress?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

(The letter above referred to is in full, as follows:)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS,
New York, November 15, 1909.

Col. M. M. MULHALL,
624 Oak Avenue, Waverly, Baltimore, Md.

MY DEAR COLONEL: I have seen copies of your recent telegram to Mr. Van Cleave. It is desirable that our delegation should call on the President either Saturday, November 20, or November 22, preferably the latter date. Will you see the President's Secretary and ascertain, with certainty, whether the President will be in Washington on those two dates, and I would suggest that you

say that you make the inquiry as this delegation desires to call on the President Monday the 22d, preferably, and as they come from a long distance they desire to be sure they may see him.

As soon as you ascertain this fact, wire me in New York. Please remember that we prefer Monday, the 22d. I see the President will be out of Washington on Friday the 19th, and am not sure whether he will be there on the 20th, or not.

Very truly, yours,

JAMES A. EMERY.

Mr. WILLIS. In reply to that letter, obviously is to be considered letter 3301, under date of November 17, 1909, a letter from Mr. Mulhall to you, and I make the same request that it be placed in full in the record. The substance of that letter is that he had sought to arrange that interview and was unable to do so, and that is the only instance where I find in the correspondence that the colonel speaks of arranging interviews at the White House, and in this case, as clearly shown by the letter, was unable to arrange for the interview.

(The letter above referred to is as follows:)

NOVEMBER 17, 1909.

Mr. JAMES A. EMERY,
170 Broadway, New York.

MY DEAR JAMES: There was a phone message which came for me from Mr. Carpenter to this office this morning, but I was not here. At about 2 p. m. I called at Mr. Carpenter's office and was told that he was engaged with the President and for me to return at about 3.30 p. m., as he wished to see me. At 3.20 p. m. I called at Mr. Carpenter's office in the White House, and he wanted to know at once how large a delegation was going to be here, and I told him that I understood it was from six to eight people, and he wanted to know who the gentlemen were. I named them as nearly as I possibly could, and Mr. Carpenter stated at once that the President did not wish to receive any large delegations at the present time, and he stated that the President would not receive more than one or two of those gentlemen, so it was absolutely unnecessary for them to come here. He stated also that if they had anything to say that he wished they would put it in a brief and submit it by their attorney.

I stated to Mr. Carpenter that I had already wired those gentlemen what he had formerly stated about receiving them and that they certainly had now made all preparations to come, so that I could not see how it was possible to stop the delegation from coming to Washington. He stated that the President had fully gone over the matter with some of his advisers and he was against receiving any large delegation at the present time, and particularly that he would be extremely busy next week and was going to leave the city again about Tuesday, but that if I would come in again on Monday when those gentlemen came here he would see what could be done and would advise me on that occasion.

Mr. Carpenter is positive that the President will not receive a large delegation, so I am writing you this fact and would be pleased to hear from you. The President will see you and fully explain the matter to you if you get over here on Monday.

I have sent copies of this letter to Messrs. Kirby, Van Cleave, and Bird.

With best wishes,

Faithfully, yours, M. M. MULHALL.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you know of Mr. Mulhall ever having appeared before any committee of Congress and making an argument for or against any pending legislation?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I do not. I think when the Lloyd bill was on—I do not remember distinctly—I think he was there on the occasion of the first hearing on the Lloyd bill, and he said he would like to be heard and made a request for a hearing. That is the extent of his remarks, if I remember rightly.

Mr. STAFFORD. He did not make any argument against the pending proposition?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; he made a request for a hearing, and that is all.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand you, there was paid to Mr. Mulhall out of the $5,418, as shown from the books of the National Council for Industrial Defense, $3,500, which he expended in the sixth New Jersey district to defeat the then Representative, William Hughes?

Mr. EMERY. I am so informed.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you have any knowledge that any arrangement was made to contribute that large amount——

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I was not here.

Mr. STAFFORD. To defeat Mr. Hughes?

Mr. EMERY. I got here about the 10th of July, and that matter transpired during my absence.

Mr. STAFFORD. What do you know about Mr. Mulhall using this so-called secret room in the Capitol?

Mr. EMERY. This, Mr. Stafford, that at some time in the middle of 1911, if I remember rightly, or some time in 1911, Mr. Mulhall made the suggestion to me he was going to establish a bureau of information—that was what he called it—the idea being he would have a room from which to mail documents he thought would be of interest to our members, and where they could be sent out. I thought such an arrangement was unnecessary. He called upon me again and mentioned it the second time, and made some mention of a room in the Capitol. The first idea, as I recall it, was that he could use the stenographer to whom he dictated his letters, and could send out a number of public documents through this stenographer, and the further suggestion was that he could use a room in the Capitol. That came at some later date; I do not remember exactly when. I know the first time he mentioned it to me, I disapproved very sternly and sharply.

The CHAIRMAN. You say when he first mentioned it you disapproved of it very sternly and very sharply?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; he did not renew that discussion with me.

The CHAIRMAN. How did he state to you he was going to get that room?

Mr. EMERY. If he did tell me I do not now recall how he was going to get it, but he said he could get the use of a room in the Capitol.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you who would give him the use of the room?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I was not sufficiently interested, beyond condemning the proposal, to open up a discussion with him, after telling him it was simply absurd.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not mention any Congressman's name?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I do not recall the name of anyone being mentioned in connection with it.

Mr. RUSSELL. You did not know he got the room?

Mr. EMERY. No; I did not, Judge Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. You never heard of it?

Mr. EMERY. I had never heard of the room being used until I heard the story here.

Mr. RUSSELL. I think he testified you frequently telephoned to that room.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think he testified to that.

Mr. RUSSELL. Oh, I believe Mr. Mulhall said he telephoned to you from that room. Is that right?

Mr. EMERY. It is possible. If he telephoned to me I could not tell where he was telephoning from, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You never did know for a fact that he procured the use of a room?

Mr. EMERY. No; I did not, Mr. Russell, until I heard him tell of it in this inquiry.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know of his employment of this young lady at that time—Miss Mason?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. You did not know anything about that at all?

Mr. EMERY. I knew he had a stenographer where he had his stenographic work done outside of the office.

Mr. RUSSELL. You did not know where?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; or who was doing it.

Mr. RUSSELL. You never were in that room?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I never was.

Mr. STAFFORD. In speaking of the serviceability of Mr. Mulhall yesterday, you referred to his relations with certain Members of Congress, and I think referred particularly, in a general way, to those from the State of Maryland. Did you have in mind anything in which he stated anything about his relations with any of the Maryland delegation?

Mr. EMERY. Well, I always understood through the Workingmen's Protective Association in Baltimore, of which he had been the originator he took quite a prominent part in Maryland politics, and always appeared to take a prominent part in the politics of his city. I won't say "prominent"; but at least a strenuous part in the campaigns of the candidates for mayor and congressional candidates over there, and I always understood he was in more or less friendly contact with numbers of delegates whom he had known for many years on account of his participation in politics, and he always spoke of them as his friends and always claimed to be on friendly terms with them.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you know anything about the permanency of the organization, as to whether it is a live one, this Workingmen's Protective Association, or whether it is merely a nominal organization during campaign times?

Mr. EMERY. I know nothing beyond what Col. Mulhall told me when I went over to Baltimore at one time to Col. Mulhall's house and he mentioned the distinguished leaders who composed it, but I never came in contact with them personally or any of its members.

Mr. STAFFORD. You know nothing about its existence or as to the potency of its members?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; nothing except what Mr. Mulhall told me or I heard him tell others.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you have anything to do with causing Mr. Mulhall to be separated from the service of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. Well, I do not know whether my own views on the matter led to that. I know that I did have considerable friction with him during the period in which I was longest in contact with him, in the spring of 1910.

Mr. STAFFORD. When did that first arise?

Mr. EMERY. It arose in May, 1910—at least it came to a head at that time. In May, 1910, he went out to execute some errand for me and I did not see him again for three or four days, and it was some matter I wanted to include in a bulletin, and I was very anxious to get the information about it; and I undertook to communicate with him, and finally succeeded in doing so. He refused to come to my office and refused to obey my orders, saying he was on some matter he considered of greater importance, and the result of that was I suspended him and reported that suspension to the president, and Mr. Mulhall was then put under the control of Mr. Bird, as I preferred to have him put under somebody else's direction.

Mr. STAFFORD. Who caused his reinstatement after you had suspended him?

Mr. EMERY. He apologized to me for his conduct and told me—I forget exactly what his excuse was at that time, but he made a very elaborate apology to me, and I let the matter go.

Mr. STAFFORD. Was there any other conduct of his you had complained about during his continuance with the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. Nothing, except I should say his conduct peculiar to his personal peculiarities—his hot temper and uncontrollable tongue—that led to several disputes and friction between us. The colonel did not like me, I do not think, and I did not care for him.

Mr. STAFFORD. When did you first become acquainted with this mass of correspondence that he sold to the New York World?

Mr. EMERY. When the New York World published its story on the 29th of June.

Mr. STAFFORD. You had no knowledge prior to that time he had any such papers in his possession?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; except I do remember that preceding the publication of the story I received a newspaper clipping from the city of Baltimore, an anonymous newspaper clipping, and in it was a statement that one Martin M. Mulhall had been sued by Thomas Barry, of New York, to recover a share of $10,000 alleged to be due him for selling certain political letters owned by Col. Mulhall, alleged to relate to his service in the National Association of Manufacturers. This came into my possession—I received my mail on Thursday morning preceding the Sunday publication, and on the same day I was called up from the New York office by my legal associate in the New York office—Mr. Nevin, I think, was on the phone—and he said he understood the World was going to publish some story that was written by Mulhall and told me of this Barry matter. Suit had been brought by this man Barry, and he said there had been a number of reporters from the World down there for the past week, several men from the World, and that they had been seeking information with respect to the association, telling us they wanted to write up its history and give an account of its work, and they had been especially interested in the development of the American foreign trade, and so on, and had secured pictures of the officers and elaborate statements from the heads of the departments in respect to its activities; and it was Mr. Nevin's conclusion from this matter and the suit of Barry's that Mulhall was writing some kind of a story; but we had

no idea of what he had in his possession in the way of letters or documents or other things.

Mr. STAFFORD. After Mr. Mulhall separated himself on January 1, 1912, from the National Association of Manufacturers you met him or saw him on a few occasions, did you not?

Mr. EMERY. He came to my office several times.

Mr. STAFFORD. What was the purpose of those calls?

Mr. EMERY. On each visit he usually wound up by asking me to intercede with Mr. Kirby and Mr. Bird for his reinstatement, and at other times he—oh, he made several statements to me about what his plans were; he was going to open a detective bureau in the city of Washington, and he was going to work for the Republican national committee, and he was going back into the brush business; those were his different stories. But generally when he called on me I was pretty busy and the colonel is pretty verbose, and I tried to cut him off as shortly as I could and save my time; but on each of the two or three occasions he came there he came apparently chiefly for the purpose of asking that I should request his reinstatement in the association or intercede with Mr. Bird or Mr. Kirby in his behalf. Those requests were usually accompanied by statements of his as to his lack of means, his financial condition, and the serious suffering he was going through on account of the insanity of his alleged wife.

Mr. STAFFORD. What did you say in reply when he made those requests?

Mr. EMERY. Why, I expressed my regret at his condition, but told him I thought he had brought it on himself, and I could make no recommendation to Mr. Kirby or Mr. Bird in the matter. I was very sorry for him personally, but I could not do anything to assist him, or would not.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you make any recommendation or were you in any wise connected in the final dismissal of Mr. Mulhall from the service of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I was not here when he was dismissed. I was in California.

Mr. STAFFORD. The action of the officers of the National Association of Manufacturers was entirely without any report or request from you?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; without my knowledge. I did not know anything about Mr. Mulhall's dismissal until I received a letter from Mr. Bird in Los Angeles, some time in October. I had left about the middle of September on a western trip, and had been up in Seattle or up north and in California, and I received this letter from Mr. Bird, I think, sometime in October, telling me about the circumstances of Mulhall's matter. I know when I left here I did not know where Mr. Mulhall was. I had had some occasion to make inquiry about him, and I wrote to Mr. Boudinot or telegraphed to Mr. Boudinot in late August, asking him where Mr. Mulhall was, and received a reply from him that he did not know where he was. So all this other matter came up after my departure.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is, August, 1910?

Mr. EMERY. 1911.

Mr. STAFFORD. I mean August, 1911. Congress was in session that year up to in August?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I think they were in session until the middle of August.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Emery, you stated that a number of times after January 1, 1912, Mr. Mulhall interviewed you with the object in view of securing employment again?

Mr. EMERY. Several times, I think. I would not say a number of times, but I think I saw him two or three times, and I think he was in there once or twice when I did not see him.

Mr. WILLIS. A number of times he saw you with that object in view?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. There has been considerable testimony here relative to the conditions upon which Mr. Mulhall was seeking that re-employment. What were those conditions he stated to you?

Mr. EMERY. He never stated any conditions, except his anxious desire to get back in the service of the association.

Mr. WILLIS. You heard Mr. Mulhall's testimony here that he would not go back in the service except under certain conditions?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Did he state those conditions to you?

Mr. EMERY. No; he did not. His applications to me were simply requests that I would ask—he thought Mr. Kirby and Mr. Bird had been too hard upon him, and he ought to be given an opportunity to show he was sorry for what had been done, and he would serve the association faithfully and loyally, and those requests were usually accompanied by his pulling out of his breast pocket an armful of credentials which I had heard read on prior occasions, and which he offered to read again, showing the confidence he had enjoyed from the time of Senator Quay to date.

Mr. WILLIS. That leads to another question: When Mr. Mulhall was put under your jurisdiction here, as I have understood your testimony, it was with the idea he would collect information; that he would get bills and documents and would report about the hearings of committees, when hearings were to be held, in order that you might appear before the committee, etc.?

Mr. EMERY. He would render any assistance which he could to me here.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes. Now, you also stated that one of the reasons why you had great confidence in him for this work was because he brought these recommendations from gentlemen that had been prominent in political affairs. What I can not see is this: If the object of Mr. Mulhall's activities here was simply to collect information, why was it desirable that he should have the political connections and have these recommendations from men who were supposed to exercise great influence in political affairs? What was the object of this political side of the thing? That is what I want to get at.

Mr. EMERY. Why, because it was very natural a man of some position here in Washington would talk more freely to a man whom he knew than to a stranger. At least, I assumed he would; and if there were matters of legislation in which we were interested and anxious to know what the Republican Party would do, it being the dominant party in power—whether they were inclined to take action on legislation of that kind, and if they intended to give serious attention to

the enactment of injunction legislation, and when such a bill was pressed, what was its strength, what was its character—and Mr. Mulhall made inquiries to ascertain. He had a political acquaintance that enabled him to talk to Members of Congress about it and ascertain their views in respect to legislation of that kind, and in these matters his political acquaintance was a matter of considerable assistance.

Mr. WILLIS. So, as a matter of fact, the thing you probably had in mind as much as anything else when he was employed was the fact he had, as you state, entrée to people that would know what was going on, and what the position was likely to be in reference to certain bills in which you were interested?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; that would be one consideration. Of course, Mr. Van Cleave employed him, and not myself. He went to Mr. Van Cleave and represented himself as having been in the employ of the association and as having performed valuable services for it, for which he had received no recognition, and he was surprised to discover he was not known to his former employers, and they were surprised to learn that he could have been in their employ without their knowing it.

Mr. WILLIS. It is a fact, then, which has been brought out here not only by your testimony but the testimony of a number of other gentlemen, that Mr. Mulhall always put these political recommendations out prominently. Isn't it a fact that he was looked upon in a sense as the political agent of the association?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; more or less, he was.

Mr. WILLIS. He was expected to do that work more than anything else?

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. He may have been sent out here and there to look after a new Member, to look after this or that or to get a bill, but he was the political end of the organization?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; he was more familiar with politics, supposed to have a wide political acquaintance and supposed to be able to gather political information more than anyone else in our employ.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you regard him as an expert upon legislative procedure?

Mr. EMERY. That is a parliamentary inquiry which it is somewhat difficult to answer.

Mr. WILLIS. It is a question of opinion rather than fact, of course.

Mr. EMERY. He did know more or less of the technique of the movement of legislation.

Mr. WILLIS. That leads to another inquiry, Mr. Emery. I am very much interested, and I think all of the members of the committee are interested, in some explanation of these expense accounts. The question I am about to ask, realizing you have already testified the expense accounts were not gone over by you and the reports were not made to you, I am asking thinking perhaps you may know through discussion that was had in the organization something about it.

In going over these accounts here there are hundreds of items which, it seems to me, must have attracted the attention of somebody, and I am trying to find out who there is, if there is anyone, who can

give us information. Mr. Bird did not seem to have positive information in regard to it. Here is one on July 11, 1908:

Paid to one member of the Retail Clerks' Union for services rendered, $40.

And the same item occurs again on July 19. Then on July 15 there is an item of an amount paid to one member of the Boiler Makers' Union, $25. You can pick them up anywhere, pick them at random, and find accounts of that kind. Here is one on July 8, 1908:

Paid to one member of the Loom Fixtures Union of Paterson, N. J., for labor performed and services rendered while doing campaign work in the sixth New Jersey district, due July 9, $20.

There are thousands of items like this. Here is letter No. 3976, October 30, 1910:

Paid to one member of the Silk Weavers, $30.

And in the same account there is an item:

Paid to two colored party workers for services rendered, $20.

And here is another one which I have marked:

Paid to one member of the Retail Clerks' Union for services rendered in the first New Jersey district, $10.

There are hundreds of those items, men paid as high as $40 a week for months continuously.

Now, Mr. Emery, I would like to ask you if there was ever any discussion about any of these items, any inquiry as to what Mulhall was doing with this money, anything of that kind in any of the meetings? What do you know about that in addition to what you have already testified?

Mr. EMERY. You must recollect that those are expenses of the National Association of Manufacturers, of which I knew nothing. I was counsel for the National Council for Industrial Defense. I had nothing to do at that time with the financial affairs of the National Association of Manufacturers. I never heard of those expenses, and had no familiarity with them until I read them as a part of the evidence in this case. I am not familiar with the circumstances of the colonel's political activities and so-called field activities, in which he undertook in some of the campaigns to secure the assistance of men in the conduct of some political matter in which he was engaged. I never saw him in operation in the field, never directed him, never came into contact with him.

Mr. WILLIS. Who did?

Mr. EMERY. He took his orders either from the St. Louis or New York office.

Mr. WILLIS. Who in New York would give him his orders?

Mr. EMERY. He was under Mr. Bird's direction when he went into the field.

Mr. WILLIS. You heard Mr. Bird's testimony here. He did not seem to know about this. These items came in and he passed them to the treasurer. I am trying to get this thing nailed down.

Mr. EMERY. I heard his statement as to what he believed to be the activities of the so-called Workingmen's Protective Association and how it came into existence. The colonel organized such a movement, according to the story I heard Mr. Bird telling, and he had assisted

in carrying on the existence of that movement in this particular district where it was located.

Mr. WILLIS. Of course we have not been able to get any evidence, aside from that expression of opinion of Mr. Bird's that there ever was any organization at all. I believe the only thing that has been proven is that these sums of money were paid at that time. What I wanted to inquire of you was whether in your meetings either of the Council or of the National Association of Manufacturers there was any discussion of this at all of these expenditures of Col. Mulhall?

Mr. EMERY. Personally I have never been in any conference or meeting in which there was any discussion of his expenses. I had no idea of that. My own department kept me very busy and I did not go beyond it.

Mr. RUSSELL. I do not know whether the question has ever been asked, but I would like to know, if you can tell, what the expenses per month were for maintaining the office here in Washington outside of your salary and outside of Mulhall's salary.

Mr. EMERY. Mulhall was not paid out of this office. Outside of my own expenses the expenses of the Washington office ran from $500 to $600 a month.

Mr. RUSSELL. That was rent and the incidental expenses of maintaining the office here?

Mr. EMERY. Everything; yes, sir; rent, secretary's salary, stenographic salary, circulation of bulletins, printing, including all the printing, and the printing of congressional documents and speeches that were circulated, and all the expenses of that character in connection with the distribution of information and literature.

Mr. RUSSELL. Approximately $5,000 a month?

Mr. EMERY. No; from $500 to $600 a month.

Mr. RUSSELL. That was in addition to your salary?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; subject to variation. It ran sometimes higher than that.

Mr. WILLIS. You have heard the testimony here, and I have a vague recollection of it, but Mr. Bird testified something about the National Association of Manufacturers paying a portion of Mr. Mulhall's expenses and the National Council for Industrial Defense paying a portion of them. Do you recall that? What was the fact? That is what we want.

Mr. EMERY. My own recollection of Mr. Bird's testimony was that when Mulhall was working under my direction in Washington the National Association of Manufacturers paid his salary and expenses and regarded that as a contribution to the work of the council. That is my recollection of his testimony.

Mr. WILLIS. I understand that from your own knowledge to be the fact, whether it was his testimony or not?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Another item that runs through here and appears a great many times was the item that Mulhall put in his expense account for entertainment while gathering information, so much, sometimes $5, and different sums. I wish we could find somebody who could give us some light on that. It would seem to me, Mr. Emery, that somebody in this great organization of business men would have the direct oversight of that account.

Mr. EMERY. It never came under my eye. My relation to those matters was not one which would lead me to any inquiry in regard to accounts.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you ever hear of any of those entertainments down at Fritz Reuter's, in which he and the count and McMichael and "Hymns" had a part?

Mr. EMERY. No; I never did. I knew nothing about the colonel's social life.

Mr. STAFFORD. He never reported that he happened to be visiting with some Representative or with McMichael at Fritz Reuter's for the purpose of obtaining information that might be of value to the association?

Mr. EMERY. Never. I never heard a statement from him with respect to such entertainments, or with those individuals.

Mr. STAFFORD. No one on the outside ever intimated to you that he was indulging in that kind of social life?

Mr. EMERY. I did not have a very large acquaintance on that end of Pennsylvania Avenue. That was a matter that might not come to my attention.

Mr. CLINE. Do I understand that the Workingmen's Protective Association is a permanent organization?

Mr. EMERY. I understood it was.

Mr. CLINE. Do you understand so now?

Mr. EMERY. I have very serious doubts about it. No; I am inclined to believe it was merely a political organization of uncertain numbers and extent.

Mr. CLINE. Just a temporary organization among laboring men?

Mr. EMERY. If you were to ask me my opinion of it now, I would say that it was a political Falstaffian army, whose numbers increased in accordance with the wishes of the commander in chief and the demand of the situation.

Mr. CLINE. I have cautioned you once or twice about bringing us into the classics. [Laughter.]

I want to know if you know who the organizers of the Workingmen's Protective Association were, outside of Mulhall?

Mr. EMERY. I could not tell you. I heard Mulhall mention the names of the men, but they have slipped my memory. I never came in contact with them. I assume I heard of it very often, and I assumed it was an organization with elements of permanency.

Mr. CLINE. When the temporary purpose for which it was organized had been served, then the Workingmen's Protective Association went out of business, as a rule?

Mr. EMERY. I would say that would be my assumption to-day, Judge Cline. I had not any idea of the thing until this matter came about. I supposed the organization in Baltimore was a permanent organization.

Mr. CLINE. Was it not true that the Workingmen's Protective Association was organized in Indianapolis in the Watson campaign?

Mr. EMERY. I never heard of it being organized in Indianapolis until I heard Mulhall testify about it here.

Mr. CLINE. Do you not think that the real truth is that this Workingmen's Protective Association was a sort of counterirritant to the American Federation of Labor in political movements, instituted and

organized by Col. Mulhall and his associates for the purpose of counteracting the political activities of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. EMERY. Possibly; and that may explain another statement I had heard, that many of its members were members of other labor unions more formal in their affiliations. I never paid a great deal of attention to it, because I was not interested in it.

Mr. CLINE. I just wanted your opinion about it.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Just one question about these accounts to which your attention was invited and to which Mr. Bird's attention was also invited. You attended the meetings of the boards of directors of both these organizations—or, I believe, the National Council for Industrial Defense did not have a board of directors?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE. You frequently did attend the meetings of the directors of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; numbers of them.

Mr. CLINE. At those meetings were there reports made by the secretary and treasurer of the organization?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, yes; there was a secretary's report.

Mr. CLINE. And a treasurer's report?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Were those reports ever discussed in detail?

Mr. EMERY. I have been present when there have been discussions on them; but as a rule when I have attended directors' meetings it has been for the purpose of giving attention to some matter on which they wanted my advice and direction.

Mr. CLINE. You paid no attention to the administrative matters.

Mr. EMERY. No, sir. These directors' meetings generally continued all day and they had a great deal of business before them, and if there were one or more representatives of an association interested in some particular matter he would pay attention to the discussion in relation to that matter and not to other matters.

Mr. CLINE. Your association, apparently, from these accounts, was spending a very large amount of money that was not definitely accounted for in your reports?

Mr. EMERY. It was spending in the neighborhood of $4,500 a year on the colonel for his salary and expenses; that is, on an average.

Mr. CLINE. His personal expenses?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. But where you paid out money to men that were employed in labor organizations, you have noticed that there are no names given in these accounts?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. There is no location of the parties given; nothing is said about what they were doing?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I think that is described. I mean they generally were located as to the place in which they were acting, and the nature of their activities is described.

Mr. WILLIS. They are usually said to be gathering information.

Mr. CLINE. Yes. Do you tell the committee, Mr. Emery, that you never saw these accounts until they were exhibited here in this investigation?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; never saw them.

Mr. CLINE. Had no knowledge whatever about them?

Mr. EMERY. None whatever.

Mr. CLINE. When Col. Mulhall was suspended by Mr. Bird, were any inquiries made of you about the matter before the suspension occurred?

Mr. EMERY. I was not here at the time of the suspension. I had left about a month before, in September, and I was away about three months, during all that period.

Mr. CLINE. After you came back, did you have any correspondence with the officers then about the suspension?

Mr. EMERY. Not on the subject of Mulhall; no, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Your opinion as to the activities which he had manifested here in connection with the work was never inquired into?

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not recall any specific inquiry.

Mr. CLINE. He was summarily dismissed by the officers of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. By the board of directors on the 23d of October. That was when it occurred, and when he was called before them.

Mr. WILLIS. I desire to direct your attention to H. R. 103. It is not one of your letters. It is a letter written to Mr. Post, the president of the Citizens' Industrial Association, by Mr. Schwedtman, in which occurs the following language:

> Congress will again be in session in a short time, and it is more essential than ever to give the most careful attention to Federal and State legislation. The National Association of Manufacturers proposes to give the same earnest effort to the subject and contribute financially, if necessary, even more generously than in the past; but it is perfectly evident that with complete and harmonious cooperation with other great organizations very much better results can be obtained with the same or less total expenditure of time and energy in the furtherance of sound legislation and in opposition to the many measures which have been successfully opposed in the past and which are sure to come up again in future, measures that cover issues larger than parties and creeds and which go down to the fundamental principles upon which representative government and civilized society are based—

And so on.

Now, of course, I understand that is not your letter; but what, in your judgment, does that mean? Here is a reference to the coming of the session of Congress and the meeting of the State legislatures, and here is a reference to a financial contribution for a particular purpose.

Mr. EMERY. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. WILLIS. It is under date of June 27, 1907, Mr. Emery.

Mr. EMERY. June 27, 1907? At that time I was secretary of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, of which Mr. Post was president, and the National Association of Manufacturers was seeking the cooperation of the Citizens' Industrial Association, and I was acting as counsel for them as well as secretary, and I was frequently called upon to give advice and analyze legislative measures and sometimes to appear before committees. I had been appearing here as early as 1906 in regard to the Pearre bill, and Mr. Schwedtman, writing as secretary to the president, I assume, was asking Mr. Post's cooperation—if we would assist in sharing the joint expenses of maintaining a legislative information bureau, which was then under discussion.

Mr. WILLIS. That was the purpose for which this money was to be used?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Now, there has been some discussion of and several inquiries relative to the use of the frank by the National Association of Manufacturers. Will you state what you know about that personally, the extent to which the frank of Members of the House and Senate has been used by the National Association of Manufacturers—when, and to what extent?

Mr. EMERY. In a number of instances it has been used in the circulation of excerpts from the Congressional Record or for the distribution of arguments had before committees. The printing, as I think I testified, we always paid for; and it has been my recollection in practically all such instances that when congressional documents were paid for by the party desiring to have them printed, under the order of the Congressman who authorized that, that they usually came in envelopes with the frank of the person giving the order on the envelope. I always assumed that the printing order carried with it the order for the frank of the person giving it, and they have been distributed in that way.

Mr. WILLIS. As I understand your procedure, the order for the printing of the document you desired was always given by the Member of the House or Senate. You made your arrangements with him, did you?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. To whom did you pay the money?

Mr. EMERY. To the Public Printer, on his order.

Mr. WILLIS. To the Public Printer, on his order?

Mr. EMERY. I think in the case of Mr. Littlefield's speech—I was not very familiar with the matter—Mr. Littlefield gave them his personal check, and we reimbursed him.

Mr. WILLIS. You read a letter here yesterday which contained something about the circulation of a large number of speeches—100,000, I believe.

Mr. WILLIS. How many did you circulate?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know. That was a tariff commission matter and was circulated from the New York office. The letter discloses the fact that when Senator Beveridge suggested that he circulate the speech he had made on the tariff commission he stated the number as 10,000 or more—or I do not know as he stated the number, but Mr. Van Cleave, in response to his communication, said they would be very glad to circulate 10,000 and asked Senator Beveridge if they could use his frank to do so, saying that they might, by the use of his frank, get closer attention to the document. Mr. Beveridge stated that they circulated 100,000 instead of 10,000.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you ever circulate any speeches or public documents or copies of arguments before committees in any other way than under the frank? Did you ever have them sent from the New York office and mailed out from there?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; in quite a number of instances.

Mr. WILLIS. Would they make use of the frank in quite a number of instances through ordering the speeches through the Members?

Mr. EMERY. I do not remember a case where we have ordered a speech like that when it has not come with a frank on it.

Mr. WILLIS. I am now going to ask you a question which, perhaps, may be improper, and if any member of the committee objects to it I will not ask it to be answered, for it is only asked as a matter of curiosity, in the line of the questions which Judge Cline propounded the other day.

Mr. Towne, in a letter which appears in this print, No. 161, advances what seems to me to be an astounding doctrine, where he talks about the enlistment of laborers in the employ of public-service corporations and implying that any stoppage of work on their part would be regarded as a sort of mutiny, etc. I want to ask you whether any such doctrine as that has ever been discussed in the National Association of Manufacturers and whether Mr. Towne speaks for the National Association of Manufacturers when he evolves and announces that amazing doctrine?

Mr. EMERY. No; it is Mr. Towne's private opinion, and I think in justice to Mr. Towne, who is a very intelligent man and a man of very wide experience, that one ought to read the statements he made to Senator Reed when he was examined on the Senate side on that very matter, in which he stated that what he did mean was that he was endeavoring, I suppose, to express the view that many men have expressed, in hunting for some means of preventing the interruption of the necessary source of supply for communities, whether it be gas, water, or electricity, or trolley service, or the movement of traffic between the States. an interruption which in the present status of our civilization of our country would probably starve some of our cities in a very short time.

Mr. WILLIS. You said that is not one of the doctrines of your association?

Mr. EMERY. Not as it is stated there.

Mr. WILLIS. Then that eliminates it from this discussion. Have you known of any case in which the American Federation of Labor, as such, has sought to influence the appointment of committees? There has been considerable testimony here on the appointment of committees. Do you know of any instance in which the American Federation of Labor has sought or has influenced the appointment of committees?

Mr. EMERY. Except such as I gather by inference from statements appearing in the American Federationist and from the circumstantial evidence surrounding the make-up of the present Committee on Labor in the present Congress and the Committee on Labor in the last Congress.

Mr. WILLIS. Can you be a little more specific about that?

Mr. EMERY. I say, it is an inference of my own from statements I have read in the American Federationist. I think I read it into the record yesterday, and you will find some references in there pointing out the fact that labor, as I think it says, substantially, labor has secured recognition in the Committee on Labor by the appointment of the following four prominent union-card members: Mr. Maher, of New York; Mr. Buchanan, of Illinois; Mr. Lewis, of Maryland; and Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, who was the chairman of the House Committee on Labor, all of them being men who were prominent in the membership of the American Federation of Labor, those four men constituting the majority of the majority of that committee. Then

the fact in regard to all measures in which the Federation of Labor was especially interested, notably the Bartlett bill, which was a bill for the amendment of the Sherman Act and for the amendment of the procedure in injunction cases, which was introduced by Mr. Bartlett in the last Congress, in 1912—at the time the so-called Clayton bill was before the House Committee on the Judiciary the Bartlett bill was referred to the House Committee on Labor, and I think you gentlemen will agree that there is no other instance in which a bill proposing an amendment to the Sherman Act and proposing to change the procedure in the issuance of injunctions in an equity process has ever been referred to a Committee on Labor. Mr. Clayton objected at that time, but Mr. Bartlett insisted upon that reference and the bill went to the Labor Committee; and I remember communicating with the Committee on Labor by telephone and being told that no hearings would be had on the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a long way from an answer to Mr. Willis's question, Mr. Emery.

Mr. EMERY. I am giving the ground for my inference as to the influences used in regard to that committee.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not ask you for your grounds of inference.

Mr. EMERY. Very well, Mr. Chairman. I should say, on these facts, the relations of the Federation of Labor to the last campaign, the pledges under which they undertook the election of Congressmen, the announcement that labor had elected in this Congress 16 Representatives, 1 Member of the Senate, and had 1 Member of the President's Cabinet, all of which would infer one to believe that the circumstances indicated a very powerful political influence.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not yet answered his question. I will get the stenographer to read the question.

(The stenographer read the question, as follows:)

Mr. WILLIS. Have you known of any cases in which the American Federation of Labor, as such, has sought to influence the appointment of committees? There has been considerable testimony here on the appointment of committees. Do you know of any instance in which the American Federation of Labor has sought or has influenced the appointment of committees?

Mr. EMERY. I have responded to that by saying I inferred from statements appearing in the official organ of the American Federation of Labor——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Does the statement to which you refer pretend to say that the officials of the American Federation of Labor have brought about the appointment of this committee, or was it simply congratulating organized labor on the appointment of these gentlemen?

Mr. EMERY. They are pointing out the fact that they have been recognized in the selection of four members of the Committee on Labor. These members of the Committee on Labor are referred to in the American Federationist as a part of the group of 16 men who have been elected by organized labor and who represent organized labor, and it is further stated in the American Federationist, as I called to your attention yesterday, that the 15 or 16 Members constituting the group frequently confer with the officials of the American Federation of Labor as to matters of labor legislation, and they go right on to say that while no resolution was adopted, they are impressed by the sentiments there expressed. I say, in view of these

circumstances, we are justified in reasoning from the circumstances, as we are by a direct deductive method, that a man who makes any study of the local political situation, of the attempts made by the American Federation of Labor to secure such legislation, and of the make-up of this committee, in view of the purpose of the committee, it looks as though these gentlemen had made a successful effort to secure representation thereon.

In a word, my conclusions would be very much like those of Mrs. Pocket, in Great Expectations. She said that if it was a capital offense for little Pipp to sit on a river bank, the circumstantial evidence on the seat of his pants would hang him.

Mr. WILLIS. I now desire to inquire of you concerning these blacklists. There has been a considerable amount of testimony here about black lists that were prepared by you and set out to members of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Do you know anything about such black lists?

Mr. EMERY. There are two such lists, I believe. One of them bears on its face the proof that it is not what it purports to be, but is nothing more than a statement of the names of Members of Congress who have arrived.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you ever see that list?

Mr. EMERY. Not until it was produced in the Senate in evidence and identified there as a black list in the handwriting of Mr. Watson. I noticed that Mulhall here declined to identify it as such a list.

The second was a list which, I believe, was said to be partially in the handwriting of Mr. Watson and partly in the handwriting of a Mr. Childs, if I am not mistaken, a clerk of some committee here. Mulhall produced that also there. I did not see the original list, and never have seen it, either when it was presented to the Senate, or at any other time. If such a list—black list—was prepared or presented to Mulhall he did not take me into his confidence in respect to its distribution, and I have never heard of any officer of the association who received information of the existence of such a list prior to the time it was produced in the Senate. Nor is there any communication so far as I know, certainly no bulletin that ever came from any office under my control or direction that contained it.

Mr. WILLIS. Was any black list ever published in the official publication, American Industries?

Mr. EMERY. Never.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you ever hear any discussion of any black list; that is, a list of Members to be opposed by the National Association of Manufacturers; did you ever hear any discussion of such a list in any meeting of the officials of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. EMERY. I never heard of such a thing.

Mr. WILLIS. Now, I want to ask you a question on another matter. In Letter No. 1091 there is a reference which I wish you would explain. You wrote that letter to Mr. Mulhall, under date of December 10, 1907, on the letterhead of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America. It is a letter of introduction, apparently. I will read a paragraph:

Apropos of the Indiana work, I thought it well to send you a letter of introduction to Mr. C. C. Foster, the secretary of the Indianapolis Employers'

Association, who will put you in touch with whatever lines of influence that may be of importance to reach through his membership. Their association has grown quite strong in the past year and includes the leading manufacturers and business men of Indianapolis, some of whom you may be especially anxious to get in touch with, and I believe that Mr. Foster will supply a quick and satisfactory medium. I am communicating with him, urging his strong cooperation with any effort you may be making. Mr. Parry, I have no doubt, you are acquainted with, and through him you will meet Mr. Davis and the organization of the Indian manufacturers, which did excellent work in the last legislature and probably has some excellent connections throughout the State.

For what purpose was Mr. Mulhall sent into that State in 1907?

Mr. EMERY. I do not especially remember. He was going there—1907?

Mr. WILLIS. December 10, 1907.

Mr. EMERY. Is that the date of the letter?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. EMERY. He performed a considerable amount of membership work when he was first taken into Mr. Van Cleave's employ. What he was doing there at that time I do not know. These letters of introduction were obviously intended to put him in touch with any manufacturers' organization in the State of Indiana, with which I had become acquainted while I was secretary of the Citizens' Industrial Association, or to put him in touch with some officer of the association.

Mr. WILLIS. You will recall that the chairman read yesterday a letter concerning the work of an employers' association in Indiana. The chairman commented upon it, that that was rather an effective organization. Now, it says here:

The organization of Indiana manufacturers, which did excellent work in the last legislature and probably has some excellent connections throughout the State.

I asked about any work they did in the legislature. I am not concerned in this inquiry with lobbying in State legislatures, but I should like to know about that.

Mr. EMERY. There is a manufacturers' association; there are two, in fact. There is an Employers' Association of Indianapolis, and also the Manufacturers' Bureau of Indiana. The Manufacturers' Bureau of Indiana has headquarters in Indianapolis, and its president was Mr. Durban, a former governor of the State and a prominent business man there. They had a manufacturers' organization in the State of Indiana which undertook to represent its members in matters pending before the legislature, and to supply information and attend to the general interests of the manufacturers of Indiana. I came in contact with it through correspondence while I was secretary of the Citizens' Industrial Association. I think I talked at one of its dinners at that time. Since that time I have attended one or two of its meetings in Indianapolis. It is an organization of the business men of that city. What that particularly referred to I do not know—I do know what that referred to now.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you please state?

Mr. EMERY. I think an injunction bill had been offered in the Indiana Legislature, which was very similar to the one we discussed here, like the Pearre bill. The bill we introduced here was introduced in a number of State legislatures. I think that is what it referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. The gist of the question is what you know about work in the legislature.

Mr. EMERY. I was endeavoring to explain that reference in that letter. I do know this, that I argued it personally at a later time than that letter. In 1908, I think, I argued an injunction bill before the judiciary committee of the Indiana Legislature. That was in 1908, though, which was after that letter was written.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you ever participate personally in any of the campaigns in which the National Association of Manufacturers took part?

Mr. EMERY. Political campaigns?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. EMERY. To the extent of going into the field, or anything of that kind?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. WILLIS. Here is a letter I could not quite understand. Let me ask you a more specific question. Are you sure you never participated in any political campaign—I mean as a member of the association, seeking to represent the association? Are you sure you never participated in any political campaign in Maryland?

Mr. EMERY. No; I never did.

Mr. WILLIS. Here is a letter you wrote to Mr. Mulhall, dated September 25, 1908:

I shall certainly act at once in the Baltimore matter, but I am somewhat doubtful about the Gill matter, as I do not like to act in a matter of that kind without fuller information. I will, however, let that matter rest until I hear more thoroughly from you or see you personally, and in the meantime will urge our Baltimore friends into the fight in the third and fifth districts. I could do this by letter at once, but I want to take time to go into Baltimore personally within the next week, for I can do much more by a personal word than by mail.

Mr. EMERY. What is the date of that?

Mr. WILLIS. It is under date of September 25, 1908.

Mr. EMERY. If I recollect correctly, that is a letter that was written in response to some statement of Col. Mulhall's, or some writing of his to me, as to a desire to get into contact with the Builders' Exchange of Baltimore, one of the organizations there which he was anxious to interest in the campaign of one of his friends; I think it was Mr. Gill.

Mr. WILLIS. This is in answer to a letter under date of September 22, No. 2012. Without taking time to read it in full, the substance of that letter is that Mr. Mulhall is urging the candidacy of Mr. Gill, stating that Mr. Gill has been friendly to the National Association of Manufacturers, etc. I want to know whether you participated personally in that campaign.

Mr. EMERY. No; I did nothing more than what appears there, that I must have given him letters of introduction, or spoken to some one there about him. As far as Mr. Gill himself was concerned, I think somebody told him I would be there to take it up with him personally.

Mr. WILLIS. You did at some time, as a matter of fact, participate in that campaign and support Mr. Gill?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; I did not, so far as I know.

Mr. WILLIS. Did Mr. Mulhall?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know what Mr. Mulhall did individually. He might have been in there on his own account, but I can say positively that the association did not have anything to do with it.

Mr. WILLIS. I have not the letters before me just now, but there are a number of letters here indicating that Mr. Mulhall represented that the association was participating in that fight and was supporting Mr. Gill.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Mulhall, I have told you, I think, Mr. Willis, always spoke of his activity on behalf of his Maryland delegation. He claimed to participate pretty fully in political campaigns there, but I am afraid he was not always careful in distinguishing between his personal engagement in campaigns of that character and his engagement therein as a representative of those who employed him. That is evidently what got him into trouble.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you recall what position, in effect, your organization took on the postal savings bank bill?

Mr. EMERY. None that I know of. It may have been a subject of discussion for one of our committees at some of the conventions, but I assume you inquire as to whether they participated in promoting the bill.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes; as to whether that was one of the activities of the association. What led to that inquiry is an excerpt from your letter of May 24, 1910, No. 3716, to Mr. Mulhall, in which you say:

I understand that you have been busy concerning the caucus called some time ago for to-night to consider the postal savings bank bill and the amendment thereto, etc.

Your association took no position in that matter?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir; that was some private activity of his own.

Mr. WILLIS. I have one further inquiry here and then I have finished. In a telegram to Mr. Mulhall, undated—all it says here is New York, 8—you say:

Probably be detained here until Wednesday night. Try to find out extent to which protests are being received concerning injunction legislation.

Does that recall now to your mind that your organization sent out letters and telegrams to secure protests against such legislation?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; it did on one or two occasions. I do not know to which one that referred.

Mr. WILLIS. That was part of the process of prodding Members that has been alluded to here.

Mr. EMERY. That was part of the endeavor on our part to get an expression of opinion from constituents for the benefit of their Representatives.

Mr. WILLIS. You did not want the Representatives to go astray?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD. I think perhaps, Mr. Emery, we might save a little time if I read a question and answer that was put to Mr. Bird in his testimony and see if we can not get your agreement. Mr. Bird testified:

Mr. MACDONALD. Now, I want to ask you, in all fairness, Mr. Bird, whether, if you believe in all of those multifarious activities of Col. Mulhall—the buying of the members of the labor unions, the using of these employees of the Government, these efforts to obtain hearings before committees of Congress and efforts to prevent them, efforts to keep Members away from Congress and to keep them

in Congress, efforts to change votes, and all the activities in election districts—I ask you, honestly, if you justify those proceedings as in line with the legitimate work of your organization?

Mr. BIRD. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD. You do not think there is anything reprehensible in the work that Mr. Mulhall is reported to have done, as shown by these reports here?

Mr. BIRD. I should not say reprehensible; I should say necessary.

Mr. MACDONALD. Necessary from your standpoint?

Mr. BIRD. Necessary for the battle we were fighting.

Now, would you make the same answers to those questions that Mr. Bird made?

Mr. EMERY. No, I would not; because the first question contains a variety of assumptions of fact and implications which I do not think are justified by the evidence.

Mr. MACDONALD. Do you not think that the record here justifies those assumptions?

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not.

Mr. MACDONALD. I will read you another question that was asked Mr. Bird by Mr. Willis, and his answer:

Mr. WILLIS. Do I understand your intention was that he [referring to Mr. Mulhall] should simply be a means of collecting information?

Mr. BIRD. I might speak in a vulgar way and say he was the sewer from the Senate and House to Mr. Emery's office.

Do you agree to that?

Mr. EMERY. I dislike to be responsible for the mixed metaphors even of my friend.

Mr. MACDONALD. Never mind the construction of the sentence—the substance of it.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Bird was undoubtedly under some excitement. No; I do not think it is a good description. I do not care for the phrase myself.

Mr. MACDONALD. The implication there that was conveyed by Mr. Bird that Mr. Mulhall was engaged in surreptitious work of some kind is true, is it not?

Mr. EMERY. Well, I should not call it surreptitious. All that Mr. Mulhall did for me down here, that I asked him to do, while of a more or less confidential nature, hardly deserved an improper implication.

Mr. MACDONALD. That work was of a political nature?

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

Mr. MACDONALD. And it meant influencing Members of Congress?

Mr. EMERY. At times, that is true.

Mr. MACDONALD. Now, I call your attention to that letter, F509, 510, written by you to Mr. John Kirby, jr., under date of June 24, 1910, which has already been introduced in the record here, and in which you refer to the list of 14 Members given to Col. Mulhall, and in which you say:

The motion as presented to the House was that the House recede from its amendment and concur in the Senate amendment, striking out the Hughes proposal. On this motion the ayes were 138, the nays 130; answered present, 16; not voting, 105. On Tuesday last the vote to insist on the Hughes amendment was 154 to 105. A majority of 49 was thus overcome.

The following is the particular thing to which I wished to direct your attention:

And we had four votes to spare which were not used—the Speaker's vote and three Members who would have changed from "not present" to "aye" if necessary.

Now, did you have the Speaker's vote that day, that you could change according to your will if necessary?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, no; you are giving, I think, an unfair interpretation to the letter, Mr. MacDonald. I am using the word "we" in the sense of those who represented the effort to defeat that measure. I am using it in the sense of those whom I, as counsel, represented.

Mr. MACDONALD. "We had the Speaker's vote and three Members, who would have changed from 'not present' to 'aye' if necessary."

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

Mr. MACDONALD. In whose judgment was the necessity for the change to be determined?

Mr. EMERY. That is conveying information which was probably given to me at that time by Mr. Dwight. I know Mr. Dwight told me the story of that fight afterwards, some details of it, and if I recollect correctly the statement that there were votes to spare was from some statement he made to me.

Mr. MACDONALD. Why should any Member of the House be recorded as not present unless he found it necessary to change his vote, as you say here, later on to aye?

Mr. EMERY. Are you asking my opinion as to why anyone should do that?

Mr. MACDONALD. What was your idea when you wrote that letter?

Mr. EMERY. My idea when I wrote that letter was that the Members who happened to be there, as was stated there, as a matter of historical fact would have changed their vote if necessary, but preferred not to vote. Their reasons for that were found in their own consciences and political judgment.

Mr. MACDONALD. You had had direct personal contact with the Speaker—that was Speaker Cannon, was it not——

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD (continuing). In regard to this matter?

Mr. EMERY. No; I do not think so.

Mr. MACDONALD. In regard to some legislative matters?

Mr. EMERY. Why, I had talked to Speaker Cannon about legislative matters; yes, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD. And he has talked very frankly to you and you have talked very frankly to him?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; he generally talked pretty frankly to anybody of his opinions on those things.

Mr. MACDONALD. Now—this is in connection with these political activities of both yourself and Mr. Mulhall—I call your attention to letter D 2056–2059, being a letter written by you to Mr. James W. Van Cleave, under date of December 22, 1909, in which you say:

> Let me also say that I took this matter up personally with the Speaker at his house yesterday morning, and he turned loose upon the conservatism of the Senate, after my explanation to him, a streak of original and awe-inspiring profanity that made the alleged utterances of a Missouri mule driver sound in comparison like the prattling innocence of a lisping babe.

Did you have such an interview with the Speaker?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I met the Speaker that morning when I was walking downtown and walked into his house with him and told him of the Overman bill and explained its purpose to him, and he delivered himself of a portion of his vocabulary.

Mr. MACDONALD. There were well-defined lines of political activity in which you were in absolute accord with certain Members and officers of the House, and with whom you could talk freely and frankly, and knew that their views accorded with yours?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; that is true. Mr. Cannon, for instance, had taken a pronounced position upon the matter of the Pearre bill, in which we were greatly interested. At that time he was back in his district, and he made his famous speech of August, 1906.

Mr. MACDONALD. Now, as indicated in this letter No. 2056 of yours, you had—when I say "you" I mean the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Council for Industrial Defense. You represented the ideas of the men who employed you, I take it.

Mr. EMERY. I represented my own ideas, sir, always, and always have.

Mr. MACDONALD. I mean, in a broad general way.

Mr. EMERY. I mean in a broad personal way, because if I had been merely a lawyer in these matters I should long since have separated myself from this movement. I express very intense personal convictions in these matters.

Mr. MACDONALD. And those convictions are as well the convictions of your employers?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; that is true.

Mr. MACDONALD. And you have, as expressed in this letter No. 2056–2059, a very great and profound distrust of all legislative bodies in this country, have you not?

Mr. EMERY. What is that?

Mr. MACDONALD. You have a profound distrust of the legislative bodies of the country? You think they are likely to be influenced in the direction of passing legislation that you think is detrimental to the institutions of the country?

Mr. EMERY. Well, I would not express it as a profound distrust nor as a pessimistic despair, but I would "hae me doots."

Mr. MACDONALD. Well, it is a distrust nevertheless.

Mr. EMERY. It is a distrust sometimes of the ability of public men in large groups to withstand the powerful pressure of a dominant political influence.

Mr. MACDONALD. For instance, you say in this letter F 509–510:

> Some fears are also expressed that the President may be inclined to revive his injunction program if Congress is further delayed in adjournment, as he occupies a peculiarly powerful strategic position, the so-called "pork" bills being in his hands for signature, and, of course, no other subject is so dear to the Congressman as public buildings in his district, and he will do anything to get them.

Mr. EMERY. I trust the gentleman distinguishes between a serious statement and facetious comments on well-known failings.

Mr. MACDONALD. Do you think that is entirely facetious?

Mr. EMERY. Oh, yes; I am sure no one would think it otherwise.

Mr. MACDONALD. You did not put this out seriously as being an important matter of influence that the President might have in his hands?

Mr. EMERY. Well, I have heard it said that executives sometimes use that statement very much to their political advantage, but I had no other than a facetious thought at the time of that statement.

Mr. MACDONALD. I call your attention, then, to a portion of that letter No. D 2056, discussing the Overman bill:

Realizing what these principles mean, you see incidentally where this kind of legislation would hit us—it would establish the precedent from which attack on the equity power in industrial disputes would issue. What would be the value of an injunction in a labor dispute if it had to be under conditions such as described in this bill, and what becomes of the equity power itself if it is to be whittled away by senatorial knives, acting under the inspiration of narrow and bigoted hatreds aroused by the action of Federal judges who interfere, and very properly, for at least a time, with the execution of some fantastic legislative theory that happens for the moment to be popular in their own State?

That expresses a kind of distrust for legislators and legislatures, does it not?

Mr. EMERY. A distrust that has been shown, I think, some 15 times by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. MACDONALD. I continue:

These gentlemen are dreadfully concerned about what arbitrary judges may do to the rights of their people. They are very much insulted if one suggests the consequences that would follow if arbitrary legislators could spin legislation, like spiders, out of their own interiors, without regulating responsibility set up for the protection of the people against just such things by the people themselves.

Mr. EMERY. That states, I think, a very sound principle.

Mr. MACDONALD. But you make a distinction, Mr. Emery, between the arbitrary power of the legislator to make such laws and the arbitrary power of the court to construe those laws?

Mr. EMERY. There is no arbitrary power in any court to construe a law that I know of.

Mr. MACDONALD. You say "arbitrary legislators"; what do you mean by that term?

Mr. EMERY. I was referring there to a question which involved the right of a man to secure the protection of a court against a legislative enactment prima facie invalid and threatening irreparable destruction of a right of property or person. I think the genius of our Government recognizes that a citizen has to be protected against the trespass of legislation no less than against the trespass of an individual, and the records of our courts are filled with incidents in which the courts of the United States have interfered to protect the citizen. We know very well that in the period following the Civil War, in a number of such instances, the rights of citizens were arbitrarily taken from them. I know that in those famous cases where a lawyer could not practice his profession nor a priest administer a sacrament until he took a so-called oath that was impossible for him to keep in view of his past service with the Confederate Army, the Supreme Court, in appropriate proceedings, invalidated it.

Mr. MACDONALD. Now, the point I wanted to make—well, you show a profound distrust for the arbitrary powers that are likely to be assumed by the legislator.

Mr. EMERY. It is not a profound distrust, Mr. MacDonald, if you please, it is a profound conviction that legislators have made mistakes, and that a citizen has to be protected against their mistakes by his constitutional remedy as well as against injury by a private citizen. I think that is fundamental in our Government.

Mr. MACDONALD. You are perfectly satisfied with the position of the judiciary at present upon these injunction matters and these labor bills, which are referred to in both these letters, are you not?

Mr. EMERY. You mean I am satisfied with the judicial views?

Mr. MACDONALD. Yes.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD. As they are now?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD. And you would not like to see them amended in any particular?

Mr. EMERY. I would not like to see them amended so that they would be impaired.

Mr. MACDONALD. That is what I say.

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD. As a lawyer you would not dream of using the same methods you apply to the legislature in practicing in the Federal courts or before any of the judiciary, would you?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know that I understand your question.

Mr. MACDONALD. I say you would not use any methods you developed and used here in legislative matters in your practice before the Federal courts?

Mr. EMERY. I do not precisely catch the drift of your inquiry. I may be somewhat stupid about it.

Mr. MACDONALD. Do you think you would call at a Federal judge's house and discuss a matter that was coming up in the court before him? Do you think it would be likely you could quote such a statement from the lips of a Federal judge as you have put down here as coming from the lips of Speaker Cannon?

Mr. EMERY. I do not see the parallel in the premises you assume there.

Mr. MACDONALD. I am not saying they are parallel, but I am asking you the question if you would adopt this course.

Mr. EMERY. If you mean by that would I freely discuss before a judge a matter that was in his court for submission to him?

Mr. MACDONALD. Yes.

Mr. EMERY. No; I would not.

Mr. MACDONALD. You would think it was improper, would you not?

Mr. EMERY. I would.

Mr. MACDONALD. And corrupt?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir; to endeavor to influence him outside the place in which the adjudication was before him.

Mr. MACDONALD. And you are perfectly satisfied that the law as it stands now, as administered by the courts, is perfectly satisfactory to you and those you represent, without any attempt to influence them?

Mr. EMERY. In what particular?

Mr. MACDONALD. I mean in regard to this injunction policy——

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

Mr. MACDONALD (continuing). That you speak of in this letter.

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I believe it is a good law.

Mr. MACDONALD. And your efforts as outlined in this letter——

Mr. EMERY. I wish to say there, Mr. MacDonald, in justice to myself, if you will permit me (I do not think you desire to convey

an unfair implication), when I had that conversation with Speaker Cannon there was no matter pending before him. The conversation was not an effort to influence his judgment; it was a casual conversation. I met him outside of his house, and walked into his house with him and chatted about this matter.

Mr. MACDONALD. I wanted to ask a question along that line a little later, but the point I want to make now is that you and those you represent look upon the present standing of our courts and their holdings upon questions of this kind as your defense, and you are very much interested that no change should be made in that status?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment, Mr. MacDonald. In all possible courtesy, do you not think you are roaming rather far afield in these questions and calling for an opinion of the witness on matters that are really not submitted to us for inquiry?

Mr. MACDONALD. It had not occurred to me, but perhaps I am.

The CHAIRMAN. I am afraid you are opening the way for argument here on matters of policy rather than questions of fact. I hope you will pardon the suggestion.

Mr. MACDONALD. I am very glad to have the suggestion.

The CHAIRMAN. We are really very anxious to expedite this matter as much as possible.

Mr. MACDONALD. I did not want to delay the matter, and I am pretty near through with this branch of it. I wanted to get Mr. Emery's idea, and I think I have it, and I think it is in the record as I want it.

Mr. EMERY. I will be very glad, indeed, to discuss that matter with you, Mr. MacDonald.

Mr. MACDONALD. I realize you are very much interested from the letters you have written.

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

Mr. MACDONALD. And they are intelligent letters. In letter E 1368, a letter under date of May 29, 1909, written to Mr. John Kirby, it is stated:

> * * * the most important work he can do here between now and the end of this session is to strengthen the House Judiciary Committee as much as possible, and that a direct promise, if it can be had, be gotten that Malby and Denby can be placed on a special subcommittee for all labor bills. The Speaker has intimated as much, but if the colonel will act sharply on this matter with Watson, securing his support, definite action may be obtained. I emphasize this because I believe it will be the keynote of the entire position next winter.

Do you know anything about a definite promise being made by the Speaker in regard to them?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD. It speaks of having the colonel act sharply with Watson and securing definite action. What does that mean?

Mr. EMERY. I do not know what that referred to at that time, Mr. MacDonald.

Mr. MACDONALD. In your letter 3839, written to Col. Mulhall under date of July 10, 1910, you used the following sentence:

> I found neither Neill nor Harry at the Capitol, but I know you will be able to locate them, so inclose herewith my check for $50, from which you can give them $25 each.

You may have touched upon that matter before, but if so, I was not here.

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I was examined on it quite fully, Mr. MacDonald.

Mr. MACDONALD. I just want to inquire about that being the custom of where you would mutually handle money for these expenses, as to which you said you do not know anything about the expense accounts.

Mr. EMERY. I only said I knew nothing about Mr. Mulhall's expense accounts. I knew nothing about Mr. Mulhall's expenses or expenditures, which were paid by the National Association of Manufacturers through the New York office, and they did not come in contact with me. That is a gratuity I paid personally.

Mr. MACDONALD. This was an instance in which you paid two Capitol employees?

Mr. EMERY. It was a personal matter; yes, sir.

Mr. MACDONALD. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be excused, Mr. Emery.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Chairman, if you will permit me, before I retire from the stand, both on behalf of myself and on behalf of all my associates who have been the recipients of much courtesy from this committee and indulgent treatment, I desire to say for all of them, because I know they all share this feeling, that they feel very much indebted to you for your indulgence and for the very kindly way in which you conducted this investigation, and appreciate the treatment received at your hands.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has tried to be courteous, Mr. Emery, to you, as it will to all.

Mr. Ralston, is Mr. Gompers ready to go on the stand now?

Mr. GOMPERS. I am at the convenience of the committee.

TESTIMONY OF MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

(The witness was duly affirmed by the chairman.)

Mr. RALSTON. Shall I proceed, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Ralston.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers, will you state, please, the position you hold in the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. GOMPERS. I am its president.

Mr. RALSTON. And how long have you been president?

Mr. GOMPERS. I was its second president, and was president for about three consecutive terms. Then another was elected, and held that office until 1894, when another was elected. The following year, at the convention of 1895, I was elected, and have been reelected at every convention, annually, since.

Mr. RALSTON. You, then, have been familiar with the growth and character of the federation from its beginning?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. About how many members did it embrace—I mean to say individuals, not organizations—when you first became president?

Mr. GOMPERS. About 50,000.

Mr. RALSTON. And about how many have you got in the various organizations forming the federation at the present time?

Mr. GOMPERS. About 2,050,000.

Mr. RALSTON. The federation is formed of a number of different affiliated organizations—trade organizations and others—is it not?

Mr. GOMPERS. It is.

Mr. RALSTON. State to the committee about how many of such organizations there are and their general classification, without going into minute detail.

Mr. GOMPERS. About 118 national unions of trades and industries. They are sometimes called international.

Mr. RALSTON. Including the United States and Canada?

Mr. GOMPERS. Canada and the American possessions of the United States. There are about 38 State federations of labor and slightly more than 600 central bodies of federated bodies of each city; about 800 federal labor unions composed of various trades and callings of which there are no national unions in existence.

Mr. RALSTON. Will you state, please, what have been the purposes of the federation, from the beginning, and give in general the development of the particular purposes down to the present time? The question is a rather comprehensive one, but you will answer it as succinctly as you may.

Mr. GOMPERS. To relieve the workers, the working people, from burdensome long hours of toil; to protect them in their work, their lives, their health; to improve their material and social and moral and political standing; to bring about a better condition for the toilers of our country as the result, and as a reward for the services they render to society.

Mr. RALSTON. And for the purposes of gaining these ends, what specific measures has the federation from time to time adopted?

Mr. GOMPERS. The federation was first organized in Pittsburgh in 1881. It was after the panic of 1877, which found the working people of our country in a very demoralized and a practically impoverished condition. There were little organizations, small organizations, throughout the country. They had little cohesion and little common purpose or action, and at a preliminary meeting in Terra Haute about the middle of the year 1881 a general convention was called, to be held in Pittsburgh in November of that year, for the purpose of devising ways and means to bring about a more general federation or concert of action among the workers, to protect them from the continual downward tendency in their material condition. I could, by reference to the proceedings of that first convention, enumerate some of the measures for which that convention declared. It declared for a shorter workday; it declared for increased wages or, at any rate, a protest against the continual decreases in wages which had been imposed upon the workers from 1877; it also took up the question of immigration and its regulation, and also declared for a Federal law that would regulate and limit and finally stop the Chinese immigration. I think that substantially covers the declaration of the federation at this first meeting.

Mr. RALSTON. Have those gradually enlarged and increased and developed?

Mr. GOMPERS. They have, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. Just give the committee, as briefly as you can, an idea of that.

Mr. GOMPERS. Among the first efforts was the establishment by law of a limitation of the hours of labor of women and children, and in our first efforts we were quite content to limit the hours to 12 per day; then to 60 hours per week; then to 58 hours, to 54, and to 48.

Mr. RALSTON. Have you favored laws of that character before the State legislatures and before Congress?

Mr. GOMPERS. At every opportunity we had, and we often created the opportunity by endeavoring to have legislators, both national and State, introduce measures which we helped frame or approved or helped in any way we could for their enactment. I have jotted down here, without regard to the time as to when they were started and agitated and enacted, a little memoranda, and if I may I will read the simple note which I have made.

The bill, which finally became a law, for uniform couplers on the railroads of the country. Many men had lost their lives in the endeavor to couple cars, the couplers of which were of such various designs that men were unacquainted with them and were injured and had their lives crushed out of them. We finally succeeded in having the Federal Government, the Congress, pass and the President sign the uniform coupler law.

Mr. RALSTON. Was that largely the work of the federation?

Mr. GOMPERS. And the brotherhood of railway employees.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a part of the federation, is it not?

Mr. RALSTON. No. It is not antagonistic at all, but they are not united.

Mr. GOMPERS. No. There is a common policy that guides these brotherhoods with the American labor movement of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations, but there are several of the brotherhoods which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. We only within this past few years have aided materially in the enactment of what has been known as the full crew on trains in the operation of trains. We have helped materially. I should be very glad to illustrate any particular point upon which I touch, if the committee desires.

Mr. RALSTON. If the committee would like to have him, I would be very pleased, indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. I was just noticing the expression, "We have materially aided in the adoption of the full-crew law," and I think it might be well at this time for him to go into detail and state where he has aided.

Mr. RALSTON. State what you did in that connection.

Mr. GOMPERS. Aided by appearing before the committees of Congress and the legislatures to present arguments and facts in support of these measures.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no Federal full-crew law, is there?

Mr. GOMPERS. There is not upon the statute books, but such bills have been introduced.

Mr. RALSTON. Did you aid in the passage of laws limiting the hours of continual service in 24 of railway employees?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. Our federation's representatives appeared before committees of Congress in furtherance of the bill to limit the hours of service of men engaged in the operation of trains. We were finally compelled to content ourselves with the enactment of a law

prohibiting the employment of any employee in the operating service for a longer term than 16 hours in any one day. If that law, by the way, had been observed on the New Haven road recently we would have been spared the horror of that catastrophe.

Mr. RALSTON. In what way did you assist or further the passage of that law?

Mr. GOMPERS. By appearing before the committees, by argument before the committees in support of the measure.

Mr. RALSTON. Coming back for a moment to the hours of employment of women and children, what laws and where have you favored them—before what legislatures or was it before Congress?

Mr. GOMPERS. The States of New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Illinois, Wisconsin, California, Idaho——

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me, but here is where the trouble comes. We do not care for those State matters.

Mr. RALSTON. What have you done so far as the District of Columbia is concerned? I simply wanted to give the committee a general idea of the scope of the activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. GOMPERS. We have appeared before committees of Congress advocating the passage of the bill limiting the hours of labor of women and children in the District of Columbia to eight per day, and urged as strongly as we could that a bill be reported and passed.

Mr. RALSTON. And how far have your propositions been adopted in the District of Columbia?

Mr. GOMPERS. The committee reported the bill favorably to the House of Representatives. I am not sure as to whether the bill passed. I have been out of the running for a little time in the recent past.

Mr. RALSTON. What other laws have been favored which have been adopted, particularly by Congress, of a humanitarian character?

Mr. GOMPERS. The creation of the Bureau of Mines, a bureau which not only proposed but has accomplished great service in saving the lives and preserving the health of the miners, men engaged in the underground work in digging coal and in metalliferous mines. Through the Bureau of Mines a better conception has been impressed upon both the mine operators as well as upon the miners, as to safety, safety appliances and proper sanitation, proper sanitation of the mines, and proper ventilation. And, speaking of sanitation of the mines, I take it that generally little thought is given by the average man as to what is implied by "sanitation of the mines." We must bear in mind the fact that even in the best conditions prevailing among the miners, they work 8 hours a day. Formerly, they worked 10, 12, and more hours. A man at the call of nature can not walk a mile or 2 miles to the mouth of the mine, and then be hoisted up to attend to that call. The condition of the mines with 500 or a thousand or more men being required to be in the mines for, say, 8 hours, can be readily imagined, and how that has underminded their health is clearly understood unless proper sanitation is observed.

Mr. RALSTON. I understand that largely as a result of that work and though the formation of the Bureau of Mines, which you spoke of, these conditions have been removed or at least remedied?

Mr. GOMPERS. They have.

Mr. RALSTON. What have you done before Congress with reference to the condition of seamen?

Mr. GOMPERS. We have helped to secure to seamen at least the right of ownership of themselves when their vessels are in safe harbor—that is, in the American coastwise trade and in the vessels which ply between the United States and near-by foreign countries, and the improvement of their quarters and also in the requirements under the maritime laws of the country.

Mr. RALSTON. Has that been done by legislation you favored and sought to obtain before Congress?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes. And, if I may interject this, we are now engaged in an effort to help the seamen secure the passage of a law which came very near to enactment in the last Congress, and which we are endeavoring to have the present Congress enact.

Mr. RALSTON. What have you done toward limiting the hours of labor generally to 8?

Mr. GOMPERS. We have reduced the abnormal hours of labor of the working people.

Mr. RALSTON. I mean particularly with reference to legislation.

Mr. GOMPERS. In the Federal Government?

Mr. RALSTON. Yes.

Mr. GOMPERS. In 1868, as the result of a conference with Gen. Grant, then President, he, realizing the importance of a reduction in the hours of labor from the then existing long hours, issued a proclamation which was founded upon a resolution adopted by Congress, more declaratory than an enactment. That applied to Government employees. Then the department officers, or the heads of departments, gave little heed to the resolution of Congress or the proclamation of the President, and held out as an inducement to some of the workmen, the employees, that if they worked but 8 hours they would get but 8 hours' pay, based upon the wages paid for 10 hours.

President Grant issued another proclamation in which he directed that there should be no reduction in wages or salaries by reason of the hours of labor ordered by the resolution of Congress. We aided in securing that; we assisted in securing the law of 1892 which provided for the limitation of the hours of labor of employees of the Government, mechanics and artisans in the employ of contractors and subcontractors. The Attorneys General of the United States found a flaw in the law by reason of a misplacement of a comma, or by the placing of a comma, that deprived us of the benefits of the law which we expected would accrue if interpreted as we believed in the spirit of those who advocated the passage of the law.

By reason of the interpretation of the law by the Attorneys General and again by the courts, we found it necessary to again advocate the amendment of that law.

Mr. STAFFORD. When was that interpretation made and that construction given by the courts?

Mr. GOMPERS. I could not give it from memory, but I should be very glad to furnish it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Many years ago or quite recently?

Mr. GOMPERS. A number of years ago. For years we advocated an amendment to the law of 1892, appearing before the Committee on

Labor for that purpose. A member of that committee, Mr. John Gardner, called attention to what he expressed as his belief was a defect in the proposition which was submitted in the form of a bill, and during his presentation of his views upon that bill held that in his judgment it would be held for a test of the courts, and that they might and probably would declare it unconstitutional. He continued the presentation of his views and outlined a means by which a bill could be drawn, containing the contract feature in the law, and then, if enacted by Congress, would be held as constitutional and effective. The committee, notwithstanding the statement made by Mr. Gardner, reported the bill favorably to the House, but it was in the last days of Congress and died with that Congress.

Mr. STAFFORD. When was that, Mr. Gompers?

Mr. GOMPERS. 1900. During the following Congress Mr. Gardner was made chairman of the Committee on Labor, and there were quite a number of our labor men representing labor organizations who collaborated with Mr. Gardner in the preparation of the bill which he finally introduced. It was changed in some respects from time to time and from Congress to Congress, and was finally enacted last year.

Mr. RALSTON. By way of digressing for a moment from this line of inquiry, did Mr. Gardner afterwards change his position with regard to that bill or his attitude with regard to labor organizations?

Mr. GOMPERS. Most effectually.

Mr. RALSTON. When was that?

Mr. GOMPERS. About six years ago.

Mr. RALSTON. Now, what other bills have there been that you have pressed upon the consideration of Congress?

Mr. GOMPERS. A bill concerning vestibules upon street cars for the motormen, for the protection of the motormen in their work, to which we had considerable opposition, and finally secured its enactment.

The CHAIRMAN. That was in the District of Columbia?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. I am trying to avoid any reference to legislation in the States. Compulsory education and free textbooks and lien laws for workmen, in order that they might secure their wages.

The CHAIRMAN. In regard to the subject of compulsory education, may I ask what kind of opposition you met on that?

Mr. GOMPERS. Before the Federal Government?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is what I am speaking of. I understand that was confined to the District of Columbia?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of opposition did you meet with here?

Mr. GOMPERS. There was no opposition to that which I recall. Liberalization of the employers' liability law, in order to take from employers the defense of negligence of fellow employees, the fellow-servant feature, and admission of risk, etc., and then the workingmen's compensation law, a bill which passed the Senate in the last Congress and failed in the House.

Mr. CLINE. Have you not got that just reversed, Mr. Gompers? You refer to the Brantley bill?

Mr. GOMPERS. I refer to the Sutherland bill.

Mr. CLINE. The Sutherland bill passed the Senate and was very much amended in the House.

Mr. GOMPERS. But it did not pass.

Mr. CLINE. Then the bill as amended passed the House, went to the Senate and failed, did it not?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think not, sir. The bill did not pass the House—not the Sutherland bill. I should say that by the authority of Congress the President appointed a commission to make a study and investigation, to prepare a bill for workingmen's compensation, the compensation of employees engaged in interstate commerce. With the other representatives of the American Federation of Labor, representatives of the railroad brotherhoods, we appeared before the commission and gave such assistance as was in our power. The experience of the peoples and Governments of other countries with workingmen's compensation was given to the commission. The Sutherland bill passed the Senate, but did not pass the House. We secured—that is, we aided in securing—we helped in creating the public sentiment and the conviction among Members of the House in favor of workingmen's compensation for Government employees, and that has become the law. That is the law.

Mr. RALSTON. You were interested in the drafting of that bill, were you not?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we get away from the workingmen's compensation act, the first one you referred to, you called the Sutherland bill. It was generally known in the House as the Brantley bill. That was the bill formulated by the commission?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And was unanimously reported, or unanimously agreed upon by the commission?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the American Federation of Labor favor that bill?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. May I add a statement just now in regard to this very bill, for I do not think that we want to have any misunderstanding as to our position, and I do not want to have any misunderstanding as to my position. The legislative committeemen of the American Federation of Labor and myself advocated the passage of that bill—the Sutherland bill; the commission bill. I appeared before the Senate committee in advocacy of the bill. After it passed the Senate I appeared before the Judiciary Committee of the House in support of the bill. Later on some opposition to the bill was created, or was manifested among several of the members of the Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and inasmuch as the bill affected them most intimately it seemed to my associates in the American Federation of Labor and myself that we ought no longer to advocate the passage of that bill, and we said no more about it and decided that we would not until there was some degree of agreement among the men whom it would primarily affect.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember appearing before the Committee on Rules of the House in favor of a rule for the passage of the bill?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir: I may say this, it is violating no confidence. President Taft was very much interested in the passage of

the bill, and though he had the honor of differing from me upon many subjects, we were agreed upon the fact that a workingmen's compensation bill ought to be enacted before the expiration of the last Congress, and not at his request, but by a prior agreement with him, the appearance was made. I made an appearance before the Committee on Rules of the House, urging the adoption of a rule—the bringing in of a rule that would at least bring in a bill before the House and have again the workingmen's compensation bill enacted into law before the expiration of the last Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. That is entirely in accord with my recollection of the matter before the Committee on Rules. It so happened that upon that particular bill—probably upon that bill alone—the American Federation of Labor and the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Council for Industrial Defense were in entire accord; is that right?

Mr. GOMPERS. It is not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean on that bill.

Mr. GOMPERS. I can not say we were in accord with the National Association of Manufacturers. I can—if I had the National Association of Manufacturers in mind, and the attitude of two of its best-known members and representatives—I should say that I would be very sorry as to being in accord with them.

The CHAIRMAN. We will not go into an argument of that. I was anxious to find one point of agreement, if there was one.

Mr. GOMPERS. I would like to get along and be in accord with all men, if I can, and men who will make an honest investigation and make an honest report; but when the two representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers, going abroad and going among the representatives of the working people of Germany and of England, ingratiating themselves into the confidence of them, getting all the information that could be obtained, then willfully misrepresent conditions as they exist, I should be very sorry to find myself in accord with them on that proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. I am quite familiar with that report, Mr. Gompers, and I did not want to divert the matter into an argument about that But what I was really anxious to know was whether or not there was an agreement—I did not mean any agreement made between the American Federation of Labor and the National Association of Manufacturers—of course, I know there was no agreement made between them—but I have understood that the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Council for Industrial Defense were in favor of the passage of what we knew in the House as the Brantley bill. You referred to it as the Sutherland bill, because that was the way it was introduced in the Senate. Senator Sutherland introduced the bill in the Senate, and there it was known as the Sutherland bill, and Mr. Brantley was a member of the commission, and he introduced the bill in the House, and it was known in the House as the Brantley bill. Senator Sutherland was also a member of the commission. I understood that the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Council for Industrial Defense were in favor of the bill. I also understood that the American Federation of Labor, as a labor organization, for a considerable time—in fact, up to the end—supported the bill and was in favor of it.

Mr. GOMPERS. Not until the end, sir; I think until my second appearance before the House Judiciary Committee, when I took occasion to say to the committee that because of the reasons which I have already enumerated here I did not think I had the right to further advocate the passage of that bill. But I did appear before the Committee on Rules urging that the committee report a rule to the House so that a workingmen's compensation bill could be considered and passed, not designating any particular bill.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Gompers, after the Brantley bill had been reported to the House, and after the railroad trainmen of the country had had an opportunity to discuss it and to become acquainted with its provisions—and they were chiefly the parties interested in it—was there not practically a revolution in sentiment among that class of people?

Mr. GOMPERS. I can not say there was, but such a sentiment was made manifest which was sufficient to withhold our further support of the bill.

Mr. CLINE. Do you know this to be the fact, that during the time that bill was in committee and being considered a very large number of railway trainmen's organizations petitioned Congress and the Members from their respective localities to indorse the bill, and that those same organizations, after they had examined the bill and had discussed it, reversed their position and petitioned Members of Congress not to pass that character of bill?

Mr. GOMPERS. I know that in several, probably many, instances that was so, but as to the extent of it and the cause of it I do not know. As I say, up to the time when there was some manifestation of dissension in their own ranks upon the bill, the American Federation of Labor supported it. As soon as that dissension was made manifest we withdrew our support.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you able to recall the attitude of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen with reference to this bill? I ask the question because I had some quite conflicting letters from Ohio relative to it.

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know about the definite action of the brotherhood, as such. I do believe that the executive officers, speaking for the brotherhood, and with all propriety, opposed the enactment of the Sutherland-Brantley bill. The Brotherhood of Railway Firemen and Enginemen held a convention within the past few months, and I believe went on record as against that measure. I say I believe they did, because I was told so, and, as I said awhile ago, I was out of the running for several months recently.

Mr. CLINE. Permit me to ask you one question not directly connected here, but I understood you to say there were a large number of union men not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who have separate organizations?

Mr. GOMPERS. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Order of Railway Conductors, and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. The other railway organizations are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and those I have mentioned are not, but there is a common polity.

Mr. CLINE. What I want to find out from you is the number of men who are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. GOMPERS. Approximately, sir, about 350,000.

Mr. WILLIS. What, if any, is the relationship or connection between the American Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor?

Mr. GOMPERS. The relation between a live human organism and a corpse.

Mr. FERRIS. To the end that I may get the historical matter correct, did not the Brantley bill in the House pass during the closing days of the last session? Did it not fail in conference?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. You are in error in your statement, Mr. Gompers. It never did pass the Senate. It passed the House.

Mr. FERRIS. It passed both bodies and failed in conference. I think that is a correct statement.

Mr. GOMPERS. I would like to correct my statement that the bill also passed the House. It finally failed in the Senate, after it first passed. It failed to pass the Senate after it passed the House with amendments.

Mr. FERRIS. With a good many amendments; and they never did finally get together in conference and agree on a conference report; hence they had no bill that was enacted into law.

Mr. GOMPERS. That is a fact. I have referred to a statement made to a committee of Congress by representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers, and if the committee thinks it is germane, in my humble position, as a witness, I wish to direct your attention to that. It is closely associated with the activities of the National Association of Manufacturers and the misrepresentation made to the committee of Congress by the representatives of that association.

Mr. RALSTON. I want to get at that later, Mr. Gompers, if you will allow me. I want to get the full enumeration, if I can; first, of all the bills you have favored, whether they have become laws or not, particularly before Congress. Now, what will you say about the industrial education bill for Federal aid to vocational trade training in the home?

Mr. GOMPERS. The American Federation of Labor has given a great deal of attention to the question of industrial education.

Mr. RALSTON. Will that include agricultural extension as well?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. We realize that with the great development of modern industry, the skill of the workingman has been less necessary; that by reason of the division and subdivision and specialization of industry, the workingman performed an infinitesimal part of a given product, and that, as a consequence, the man knew very little of the trade or of the industry in which he was employed, doing the one small thing over and over again a thousand or ten thousand times or more a day. And frequently in industry men who have been educated as artisans and as mechanics found their trade gone, found their industrial education gone, and that with the new generation it is almost entirely absent, and employers who desired to have men with large, broad, and comprehensive industrial education and training imported competent mechanics from other countries to take charge. Apart from the industrial injury was the human deterioration of a man doing one little infinitestimal thing over and over again, the monotony of it preying upon the health and the mind, as well as the decrease in the number of competent artisans, all-around mechanics.

And the American Federation of Labor, realizing this, undertook an investigation of the subject some six or eight years ago, and one

of the conventions of the federation directed that a committee of 15 be appointed, only a part of whom should be members of the federation. We had some of the best students and teachers—economists—in the country to aid the committee and associated with the committee. The committee conducted an investigation covering two years and had a special expert employed for the purpose of the committee. A tentative report was made to the following convention of the federation, referred to a committee, considered by the committee, reported upon by the committee, discussed by the convention, and a further investigation ordered. The convention also instructed the officers of the federation to have an interview with the then Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor and the Secretary of the then Department of Commerce and Labor, so that the bureau would conduct an examination of the subject of industrial education in this country and in foreign countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me a moment. You did finally come to favor the bill, did you—the so-called Page-Lever bill?

Mr. GOMPERS. The Dolliver-Davis bill.

Mr. RALSTON. What did you do to further the passage of that bill?

Mr. GOMPERS. We appeared before the committees of the Senate and House. We conferred with Senator Page, with Senator Smith of Georgia, and with several other Senators whose names I can not now recall—that is, the instances I can not recall, although I know we conferred with them. Our legislative committee was in frequent conference with the Members of both Houses, urging the passage of the bill. Industrial and vocational education, civics, agriculture, household economy—these are, I think, the principal points covered in the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. That was another point of agreement between the National Association of Manufacturers and the American Federation of Labor, was it not?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know, sir. To me and to my associates the only manifestation we have had of the existence of the National Asciation of Manufacturers has been one of vindictive antagonism to anything we advocated, no matter how humane.

The CHAIRMAN. On this bill they really had the same ideas, had they not—the same measure of support—or do you know about that, Mr. Gompers?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know the attitude of the N. A. M.

The CHAIRMAN. The N. A. M. and the Council for Industrial Defense were really in favor of this legislation, were they not?

Mr. GOMPERS. I thought that had a sort of diaphanous existence—the Council for Industrial Defense.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but I am speaking of this particular legislation.

Mr. RALSTON. I think it has an existence in the minds of the four officers.

Mr. EMERY. Is that evidence, Mr. Ralston?

Mr. RALSTON. It is in evidence here.

The CHAIRMAN. No; I do not think it is. I am trying to get you all together on some things here. It is a fact, is it not, that they favor that legislation, or do you know how that is?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers. did you favor a bill a couple of years ago introduced by the then Representative Hughes, looking to a change of venue in contempt cases, or do you recall about that?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not recall the change of venue in contempt cases.

Mr. RALSTON. Which would have permitted change of venue in contempt cases.

Mr. GOMPERS. Oh, the bill for the purpose of permitting change of venue?

Mr. RALSTON. From one to another judge of the same court.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. That bill was not enacted, however.

Mr. GOMPERS. It was not.

Mr. RALSTON. You have also favored bills, have you not, on the line of legislation existing at the present time in England, declaring acts done by two or more not to be criminal or the subject of conspiracy if innocent when done by a single individual?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. You favored a number of bills of that general nature which have not been enacted?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. You have also favored bills providing for trial by jury in contempt cases, have you not?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. When I say "you" I mean the federation.

Mr. GOMPERS. I understand so; I am only one of the officers, and one of the members of an affiliated organization.

Mr. RALSTON. You are standing for the federation at the present moment.

Mr. CLINE. Is that in all contempt cases?

Mr. GOMPERS. Only in indirect contempt cases.

Mr. RALSTON. Now, Mr. Gompers, in favoring such bills as the last three I have mentioned, and any other bills which you have enumerated, whom have you found at the Capitol before committees opposed to you?

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Emery, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Drew, and others.

Mr. RALSTON. Whom did they purport to represent?

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Emery represented, so he said, the National Association of Manufacturers. Mr. Davenport, so he said, represented the American Anti-Boycott Association. Mr. Walter Drew represented, so he said, the National Erectors' Association.

Mr. RALSTON. Have these gentlemen—except it be in the case referred to by the chairman—uniformly opposed the humanitarian legislation proposed or supported by the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. GOMPERS. In every instance all or some of them have opposed any legislation proposed or advocated by the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do I understand you there, Mr. Gompers, to say that all or any of these associations oppose the legislation as to free textbooks—compulsory education?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have already said that in compulsory education there was no opposition in the District, nor with regard to textbooks. I refer to what might be termed legislation for the relief and uplift and protection of the working people. I remember that in one in-

stance before the Committee on Labor, when Mr. Davenport made his first appearance before that committee in opposition to the eight-hour bill, he very decidedly declared that he did not believe there was anybody who had the temerity to appear before the committee in advocacy of the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Davenport has not been on the stand, but we have had the officers of the N. A. M. and the N. C. I. D. But no testimony whatsoever was given as to their attitude—or, rather, they disclaimed and limited the legislation to which they were opposed. No mention was made as to their attitude, if any, as to the laws to which you refer—uniform couplers, full crew, Bureau of Mines, seamen's laws, lien lease, or free textbooks. I would like to know if you know of any instances where they were opposed and took an active part in opposition to any of that legislation.

Mr. GOMPERS. They took an active part in opposition to the eight-hour bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. They have testified to that; there is no controversy about that.

Mr. GOMPERS. As to Mr. Davenport for the American Anti-Boycott Association?

Mr. STAFFORD. The officials of the N. A. M. have testified that they were strictly opposed to certain phases of that eight-hour law.

Mr. GOMPERS. I know about their opposition to the bill and I know of Mr. Davenport's opposition to the bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am trying to direct your attention to these other pieces of legislation which you say you have been strongly in favor of, and which, you said, had the opposition of these organizations. Now, I would like to direct your attention specifically, because we want to know whether they were active in opposition, to the question whether the N. A. M. was active in opposing uniform coupler legislation.

Mr. GOMPERS. As a matter of fact, I do not know that the National Association of Manufacturers as such was, for, as a matter of fact, the National Association of Manufacturers was not an antilabor association until Mr. Parry's declaration in 1903 to the convention of that association. Mr. Parry, as president, had his report printed. It was a virulent attack upon all organized labor. That report he never read or submitted to that convention in New Orleans. He contented himself by saying that the report could be had by any member of the association and there was no necessity to read it. From that time the association became antiunion—antilabor.

Mr. STAFFORD. Take the case of the Bureau of Mines, which was passed only in the few recent years, and which was after this incident of 1903. Had the National Association of Manufacturers opposed that legislation, which had your warm support?

Mr. GOMPERS. I can not say that it did. May I say this, that there is not one of those measures that I ever heard of that they said one word in favor of or made one effort in favor of their passage. Where they did not oppose they simply did not aid.

Mr. RALSTON. I do not know that it is very important, Mr. Gompers, but I want to ask you if, before he became a representative of the National Council for Industrial Defense in Washington, Mr. Emery offered his services as editor to a labor magazine in San Francisco called Organized Labor, I believe.

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know, sir. I know that the detective agency owner of the manufacturers' auxiliary, Mr. Turner, of Cleveland, conducted what he called a labor paper.

Mr. RALSTON. Now, Mr. Gompers, you have spoken of the general attitude of the National Association of Manufacturers——

The CHAIRMAN. That last answer, Mr. Gompers, did not refer to Mr. Emery in any way? You were speaking of Mr. Turner?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir. I answered that I am not aware that he did.

Mr. RALSTON. I will ask you if Mr. Kirby has announced—and you may refer to American Industries to assist you in your answer—his attitude toward all legislation of that character which you have enumerated.

Mr. GOMPERS. In the copy of American Industries for June, 1912, appears an article by Mr. John Kirby, jr., under the heading of "Politico-industrial commissions," on page 14 of which he says:

I have said before, and I repeat now, that among the great enemies of orderly government and sound institutions are the men and women who are carried away by whimsical notions about philanthropy and "uplift," who follow leaders in society whose minds are dwarfed by illogical and impractical ideals, yet who, with the best of intentions, perhaps, are sowing seeds which, when the harvest time comes, they will dread to reap. They mean well enough, but they are given to worshiping fads and don't get under the surface of things. They would make a kaleidoscope of the Constitution and a football of courts, simply because the Constitution acts as a balance wheel to their emotional tendencies and because the courts, being constituted of human intelligence, are not infallible. They forget, or rather don't realize, that in extending their sympathies toward things that are initially vicious they help to promote the doctrines of Debs and Emma Goldman.

Mr. RALSTON. Now, Mr. Gompers, let me ask you for a moment about the antiboycott association. Who is its representative here?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have only seen one, a Mr. Edwin Davenport.

Mr. RALSTON. And before what committees have you met him?

Mr. GOMPERS. First, before the Committee on Labor of the House in opposition to the eight-hour bill, which I have already described.

Mr. RALSTON. What had the antiboycott association to do with the eight-hour bill?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have no knowledge other than their opposition; that is, Mr. Davenport opposed the bill very energetically.

Mr. RALSTON. Do you know what the antiboycott association is?

Mr. GOMPERS. I know what I have heard Mr. Davenport say it is, and I have had a copy of its constitution.

Mr. RALSTON. Have you a copy of its constitution?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think I have. I have a copy of it typewritten, but it is an exact copy taken from the testimony in a case——

Mr. RALSTON. We have a printed copy somewhere that is identical with that.

Mr. GOMPERS. And introduced under oath.

Mr. RALSTON. I should like to offer it in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just why I wanted to look at it. [The paper referred to was handed to the chairman.] I suppose you did intend to offer it in evidence? I want to see whether that comes within the scope of our resolution.

Mr. RALSTON. I think we shall want to show that its activities do come within the scope of your resolution, whether so expressed in the constitution or not. I will offer it tentatively.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be marked for identification.

Mr. RALSTON. I note that the membership of the Antiboycott Association is required to be kept secret. Do you know why?

Mr. GOMPERS. I can only infer, and I do not know that the committee wants my inference. I do not know except that under any and all circumstances Mr. Davenport has declined to give to committees of Congress a copy of the list of the membership.

Mr. RALSTON. So that in meeting Mr. Davenport as its representative you had not known whom you were facing?

Mr. GOMPERS. I did not, sir.

(Thereupon, at 5.35 o'clock p. m., the committee took a recess until 7.30 o'clock p. m.)

EVENING SESSION.

The committee reassembled at 7.30 p. m., pursuant to recess taken.

Mr. DAVENPORT. I promised to produce the constitution of the American Antiboycott Association, and I call attention to the first section of article 3: "No membership shall be made public without the consent of the member." Mr. Gompers has often shown an intense curiosity as to the members, and I will ask him if he has not a very lively knowledge that the firm of D. E. Lowe & Co., the plaintiff in the Danbury Hatters case, and the Buck Stove & Range Co. were members of this association?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have been told so. I have a very lively curiosity about it always.

The CHAIRMAN. This will be marked for identification and introduced here.

(The exhibit referred to was marked for identification "Davenport No. 1.")

Now, I want to read this resolution, under which we are acting, again [reading]:

Whereas there have appeared in recent issues of various newspapers published in the United States divers statements and charges as to the existence and activity of a lobby organized by and on behalf of an organization known as the National Association of Manufacturers for the purpose of improperly influencing legislation by Congress, the official conduct of certain of its Members and employees, the appointment and selection of committees of the House and for other purposes designed to affect the integrity of the proceedings of the House of Representatives and its Members: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Speaker appoint a select committee of seven Members of the House and that such committee be instructed to inquire into and report upon all the matters so alleged concerning said Representatives, and more especially whether during this or any previous Congress the lobbyists of the said National Association of Manufacturers, or the said association through any officer, agent, or members thereof, did in fact reach or influence, whether for business, political, or sympathetic reasons or otherwise, the said Representatives or any one of them, or any other Representative or any officer or employee of this or any former House of Representatives in or about the discharge of their official duties, and if so, when, by whom, and in what manner.

Said committee shall also inquire whether money has been used or improper influence exerted by said National Association of Manufacturers or other person, persons, association, or organization, or any agent thereof, to accomplish the nomination or election or secure the defeat for nomination or election of any candidate for the House of Representatives, and said committee shall likewise inquire whether Members of the House of Representatives have been employed by any of said associations, or have knowingly aided said associations, or any of them, for the accomplishment of any improper purpose whatever.

Said committee is also directed to inquire whether improper influence has been exerted by said association or by any other association, corporation, or person to secure or prevent the appointment or selection of any Representative to any committee of the House in this or any other Congress.

Said committee shall also inquire whether the said National Association of Manufacturers or any other organization or corporation or association or person does now maintain or has heretofore maintained a lobby for the purpose of influencing legislation by Congress and ascertain and report to what extent and in what manner, if at all, legislation has been improperly effected or prevented by reason of the existence of such lobby, if it be found to exist now or to have existed heretofore.

There are some other paragraphs, but the paragraph that I have read states the purpose of the resolution. Now I want to request that the examination be confined to the scope of that resolution. I do not know—I do not see where the constitution of the Antiboycott Association comes in, anyway, within the scope of that resolution. We do not want arguments as to the policy or the merits of legislation before this committee. We desire simply to find the facts as we are instructed under this resolution, and we want to expedite matters as much as possible, and I hope you will confine yourselves to these things.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Chairman, may I call your attention to the second section, article 2, of this constitution, which I think fairly makes the Antiboycott Association a subject for examination by your committee: "The members of the association are"—section 2—"to oppose Federal and State legislation injurious to the public good which would impair the rights and remedies of members in the employment of labor and destroy industrial freedom." The very purpose—one of the purposes—of this organization is to effect legislation before Congress. Now, here are the methods, or at least pecuniary methods: They pay $25 initiation, and they pay an assessment at the rate of $1 on each $1,000 of the pay roll for the month previous to the issue of the call, thereby enabling this association, if it has any respectable membership at all—respectable in point of numbers—and desires to and has the capacity to raise extremely large quantities of money.

The CHAIRMAN. But that has got to be shown, Mr. Ralston, where they come in contact with Congress.

Mr. RALSTON. Yes; and that is what I am trying to show now by Mr. Gompers—that in every measure as he has deemed it of public good, or at least in very many measures for the public good, he found himself opposed on every possible occasion by the representatives of the American Antiboycott Association. Now, my own information is that very large sums of money have been expended—I do not say whether properly or improperly, because my information does not go that far, but very large sums of money have been expended to support the bureau and the work of this Antiboycott Association here before Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if that is true, and if that can be shown—of course it will have to be shown—then it is time to determine whether it was properly or improperly spent, but in order to be competent, Mr. Ralston, it must be someway, somehow connected with the resolution.

Mr. RALSTON. Of course, as we often say as lawyers, I can not prove my case all at once or with a single question, but I think when

it all comes in it will be plain that one of the great purposes of this organization is to control legislation here and that they raise considerable sums of money for that purpose, and in a moment I can give the committee the name of one gentleman who was informed by the secretary of the association——

Mr. GOMPERS (interposing). That was the treasurer.

Mr. RALSTON (continuing). Of the expenditure of $25,000 in a single season by that association. Of the legitimacy of the course it took, I am not prepared to say, but I submit it to this committee that it is a fair and proper subject of inquiry. What is that gentleman's name, Mr. Gompers?

Mr. GOMPERS. Walker.

Mr. RALSTON. He is the correspondent of one of the New Jersey papers, and his name can be easily had here, perhaps from the Congressional Directory. He will testify, as I understand—as he has told me, in fact—that Mr. Potter, the secretary of this association, informed him that in that winter, a year or two ago, they were spending in Washington $25,000, and he suggested to him that he connect himself with that pay roll for work here in Washington. The treasurer of the association was Mr. Potter, a resident of East Orange, N. J.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Now, Mr. Chairman, I know Mr. Ralston is somewhat accustomed to making reckless statements. I wish to state, your honor——

Mr. RALSTON (interposing). I am not equal to you, Mr. Davenport.

Mr. DAVENPORT. I wish to state, your honor, that that statement is utterly untrue. The association has never spent a dollar in Washington or in any other place for the purpose of influencing legislation other than, as I may, its general counsel and charged with the care of its legal business, have attended here before congressional committees in opposition to the legislation of the eight-hour bill and the anti-injunction bill, the attempt to amend the Sherman antitrust law so as to nullify the effect of the Danbury hatters decision, and other attempts to dismantle the Federal courts of their power to protect the property of its citizens. Outside of my personal expenses here, and what might be its portion of my retainer for that company, the statement is without foundation. The charge that he seeks to make here, I challenge him to the court.

The CHAIRMAN. He stated that Mr. Walker told him. He did not make any statement on his own responsibility. Now let us see if we can not get along with this matter. Mr. Ralston, if you can bring that within the scope of this resolution, the committee will consider it.

Mr. RALSTON. I submit the constitution attempts to bring it within the scope of the resolution, because it says that is one of the purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. We will consider that further.

Mr. FERRIS. Is that constitution going in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to consider that further. Don't you think it ought to be put in?

Mr. FERRIS. I do not have any opinion on it at all. I just asked for information.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Ralston.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers, I do not recollect exactly the point we were on when we closed, but I will turn for the present to the question of political activities. Have you, as the representative of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor, opposed the election or reelection of Members of Congress?

Mr. GOMPERS. With my associates we have.

Mr. RALSTON. Who was the first; Mr. Littlefield?

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Charles E. Littlefield, of Maine.

Mr. RALSTON. And when was that?

Mr. GOMPERS. In 1906.

Mr. RALSTON. What directly led to the opposition of the Federation of Labor to Mr. Littlefield?

Mr. GOMPERS. His continued opposition to all legislation sought by the American Federation of Labor in the interests of the working people.

Mr. RALSTON. What legislation particularly had he opposed?

Mr. GOMPERS. He opposed the bill to relieve the organization from the operations of the Sherman antitrust law—the voluntary association of the workers. The law as we understood, and as I understood it during the stages of the consideration by Congress, was always that the associated effort of the working people was not to come under the provisions of the Sherman antitrust law. As a matter of fact when the Senate was in the Committee of the Whole, having the bill under consideration, a proviso was adopted by the Senate specifically declaring that the law should in no wise be applied to the associations of workingmen organized for the purpose of regulating wages, hours, and conditions of employment, nor should it apply to agriculturalists and horticulturalists in the determination of the conditions of their own product. The bill, after that amendment was adopted by the Senate, was recommitted to the Judiciary Committee, and the bill reframed and the proviso or amendment adopted by the Senate in the Committee of the Whole was not contained in the bill reported by the Judiciary Committee. In conference with several of the Senators—Senator George, of Mississippi; Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts; and others—we were assured that there was no necessity for apprehension on our part, that the law could by no means be interpreted to apply to the associated efforts of labor——

Mr. RALSTON (interposing). It could not be interpreted, you mean?

Mr. GOMPERS. By no means could it be interpreted to apply to the associated effort of workers in regulating wages, hours, and conditions of employment, and that we were unduly apprehensive in regard to it. However, the bill was enacted with that proviso omitted. I am free to say that notwithstanding the assurances the apprehensions were not dispelled, and before many years our federation, our legislative committees, and the representatives of many unions sought to have the Sherman antitrust law amended so that it would specifically, so that the law would specifically, contain such a proviso as I have already indicated was adopted by the Senate in the Committee of the Whole. Now, when Mr. Littlefield came to Congress he was regarded by many men, myself included, as a public-spirited tribune of the people who would defend their rights. Due to whatever cause I do not know, but very suddenly there was a marked change in his course, and in the course of a year or two he, with the Judiciary Committee of the House, was considering an amendment to the Sherman antitrust law. In interviews with him we sought to have him include in the report of the committee—the report of the

Judiciary Committee—a proviso such as we asked. He declared that it was not necessary and he would not consider it. The bill which he introduced—I think in 1900—which he introduced before the Judiciary Committee amending the Sherman antitrust law seemed to us to rivet still stronger the provisions of the Sherman antitrust law as applying to the activities of associations of working people, and inasmuch as he would not consider the provision we asked him to incorporate in the bill, and which we asked each of his party associates on the committee to urge, we were then compelled to ask a Representative of the then minority party in the House of Representatives to propose an amendment. He did so, I am informed, and the majority defeated it.

When the Littlefield bill, amendatory to the Sherman antitrust law, was before the House for consideration, this Member, Representative Terry, of Arkansas, offered the proposition from the floor of the House as an amendment to the bill. The amendment was adopted by the House with but nine dissenting votes. When the amendment was adopted Mr. Littlefield no longer had any interest in the bill, and while it was passed by the House it was not urged in the Senate nor was any action taken by him. On the contrary—so the information came to me—wherever he came he manifested his displeasure with the action of the House in adopting the amendment, and he would no longer stand sponsor for the bill. It did die. Then, in every investigation conducted by the Judiciary Committee, it seemed as if his great legal acumen was directed to put the layman in a supposed or apparent indefensible position. His antagonism to the seaman's bill; his effrontery, if not his bulldozing of witnesses before him, representative of the seamen and representatives of other callings, were very apparent. At one time, in company with two or three of my associates in the lobby of the Capitol, when we were approaching the House of Representatives we had a conference with Mr. Littlefield and informed him that his efforts had been to place us in a false position before his associates on the committee, before his fellow members; that his position was one of antagonism and was unjustifiable; and finally finding himself really in a position where we were equal man to man, discussing the matter, he could not defend his position and left us abruptly with a very rude remark. About that time I was in Maine attending the convention of the Maine State Federation of Labor, and during my address to that convention I made mention of Mr. Littlefield's attitude, and a number of the men there asked me if that be so why not inaugurate a campaign so that someone who would be more fairly inclined toward the working people of America might not be elected to succeed Mr. Littlefield. There was a mass meeting held in the evening in the great public hall there, and I addressed that assembly again and repeated Mr. Littlefield's position and his remark, and a committee was appointed for the purpose of conferring with me and my associates in order to inaugurate a campaign for Mr. Littlefield's defeat.

Mr. STAFFORD. When was that?

Mr. GOMPERS. In 1906.

Mr. RALSTON. How long after this interview that you spoke of—this discussion—did the campaign against him commence?

Mr. GOMPERS. About two months.

Mr. RALSTON. Did you go to Maine at that time?

Mr. GOMPERS. I did, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. When you went to Maine, did you find yourself preceded by representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. Who were they?

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Mulhall. I can not think of the other names.

Mr. RALSTON. Do you know how long they had been there before you arrived?

Mr. GOMPERS. Except that I learned from some of the local men there that he had been there some weeks.

Mr. RALSTON. Do you know whether he went there before it was announced there that you would go there?

Mr. GOMPERS. I am not sure. I do not know.

Mr. RALSTON. What work was Mr. Mulhall engaged in doing when you arrived there?

Mr. GOMPERS. He was engaged in corraling men in halls and rooms; and, if I may use the language of the street, getting them "tanked up."

Mr. RALSTON. Were you there until election day?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes; until the night before election.

Mr. RALSTON. Was that process continued up to that time?

Mr. GOMPERS. It increased continually. I was told by some of our men, or asked by some of the men whether I knew how much whisky or beer was being housed in the halls in Mr. Total Abstainer Littlefield's district. I told him that I did not; and they asked me if I wanted to see it. I told them I wanted to see whatever was to be seen. I was taken up two flights of stairs in one of the buildings there, and I saw quite a number of men lying around and sitting around in a greater or less degree of inebriety. Nobody seemed to know me there or my associates, and we had somewhat of an entrée—I suppose they may have imagined that I was one of those who cared to indulge with them. I saw that it was quite freely handed around. They helped themselves.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was it free?

Mr. GOMPERS. I saw no money offered or accepted anywhere.

Mr. RALSTON. How long was this before election?

Mr. GOMPERS. About two weeks.

Mr. RALSTON. What was the nature of your own activities?

Mr. GOMPERS. I addressed public meetings, urging the defeat of Mr. Littlefield and the election of his opponent, Mr. McGillicuddy.

Mr. RALSTON. Did you spend any money in that campaign?

Mr. GOMPERS. The Federation spent some money.

Mr. RALSTON. How much?

Mr. GOMPERS. I could not tell you, but it was not very much. Probably four or five hundred dollars.

Mr. RALSTON. For what purposes?

Mr. GOMPERS. Traveling expenses and hotel expenses.

Mr. RALSTON. Did you circulate any literature?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. Did you spend any money except for traveling expenses, hotel expenses, and the circulation of literature?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not one cent.

Mr. RALSTON. Now, in what other campaigns, aside from the Littlefield campaign, has the Federation of Labor taken any part? Take the next in order of time, if you will.

Mr. GOMPERS. We took part in the second campaign of Mr. Littlefield. We took part in the campaigns of 1908 and 1910 and 1912. In 1906 a great conference was held in the city of Washington for the purpose of consulting in regard to what might be done to secure some relief at the hands of Congress in regard to labor legislation. That conference drafted a brief to Congress and declared, that inasmuch as the party in power was responsible for legislation, it was also responsible for the failure of legislation, and we appealed to the party in power to secure relief and constructive legislation which we sought, and we declared unless those responsible for legislation would furnish us that relief—that legislation—we would appeal from them to the people of the United States. We presented that document to President Roosevelt, to Vice President Fairbanks, and to Speaker Cannon.

Mr. RALSTON. Have you here a copy of that document?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that one of the documents that has already been read into the record?

Mr. RALSTON. I do not know, Mr. Chairman. It has not been while I have been here.

Mr. GOMPERS (producing document). It is entitled "Labor's grievances," and bears date, Washington, D. C., March 21, 1906, and is addressed to Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States; Hon. William C. Frye, President pro tempore, United States Senate; Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States. I think I ought to change the statement in regard to Vice President Fairbanks to President pro tempore of the Senate, Mr. William C. Frye.

The CHAIRMAN. That has not been presented.

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know; I would like to present it.

The CHAIRMAN. You are willing to have it printed in the record without reading, are you not?

Mr. RALSTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection it will be inserted at this time. I suppose it is substantially what Mr. Gompers has stated?

Mr. RALSTON. Yes.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

BILL OF GRIEVANCES.

Hon. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, *President of the United States;*
Hon. WM. P. FRYE, *President pro tempore United States Senate;*
Hon. JOSEPH G. CANNON, *Speaker House of Representatives, United States.*

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned, executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and those accompanying us in the presentation of this document, submit to you the subject matter of the grievances which the workmen of our country feel, by reason of the indifferent position which the Congress of the United States has manifested toward the just, reasonable, and necessary measures which have been before it these past several years, and which particularly affect the interests of the working people, as well as by reason of the administrative acts of the executive branches of the Government and the legislation

of the Congress relating to these interests. For convenience the matters of which we complain are briefly stated, and are as follows:

EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

The law commonly known as the eight-hour law has been found ineffective and insufficient to accomplish the purpose of its designers and framers. Labor has since 1894 urged the passage of a law so as to remedy the defects and for its extension to all work done for or on behalf of the Government. Our efforts have been in vain.

Without hearing of any kind granted to those who are the advocates of the eight-hour law and principle Congress passed and the President signed an appropriation bill containing a rider nullifying the eight-hour law and principle in its application to the greatest public work ever undertaken by our Government, the construction of the Panama Canal.

The eight-hour law in terms provides that those intrusted with the supervision of Government work shall neither require nor permit any violations thereof. The law has been grievously and frequently violated. The violations have been reported to the heads of several departments, who have refused to take the necessary steps for its enforcement.

CONVICT LABOR.

While recognizing the necessity for the employment of inmates of our penal institutions, so that they may be self-supporting, labor has urged in vain the enactment of a law that shall safeguard it from the competition of the labor of convicts.

IMMIGRATION.

In the interest of all of our people and in consonance with their almost general demand we have urged Congress for some tangible relief from the constantly growing evil of induced and undesirable immigration but without result.

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

Recognizing the danger of Chinese immigration and responsive to the demands of the people, Congress years ago enacted an effective Chinese-exclusion law; yet, despite the experience of the people of our own country, as well as those of other countries, the present law is flagrantly violated, and now, by act of Congress, it is seriously proposed to invalidate that law and reverse the policy.

SEAMEN'S RIGHTS.

The partial relief secured by the laws of 1895 and 1898, providing that seamen shall not be compelled to endure involuntary servitude, has been seriously threatened at each succeeding Congress. The petitions to secure for the seamen equal right with all others have been denied, and a disposition shown to extend to other workmen the system of compulsory labor.

SHIP SUBSIDY.

Under the guise of a bill to subsidize the shipping industry, a provision is incorporated, and has already passed the Senate, providing for a form of conscription, which would make compulsory naval service a condition precedent to employment on privately-owned vessels.

Having in mind the terrible and unnecessary loss of life attending the burning of the *Slocum* in the harbor of New York, the wreck of the *Rio de Janeiro* at the entrance to the Bay of San Francisco, and other disasters on the waters too numerous to mention—in nearly every case the great loss of life was due to the undermanning and the unskilled manning of such vessels—we presented to Congress measures that would, if enacted, so far as human law could do, make impossible the awful loss of life. We have sought this remedy more in the interests of the traveling public than in that of the seamen, but in vain.

Having in mind the constantly increasing evil growing out of the parismony of corporations, of towing several undermanned and unequipped vessels, called

barges, on the high seas, where in case of storm or stress they are cut loose to drift or sink, and their crews to perish, we have urged the passage of a law that shall forbid the towing of more than one such vessel unless they shall have an equipment and a crew sufficient to manage them when cut loose and set adrift, but in vain.

TRUSTS AND INTERSTATE COMMERCE.

The antitrust and interstate commerce laws enacted to protect the people against monopoly in the products of labor, and against discrimination in the transportation thereof, have been perverted, so far as the laborers are concerned so as to invade and violate their personal liberty as guaranteed by the Constitution. Our repeated efforts to obtain redress from Congress have been in vain.

ANTI-INJUNCTION BILL.

The beneficent writ of injunction, intended to protect property rights, has, as used in labor disputes, been perverted so as to attack and destroy personal freedom and in a manner to hold that the employer has some property rights in the labor of the workmen. Instead of obtaining the relief which labor has sought, it is seriously threatened with statutory authority for existing judicial usurpation.

COMMITTEE ON LABOR.

The Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives was instituted at the demand of labor to voice its sentiments, to advocate its rights, and to protect its interests. In the past two Congresses this committee has been so organized as to make ineffectual any attempt labor has made for redress. This being the fact in the last Congress, labor requested the Speaker to appoint on the Committee on Labor Members who, from their experience, knowledge, and sympathy, would render in this Congress such service as the committee was originally designed to perform. Not only was labor's request ignored, but the hostile make-up of the committee was accentuated.

RIGHT OF PETITION DENIED GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.

Recently the President issued an order forbidding any and all Government employees, upon the pain of instant dismissal from the Government service, to petition Congress for any redress of grievances or for any improvement in their condition. Thus, the constitutional right of citizens to petition must be surrendered by the Government employee in order that he may obtain or retain his employment.

REDRESS FOR GRIEVANCES.

We present these grievances to your attention because we have long, patiently, and in vain waited for redress. There is not any matter of which we have complained but for which we have, in an honorable and lawful manner, submitted remedies. The remedies for these grievances proposed by labor are in line with fundamental law, and with the progress and development made necessary by changed industrial conditions.

Labor brings these, its grievances, to your attention because you are the reprecentatives responsible for legislation and for failure of legislation. The toilers come to you as your fellow citizens, who, by reason of their position in life, have not only with all other citizens an equal interest in our country, but the further interest of being the burden bearers, the wage earners of America. As labor's representatives we ask you to redress these grievances, for it is in your power so to do.

Labor now appeals to you, and we trust that it may not be in vain. But if, perchance, you may not heed us, we shall appeal to the conscience and the support of our fellow citizens,

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,	DANIEL J. KEEFE,
JAMES DUNCAN,	WM. D. HUBER,
JAMES O'CONNELL,	JOSEPH F. VALENTINE,
MAX MORRIS,	JOHN B. LENNON,
DENNIS A. HAYES,	FRANK MORRISON,

Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

Mr. RALSTON. I notice that in the last clause you say in this document, "Labor now appeals to you, and we trust it may not be in vain, but if perchance you may not heed our appeal to the conscience and support of our fellow citizens"—what was meant by that?

Mr. GOMPERS. That in the event of the refusal of the party in power to grant us the relief and the constrictive legislation which we sought, we should seek the return of other Representatives to Congress to succeed them.

Mr. RALSTON. And did you make in other ways the announcement of that intention?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. That marked, did it not, the formal entry of the labor organizations into political activity?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that?

Mr. RALSTON. March 21, 1906, antedating about six months the Littlefield campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Before that had there been any systematic attempt at political activity on the part of labor organizations?

Mr. GOMPERS. Sporadic, rather than systematic.

Mr. RALSTON. Then, from that time, as I understand you, you sought the election of people who entertained the same ideas that you entertained?

Mr. GOMPERS. At least those nearer to our view of what was right politically.

Mr. RALSTON. You did that openly?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. Have your political contests had any element of secrecy about them?

Mr. GOMPERS. No; it was entirely in the open. As a matter of fact, the only degree of success we could attain was by publicity; so that as a matter of policy as well as of purpose publicity was our weapon.

Mr. RALSTON. Have you ever entertained any doubt as to your political right to vote for those who are in agreement with you and refusing to vote for those who are not in agreement with you?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have never had the slightest doubt of it. I regard that as the highest duty of citizenship.

Mr. RALSTON. And to do that irrespective of their political affiliations?

Mr. GOMPERS. Irrespective of their political affiliations. The American Federation of Labor is not a partisan political organization. It has so declared time and time again. As a matter of fact, a convention of the American Federation of Labor some 15 or more years ago—an amendment was adopted to the constitution prohibiting the discussion of any political partisan question, whether it be Republican, Democratic, Prohibition, Socialist, or any other.

Mr. RALSTON. Have you stated, on more occasions perhaps than one, to Members of Congress that if they were not in sympathy with your ideas you could not vote for them?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have done so repeatedly.

Mr. RALSTON. If you had been a Republican, you would have stated that to a Democrat, wouldn't you?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have done so. But I am not a Republican.

Mr. RALSTON. Can you draw a line of distinction between the party man who refuses to vote for his opponent and the labor man who refuses to vote for the man who is not in sympathy with him?

Mr. GOMPERS. The franchise of citizenship is intended as an instrument by which the citizen shall express his choice of representative, whether for the legislature of the State, a municipality, or the United States; and if there be representatives who are opposed to the views that I entertain, it is not only my right but my duty to vote against them, and try and see that my views are impressed upon my fellow citizens and that they and I vote as best we can vote to secure the election of men to Congress who conform nearest to our views; and if we can not get a sufficient number of citizens to vote the way we do, we are defeated; if we can, we are successful.

Mr. RALSTON. Have you promised Members of Congress to vote for them or threatened to vote against them out of any sordid consideration for your pocketbook?

Mr. GOMPERS. As a matter of fact, I have not a pocketbook, and I have not anything as a substitute, and I trust I may be permitted to say that I am not sordid in any way.

Mr. RALSTON. In your political activities have you paid money to Members of Congress as a reward for services rendered the cause of labor?

Mr. GOMPERS. Never. Not any money consideration or other consideration; nothing but our cordial support if we could be of assistance to them, politically.

Mr. RALSTON. Have you promised money to them in order to control their future action?

Mr. GOMPERS. Never. We have never had money enough, and no matter how much money we should have we never would have contributed anything toward their campaign or to them in any way.

Mr. RALSTON. The statement was made by Mr. McClave, not before this committee, but before the Senate committee, that you had contributed, or the federation had contributed, $5,000 to the campaign of Hughes, and he therefore thought it was perfectly right for him to accept money from the National Association of Manufacturers. Did you make any such contribution to Mr. Hughes's campaign?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir. May I add a word of explanation as to the possibility of how such a notion got abroad, that we sent $5,000 to Mr. Hughes or to anyone else for his campaign?

Congress was engaged, I think, on the sundry civil appropriation bill, and Mr. Hughes offered an amendment to the bill in this language:

> *Provided further*, That no part of this money shall be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, shortening the hours, or bettering the conditions of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof not in itself unlawful.

The House adopted that amendment on two or three occasions, but it was rejected by the Senate. I say two or three occasions. I mean that the House insisted upon its amendment, and finally the House receded from the amendment through circumstances that I do not know are now necessarily appropriate to mention. But the House

receded and the amendment was defeated. The elections for Congress were then pending, and the American Federation of Labor had a roll of the Representatives of the House of Representatives printed and sent broadcast throughout the country. Among the districts in which this circular was distributed was Mr. Hughes's, of New Jersey. Mr. Hughes, finding it an exceedingly interesting document, asked us to send him a large number of this tabulated vote or roll call upon the amendment, and I telegraphed him, "Am sending you 5,000." Wherever the leak occurred, or wherever the information was sought or obtained, the inference drawn was that we were sending him $5,000, when, as a matter of fact, it was 5,000 of these little innocent roll calls.

Mr. RALSTON. By the way, you have circulated a number of roll calls, have you not?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. In different districts, and at different times?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. Has it occurred to you that it was improper in any way to inquire and publish, in the largest possible way, how Members of Congress voted on particular bills?

Mr. GOMPERS. It never occurred to me that it was improper by any stretch of the imagination.

Mr. RALSTON. That was information the constituents were entitled to, was it not?

Mr. GOMPERS. They were entitled to know how their Representative voted upon any measure, if they were interested in it, so they could form their own conclusions and their own judgment, and conform their actions as citizens in accordance with it. But it was always a matter of their own volition. Nobody could say them "aye" or "nay."

Mr. RALSTON. Now, coming back to the National Association of Manufacturers' interest in elections, you found Mr. Mulhall in Maine. Did you meet him or other representatives of the Association of Manufacturers in other districts, do you recall?

Mr. GOMPERS. I can not recall them by name, but I know of the instances. It is now seven years ago and I have been pretty busy.

Mr. RALSTON. I mean either then or more recently; at any time.

Mr. GOMPERS. I can not say, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. You knew, did you not, their interest in Mr. Hughes's candidacy?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. Did you know anything about their interest in Judge Jenkins's campaign?

Mr. GOMPERS. Nothing more than what was going on in the district, and reports made to me that they were very active and spending money liberally.

Mr. RALSTON. Did you ever contribute any money, or the federation, for the defeat of a man, except in the way that you have stated in Mr. Littlefield's district?

Mr. GOMPERS. Never, sir. Always the moneys were expended for the payment of traveling and hotel expenses of the men who would go into the districts, and for literature and mailing, etc., not otherwise. I should say that since March, 1895, and including, the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor has published its income and its expenditures every month for the preceding month, and there has been no deviation from that course month by month. Since and including March, 1895, the income and expenditures, from what sources, and for what purposes, has been published monthly. And during the political campaigns in which we were specifically interested we appealed for financial assistance—voluntary financial assistance. We published little leaflets containing the amounts received and by whom contributed, and the amounts expended and to whom and for what purpose paid.

Mr. RALSTON. Are those statements at the disposal of the committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. If the committee desires them, we are prepared to submit them.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Gompers, would you object to stating at this time what the probable average income of the federation is?

Mr. GOMPERS. We have no such thing as an average, because it has been constantly on the increase.

Mr. WILLIS. What is it now, would you say?

Mr. GOMPERS. For instance, in the last issue of the American Federationist—that is, for September, 1913—it contains the financial statement with the following additional heading, "The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for the month of July, 1913." The months are abbreviated, thus, J., F., M., A., M., etc., standing for January, February, March, April, and May, etc.; and the income for July, 1913, was $18,241.35.

Mr. WILLIS. And the expenditures? Does it state that?

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Willis, the question is answered very fully in this report of the proceedings for 1912, showing the receipts from 1881 to 1912. beginning with $174 in 1881 and ending with $207,373.60 in 1912, in successive years.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me ask Mr. Gompers one other question, because he is perfectly familiar with those things and can give it more quickly than we can get it in the books.

Mr. Gompers, can you state what the income is per capita of the members of the organization? Only approximately, of course.

Mr. GOMPERS. The per capita is 8 cents per member per annum of all members of organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor; and it is out of this 8 cents per member which we provide for all the activities of the American Federation of Labor in its organization work, in its agitation work, in its legislative work, and in its publications. Even though it may not be appropriate under the resolution adopted by the House for the committee to consider what I am about to say, I would like to have the opportunity of saying this: That outside of all its work—political work—we are engaged in the work of enlightening the working people of the country upon their life conduct and conservation of their lives and their health. We have printed millions of copies of a document such as this [exhibiting paper to the committee] on tuberculosis, in which it says, in large display type:

Don't give consumption to others; don't let others give it to you; don't delay. Join a labor union and help stamp out consumption.

That is a movement inaugurated by the American Federation of Labor, in which it teaches working men and working women how to prevent consumption by contracting it or handing it over to another. For instance, this says:

The spit and small particles coughed up and sneezed by consumptives and by many who do not know that they have consumption, are full of living germs, too small to be seen. These germs are the cause of consumption. Don't spit on the sidewalk—it spreads disease, and it is against the law.

Don't spit on the floors of your rooms or hallways.

Don't spit on the floor of your shop.

When you spit, spit into the gutters or into a spittoon. Have your own spittoons half full of water, and clean them out at least once a day with hot water.

Don't cough without holding your handkerchief or your hand over your mouth.

Don't live in rooms where there is no fresh air.

Don't work in rooms where there is no fresh air.

Don't sleep in rooms where there is no fresh air.

Keep at least one window in your bedroom open day and night.

Fresh air helps to kill the consumption germs.

Fresh air helps to keep you strong and healthy.

Don't eat with soiled hands—wash them first.

Don't neglect a cold or a cough.

And then:

How to cure consumption.

This is an address by Paul Kennedy on tuberculosis, delivered at our Pittsburgh convention, December, 1905, and reprinted here in a document issued by the American Federation of Labor, together with a chart giving the death rate from consumption among men in 53 occupations in the United States in 1910. This is part of the character of the work.

Mr. RALSTON. I have here the financial statement for the month of July, 1913. The committee will see to what extent it is itemized—the receipts first and, of course, the expenses following. [Exhibiting paper to the committee.]

Mr. GOMPERS. I say that the financial report of the secretary, Mr. Morrison, to the Federation convention, is not only reported in great detail but is analyzed so that anyone can see exactly the specific and the general purposes for which the expenditures are made.

Mr. RALSTON. By the way, is the fullest publicity given to these accounts?

Mr. GOMPERS. The reports of the secretary and of the president containing these accounts are usually published a week in advance of the conventions, and they are sent broadcast throughout the country—to the newspapers, to the press agents—so they might have them in advance and publish just what they will. And they are, of course, subject to such scrutiny as anyone cares to make of them. They have always been the subject of very careful scrutiny by the attorneys for the National Association of Manufacturers and the antiboycott association.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Ralston, before you pass from this subject, how much trouble would it be for you, Mr. Gompers, to show the receipts and expenditures since the organization up to the present time, year by year?

Mr. GOMPERS. It is right there [indicating].

Mr. FERRIS. Annually?

Mr. GOMPERS. That is before you right there, sir. In the last report made by Mr. Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, he incorporates the income for each year since the formation of the Federation in 1881 and including that year.

Mr. FERRIS. I have no doubt it would be very beneficial to your organization, and I would like to have it go into the record for my own information. Unless there is objection, Mr. Chairman, I would like to have it go in. It is not very long?

Mr. RALSTON. No; all on a half a page.

Mr. FERRIS. I hope it may go in our record, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; without objection, it will go in.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

Receipts and expenditures, 1881 to 1912.

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditures.	Year.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881	$174.00	$154.00	1898	$18,894.15	$19,197.17
1882	268.20	252.25	1899	36,757.13	30,599.22
1883	690.19	352.32	1900	71,125.82	68,373.39
1884	357.42	543.20	1901	115,220.89	118,708.39
1885	584.03	450.58	1902	144,498.21	119,086.74
1886	474.11	635.08	1903	247,802.96	196,015.57
1887	1,939.82	2,074.39	1904	220,995.97	203,991.15
1888	4,512.55	3,933.67	1905	207,417.62	196,170.10
1889	6,828.40	6,578.33	1906	217,815.18	218,540.04
1890	23,849.74	21,070.57	1907	174,330.26	159,960.84
1891	17,702.36	13,190.07	1908	207,655.23	196,937.36
1892	17,834.51	18,324.69	1909	232,377.64	203,702.07
1893	20,864.62	21,383.36	1910	193,470.84	177,859.34
1894	15,346.43	17,302.08	1911	182,188.68	175,524.08
1895	13,751.75	15,612.42	1912	207,373.60	277,479.28
1896	16,290.18	15,452.95			
1897	18,639.92	19,113.83	Total	2,638,042.41	2,518,568.48

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts	$2,638,042.41
Expenses	2,518,568.48
Balance on hand Sept. 30, 1912	119,473.93

Mr. RUSSELL. I would like to ask here, How do you collect the money; is it by voluntary subscriptions or by an assessment of the membership?

Mr. GOMPERS. The constitution provides the amount of per capita required of each organization; that is, there was a time when the per capita was one-quarter of 1 cent. In the course of time that was increased to one-third and then to two-thirds and then to one-half; it is now two-thirds. It is now 9 cents a year, and the organizations are required to pay monthly, or they usually paid quarterly, two-thirds of a cent for each member in good standing in their organization.

Mr. CLINE. A month?

Mr. GOMPERS. A month.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is the American Federation of Labor an incorporated body?

Mr. GOMPERS. It is not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Just a voluntary association?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. Are your proceedings open to the public; are they published?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. We usually have a large hall, and the delegates are provided with seats and desks, and right in front of the platform of the officers the president and secretary; there is the stenographer. There is a whole row of seats and desks provided for correspondents, newspaper men; stands and galleries are open. Anyone is welcome as a visitor or an observer.

Mr. RALSTON. The proceedings are then published in full?

Mr. GOMPERS. The proceedings of one day, the minutes are made, and copious minutes are taken, and during the night they are printed and are laid on the desk of each delegate and newspaper man in the morning.

Mr. RALSTON. Notwithstanding that, I believe, detective agencies make money by pretending that the proceedings are secret?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How is that?

Mr. RALSTON. I say detective agencies send circulars all over the country saying that these proceedings are secret, and obtain fees from business men for supplying them with information about the proceedings of this federation, which are open to the whole world. It is a piece of bogus detective work. Associations in different parts of the country do that, notoriously one in Cleveland, and quite a number of others.

Mr. WILLIS. Are there any executive sessions in these conventions?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not any, sir. The last executive session that I remember at a convention of the American Federation of Labor was over 20 years ago. None has been held since. I think it would have been better if there had never been any executive session.

Mr. RALSTON. Are the proceedings of your executive council, which meets from time to time, published?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not in their entirety, because it might be too bulky. We have the American Federationist, and in that we publish some other important matters to the public; but the most important business, the actions of the executive council meeting, are published in the American Federationist.

Mr. MACDONALD. I notice in Secretary Morrison's report, page 60 of the report, the proceedings of 1912, there is an item of $8,038, in the expense account, which is put under legislative expenses. Is there published anywhere a recapitulation of the items comprising that $8,000?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; in the monthly accounts in the American Federationist.

Mr. MACDONALD. It is given in detail?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. We have—for instance, we have had Mr. Arthur Holder and Mr. John A. Moffett and Mr. Grant Hamilton practically serving continuously the entire year as legislative committeemen. We formerly paid them a salary of $3 a day, and then $3.50 a day, and with the increased cost of living we have given them $5 a day. We thought they were earning that. At the last convention the executive council recommended the payment of $6 a day for these men.

Mr. MACDONALD. Is that detailed expenditure given in the monthly statement to which you referred?

Mr. GOMPERS. In the monthly statement published in the American Federationist, and to whom paid.

Mr. RALSTON. Going back a little, Mr. Gompers, have you stated fully all your work before Congress? I do not mean in every detail, but in its nature.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. It is not often that I have come to the Capitol to committee rooms; that is, not often when the meetings of committees are taken into consideration. It has only been when our legislative committeemen have advised me that I ought to appear before a committee at some certain time and there has been a definite time arranged, convenient to the committee; and if I could at all conform to the committee's time, of course it was done. I appeared before committees in advocacy of legislation which we sought. I take it you desire me to confine myself to the activities coming under a resolution of the House?

The CHAIRMAN. The committee desires you to confine yourself to that.

Mr. RALSTON. You might state also what work was done by the other representatives of the American Federation of Labor before Congress.

Mr. GOMPERS. The secretary of the American Federation of Labor would often appear. One of the vice presidents of the Federation lives in Washington. Sometimes the executive council of the American Federation of Labor holds its sessions in Washington, and it has occurred on two or three occasions when the executive council has taken a recess for the purpose of appearing before committees or conferring with the President or with Cabinet officers in regard to questions affecting the workers of the country.

May I, while here, and if the committee will permit me, give the dates chronologically of the eight-hour legislation; simply the dates? I testified to that without definitely giving the dates.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. GOMPERS. On June 25, 1868, Congress enacted an eight-hour law. On May 19, 1869, President Grant issued a proclamation forbidding a reduction in wages on account of any reduction of the hours of labor. On May 11, 1872, President Grant issued a proclamation calling attention to what was presented to him as being violations of the eight-hour act, and a direction to the departments of the Government to make no reduction in the wages paid by the Government by the day for laborers, workingmen, and mechanics on account of the reduction in the hours of labor. On May 18, 1872, Congress enacted a law providing that the proper accounting officers were directed, authorized, and required to settle accounts for the services of workers who had been required to work more than eight hours a day. On March 30, 1888, in the urgent deficiency bill, the Public Printer was directed to enforce the provisions of the eight-hour law in the department under his charge.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask about that, Mr. Gompers? To what extent did that go? Did it not mean that he might release the men at the end of eight hours? It did not prevent them from working more than eight hours, did it? I mean that particular order to which you have just referred.

Mr. GOMPERS. It did not.

The CHAIRMAN. They could work more than eight hours a day and get paid for it?

Mr. GOMPERS. They could. On May 24, 1888, the eight-hour law was extended to apply to the letter carriers. On August 1, 1892, a further law was adopted applying not only to the Government employees, but to mechanics and artisans employed by any contractor or subcontractor, and then followed the interpretations of that law to which I have already called attention. Then followed the amendments to that law which we sought, and finally, on June 8, 1912, the law was amended in order to forbid the employment of men beyond the eight-hour limit, unless there was a great emergency, as provided by the law. I would say that President Taft presented me with the pen with which he signed that law.

The CHAIRMAN. Until the time when that act passed, there had never been any prohibition upon men working more than eight hours a day, had there, so far as the Federal laws were concerned?

Mr. GOMPERS. There was none. The law prohibited the employment of mechanics and artisans more than eight hours a day.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to that?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes; even prior to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean it prohibited them absolutely, prohibited the employment——

Mr. GOMPERS (interposing). Except in case of emergency.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to that act?

Mr. RALSTON. My recollection is that there is no penalty to it.

Mr. WILLIS. How did this change of the law come about?

The CHAIRMAN. As I recall, those laws—I may be mistaken about it, of course—they provided that it should not be made a condition in the contract that a man should work more than that time, but it left the individual free to contract for more than that time if he desired to do so.

Mr. GOMPERS. That was the interpretation placed upon it, and it was because of that that the Congress enacted a law directing the department contracting for work with any contractor—that that stipulation shall be included, that he shall not work his employees more than eight hours a day, except in the case of the conditions to which I have referred.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gompers, I am going to break away from the resolution a moment and ask you this question: Do you think it is right for the law to provide that a man shall not contract for more than eight hours per day of service?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think that when the citizen is so regardless of his own rights and interests and welfare, it is the duty of the Government to intercede and to prevent him from wasting his life unnecessarily. When men work more than 8 hours, they do not do it because they want to. Here and there, possibly, you may find an individual, but he will do it at the expense of his fellows, not because he has any benefit from it. If the working people of the United States work 1 hour over the 8-hour day, you may depend upon it that the 9-hour day will become general, and so with the 10-hour day. It is the question—the Government is the employer. We can not make any private arrangement with the Government of the United States as an employer; we must make it through a law, we must try to secure it through a law. The contractors doing Government work evade the 8-hour law. For instance, as we have seen it, in the building of a post office, such as we have in the District of Columbia. Men

who cut the stone for that post office worked 9 and 10 hours a day, and these same men come to the District of Columbia, or other men in the District of Columbia, working on another stone, or perhaps on that selfsame stone in the District of Columbia, work an 8-hour day. It is equally true, for instance, in a State where a Federal building is erected, a city in a State. The men who were employed upon that building were required to limit their day's work to 8 hours; the men who are cutting stone on an adjoining lot, not the property of the Federal Government, were working 9 or more hours. The fair-minded contractors, experienced employers, do not want more than the 8-hour day. The workingmen do not want more than an 8-hour day. What they want is that they shall have a fair day's wage for that 8 hours. They do not work 9, or 10, or 12 hours for the mere love of doing the work, but they do ask for a fair day's pay for an 8-hour workday.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Chairman, if you will permit me, I have no desire to indulge in any discussion of the merits of this legislation, but I beg to call the committee's attention to the distinction between the act of 1892 and the act of 1912, which is the subject of discussion here, because there is a very marked distinction between the two.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the committee probably has that very well in mind.

Mr. EMERY. I thought the inquiries propounded did not indicate that that distinction was clearly in mind, and I merely wanted to make that distinction. It is a very marked one, the distinction between the two acts.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you not state that, Mr. Emery, in your summing up?

Mr. EMERY. Yes; I can state it in the summary.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you can state it in the summary just as well as now.

Mr. GOMPERS. Would it serve the purpose of the committee to read or hand to the committee a copy of the act?

The CHAIRMAN. I think it might be very well inserted in the record.

Mr. GOMPERS. Here it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Just file it and let it be inserted.

(The act referred to is as follows:)

CHAPTER 352.—An Act Relating to the limitation of the hours of daily service of laborers and mechanics employed upon the public works of the United States and of the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the service and employment of all laborers and mechanics who are now or may hereafter be employed by the Government of the United States, by the District of Columbia, or by any contractor or subcontractor upon any of the public works of the United States or of the said District of Columbia is hereby limited and restricted to eight hours in any one calendar day, and it shall be unlawful for any officer of the United States Government, or of the District of Columbia, or any such contractor or subcontractor whose duty it shall be to employ, direct, or control the services of such laborer or mechanic, to work more than eight hours in any calendar day except in case of extraordinary emergency.

SEC. 2. That any officer or agent of the Government of the United States, or of the District of Columbia, or any contractor or subcontractor whose duty it shall be to employ, direct, or control any laborer or mechanic employed upon any of the public works of the United States or of the District of Columbia who shall intentionally violate any provision of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and for each and every such offense shall, upon conviction, be

punished by a fine not to exceed one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment for not more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court having jurisdiction thereof.

SEC. 3. The provisions of this act shall not be so construed as to in any manner apply to or affect contractors or subcontractors, or to limit the hours of daily service of laborers or mechanics engaged upon the public works of the United States or of the District of Columbia for which contracts have been entered into prior to the passage of this act.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers, I want to ask you if any financial statements of political funds, receipts, and expenses have been published?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. In what were they published?

Mr. GOMPERS. In pamphlets.

Mr. RALSTON. They are open to the committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. From what sources was the money for such purposes derived?

Mr. GOMPERS. Individuals and associations.

Mr. RALSTON. Not out of the general funds of the federation, then?

Mr. GOMPERS. No; they were not.

Mr. RALSTON. Can you give the committee any idea of how much money was expended for political purposes?

The CHAIRMAN. When?

Mr. RALSTON. Well, at any time; make it as complete as you can.

Mr. GOMPERS. In the campaign of 1906 the total amount of receipts was $8,225.94; expenditures, $8,147.19; leaving a balance of $78.75.

Mr. RALSTON. Does your statement show how that money was expended?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; in every detail.

Mr. RALSTON. I shall be glad to give it to the committee, then.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, in 1906?

Mr. RALSTON. In 1906.

(The paper referred to is as follows:)

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906.

[Being a true account of all moneys received and expended for that campaign.]

RECEIPTS.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
July, 1906.				
26. Samuel Gompers	.....	Washington	D. C	$5.00
27. American Federation of Musicians	.....	St. Louis	Mo	5.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers	$113	Auburn	N. Y	2.00
Ball Stitchers	12071	Philadelphia	Pa	5.00
Cigarmakers' Union	1	Baltimore	Md	5.00
Elevator Constructors' Union	17	Cleveland	Ohio	5.00
Inland Seamen's Union	.....	Whitehall	N. Y	10.00
28. Carpenters and Joiners' Union	1576	Mechanicsville	N. Y	5.00
Trades and Labor Council	.....	Hammond	Ind	2.00
Carpenters and Joiners' Union	1526	Wilmington	Del	5.00
Carpenters and Joiners' Union	716	Zanesville	Ohio	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1730	Sutersville	Pa	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	866	Mahonoy City	Pa	5.00
Railroad Trainmen, Division	598	New York	N. Y	25.00
30. Trades and Labor Assembly	.....	Pontiac	Ill	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1509	Shenandoah	Pa	10.00
Railroad Trainmen, Division	511	Philadelphia	Pa	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1104	Sherrard	Ill	5.00
Carpenters and Joiners' Union	462	Greensburg	Pa	2.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
July, 1906.				
30. Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	48	Rockland	Mass	$10.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	32	Lynn	Mass	5.00
Carpenters and Joiners' Union	1707	Millinocket	Me	10.00
Machinists' Union	283	Clinton	Iowa	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2424	Elizabeth	Pa	5.00
A. Messier, financial secretary	.....	Warren	R. I	5.00
Cigarmakers' Union	295	Scranton	Pa	2.00
Tinsmiths' Union	142	Elizabeth	N. J	10.00
Lobster Fishermen	11843	Vinalhaven	Me	5.00
Coopers' Union	181	Chicago	Ill	2.50
J. Dixon, secretary union	1353	Parsons	Pa	3.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	249	Montreal	Que	2.00
Iron Molders' Union	442	Buffalo	N. Y	5.00
Machinists' Union	81	Davenport	Iowa	10.00
Cigarmakers' Union	301	Akron	Pa	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2254	Felix	Pa	5.00
Journeymen Plumbers, etc., Union	236	Trenton	N. J	5.00
Cigarmakers' Union	402	Quakertown	Pa	1.00
International Brotherhood of Paper Makers' Union.	141	Potsdam	N. Y	5.00
31. Machinery Molders' Union	183	Williamsport	Pa	2.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	74	Brockton	Mass	10.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	62	Poughkeepsie	N. Y	5.00
Carpenters and Joiners' Union	1364	Lancaster	Pa	2.00
Iron Moulders' Union	62	Ft. Wayne	Ind	2.50
August.				
1. Lithographers' Union	26	Providence	R. I	5.00
Painters' Union	634	Wilmington	Del	5.00
Cigarmakers' Union	316	McSherrystown	Pa	25.00
Iron Molders' Union	270	Pittsburg	Pa	1.00
Trades Council	.....	Ann Arbor	Mich	3.00
Carpenters and Joiners' Union	1358	Baltimore	Md	5.00
S. J. Stonford, treasurer	1776	Lakeland	Fla	5.00
Journeymen Plumbers' Union	69	Charlotte	N. C	5.00
Typographical Union	57	Dayton	Ohio	5.00
Machine Printers' Union	5	New Brunswick	N. J	5.00
Blacksmiths' Union	111	Latonia	Ky	1.00
2. United Mine Workers' Union	1552	Aristes	Pa	1.00
Federation of Labor	.....	Geneva	N. Y	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1553	St. Nicholas	Pa	10.00
Railroad Trainmen, Division	119	Jersey City	N. J	5.00
Carpenters and Joiners' Union	802	Hyde Park	Mass	5.00
Compressed Air Workers' Union	.....	Brooklyn	N. Y	100.00
Carpenters and Joiners' Union	657	Sheboygan	Wis	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1266	Hays	Pa	10.00
D. A. Hayes	.....	Philadelphia	Pa	5.00
Carpenters and Joiners' Union	1551	Three Rivers	Mich	1.00
Barbers' Union	102	St. Louis	Mo	20.00
Granite Cutters' Union	.....	Pine Island	N. Y	5.00
Riggers, Sawyers, Rubbedmen, and Helpers Union.	12232	Baltimore	Md	2.00
3. Barbers' Union	123	Sioux Falls	S. D	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1175	Plymouth	Pa	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	524	Carnegie	Pa	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2538	Thurber	Tex	10.00
M. F. Tighe	.....	Pittsburg	Pa	2.00
4. International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.	6	New York	N. Y	10.00
United Brotherhood Operative Potters' Union.	44	Sebring	Ohio	10.00
International Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers' Union.	34	Grand Park	Ill	10.00
Carpenters and Joiners' Union	203	Poughkeepsie	N. Y	2.00
Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Union	14	Denver	Colo	5.00
Emmett Association of Rock Drillers and Tool Sharpeners' Union.	11808	New York	N. Y	5.00
Bricklayers and Masons' Union	89	Mt. Jewett	Pa	2.50
Boilermakers' Union	154	Allegheny	Pa	10.00
6 Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	278	Webster	Mass	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	409	Westville	Ill	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	800	Streator	Ill	25.00
Trades and Labor Council	.....	East Liverpool	Ohio	5.00
Cigarmakers' Union	66	Auburn	Me	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2015	Plymouth	W. Va	5.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
August, 1906—Continued.				
6. Boilermakers' Union	9	Stillwater	Minn	$2.50
Boilermakers' Union	54	Danville	Ill	5.00
Journeymen Barbers' Union	149	Erie	Pa	2.00
Carpenters' Union	288	Wilkinsburg	Pa	5.00
Carpenters' Union	838	Sunbury	Pa	3.00
Electrical Workers' Union	14	Pittsburg	Pa	5.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Newport News	Va	5.00
Machinists' Union	170	Muskegon	Mich	5.00
Cigarmakers' Union	462	West Tampa	Fla	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1174	DeKoven	Ky	24.86
United Mine Workers' Union	422	Coal Bluff	Pa	10.00
Trades and Labor Assembly	.....	Bloomington	Ill	5.00
Carpet Mechanics' Union	11244	Washington	D. C	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	365	Glouster	Ohio	5.00
Jewelry Workers' Union	9	Providence	R. I	5.00
Marion Owen	.....	Atlantic City	N. J	1.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of United States and Canada.	.....	Philadelphia	Pa	500.00
7. Carpenters' Union	1315	Baltimore	Md	2.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1626	Mt. Carmel	Pa	5.00
Teamsters' Union	575	Ogden	Utah	5.00
Barbers' Union	381	Hoboken	N. J	1.00
Local Union	34	Houtzdale	Pa	5.00
Bartenders' Union	75	Washington	D. C	20.00
International Union Steam Engineers	95	Pittsburgh	Pa	10.00
Cigarmakers' Union	294	Duluth	Minn	10.00
Machinists' Union	647	Two Harbors	Minn	1.00
United Mine Workers	2301	Stockett	Mont	10.00
Electrical Workers	77	Seattle	Wash	5.00
8. Central Labor Union	.....	Barre	Vt	10.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Scranton	Pa	25.00
Wood Workers' Union	143	Sandusky	Ohio	3.00
United Mine Workers	1330	Gillespie	Pa	18.00
Lumper and Drillers' Union	2	Hardwick	Vt	10.00
Potters' Union	29	East Liverpool	Ohio	2.00
Potters' Union	24	Wellsville	Ohio	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	608	Buchtel	Ohio	5.00
Textile Workers' Union	35	Fall River	Mass	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1743	Wildwood	N. J	5.00
Musicians' Union	49	Cripple Creek	Colo	5.00
Musicians' Union	278	South Bend	Ind	10.00
International Association Machinists	2	Galeton	Pa	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	280	Courtney	Pa	5.00
Cigarmakers' Union	61	La Crosse	Wis	5.00
Car Workers' Union	123	Berwick	Pa	2.00
Typographical Union	315	Poughkeepsie	N. Y	1.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	58	Syracuse	N. Y	2.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1561	Donaldson	Pa	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	857	Monday	Ohio	10.00
Barbers' Union	332	Poughkeepsie	N. Y	5.00
Metal Polishers' Union	48	Middletown	Ohio	5.00
9. American Society Plate Engravers	9003	Washington	D. C	5.00
Federal Labor Union	11423	Rockfield	Ky	5.00
Bakers' Union	118	Washington	D. C	9.65
Cigarmakers' Union	20	Decatur	Ill	10.00
Glass Workers' Union	6	St. Louis	Mo	5.00
Steam Fitters' Union	2	Chicago	Ill	25.00
Trades and Labor Assembly	.....	Sioux City	Iowa	5.00
Samuel Prince	.....	New York	N. Y	5.00
Teamsters' Union	596	Christopher	Ill	2.00
Cigarmakers' Union	77	Minneapolis	Minn	5.00
Blacksmiths' Union	165	Northampton	Mass	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1924	Bitumen	Pa	25.00
Electrotypers' and Stereotypers' Union	6	Kansas City	Mo	5.00
Operative Potters' Union	4	East Liverpool	Ohio	5.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	41	Indianapolis	Ind	5.00
Machinists' Union	493	Decatur	Ill	5.00
Leather Workers' Union	32	Fremont	Nebr	3.00
Blacksmiths' Union	159	East St. Louis	Ill	1.00
Bricklayers' Union	1	Philadelphia	Pa	15.00
Iron Molders' Union	143	Mt. Vernon	Ohio	5.00
Typographical Union	7	Pittsburgh	Pa	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	981	Bussey	Iowa	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	553	Centerville	Iowa	5.00
Trade and Labor Assembly	.....	Muscatine	Iowa	5.00
10. Wood Workers' Union	248	Middleboro	Mass	5.00
Monongahela Valley Central Trade Council	.....	Chalerol	Pa	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	898	Nanticoke	Pa	5.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

	Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
	August, 1906—Continued.				
10.	Barbers' Union	96	Springfield	Ill	$5.00
	Blacksmiths' Union	90	Marshall	Tex	3.00
	United Mine Workers	1062	Downer	Colo	5.00
	William Allen, treasurer, local union	1020	Detroit	Mich	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	450	Ogden	Utah	5.00
	Federated Trades Council		Portland	Oreg	5.00
	Theatrical Stage Employees	22	Washington	D.C	5.00
	United Mine Workers	1229	Dickson City	Pa	5.00
	Eugene Lausent, local union	48	Chester	Mass	5.00
	Central Labor Union		Rockland	Mass	3.00
	Painters' Union	709	Brookline	Mass	5.00
	United Mine Workers	2566	Alix	Ark	10.00
	Plumbers' Union	387	Davenport	Iowa	2.00
11.	United Mine Workers	1137	Olyphant	Pa	5.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	76	Hannibal	Mo	5.00
	Central Labor Union		Rockford	Ill	5.00
	Trades and Labor Council		Poughkeepsie	N.Y	5.00
	Blacksmiths' Union	456	Butte	Mont	15.00
	Steam Engineers' Union	147	Santa Rosa	Cal	2.25
13.	United Mine Workers	2239	Shenandoah	Pa	2.00
	Longshoremen's Union	59	Marquette	Mich	5.25
	Cardroom Protective Association		Fall River	Mass	5.00
	Sheet Metal Workers' Union	42	St. Paul	Minn	5.00
	Painters' Union	809	Westchester	Pa	2.00
	Machinists' Union	621	Ashland	Wis	1.00
	United Brewery Workmen's Union	294	Grand Rapids	Mich	5.00
	Horseshoers' Union	119	East St. Louis	Ill	5.00
	Railroad Telegraphers' Union (general committee).		St. Louis	Mo	5.00
	Teamsters' Union	105	Kewanee	Ill	5.00
	Bookbinders' Union	76	Toledo	Ohio	5.00
	Stationary Firemen's Union	199	Paterson	N.J	1.00
	Sheet Metal Workers' Union	270	Norristown	Pa	1.00
	Printing Pressmen's Union	88	Waco	Tex	2.00
	Machinists' Union	325	Little Rock	Ark	5.00
	Photo-Engravers' Union	32	Los Angeles	Cal	1.00
	Weavers' Progressive Association		Fall River	Mass	5.00
14.	Shipwrights' Union	14	Ballard	Wash	5.00
	Operating Potters' Union	16	East Liverpool	Ohio	2.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	775	Cincinnati	Iowa	10.00
	Collis Lovely		Denver	Colo	5.00
	Tin, Steel, Iron, Granite Ware Workers' Union	10943	Granite City	Ill	5.00
	Electrical Workers' Union	52	Columbus	Ohio	5.00
	Coopers' Union	220	Peekskill	N.Y	2.00
	Theatrical Stage Employees' Union	1	New York	N.Y	15.00
15.	Central Labor Union		Pottsville	Pa	1.00
	United Mine Workers	349	Wilkes-Barre	Pa	1.00
	Cigar Packers' Union	229	Binghamton	N.Y	1.00
	Machine Printers and Color Mixers	3	Bristol	Pa	2.50
	Pattern Makers' League of North America, local union.		Los Angeles	Cal	5.00
	Stone Masons' Union	32	Scranton	Pa	5.00
	Paper Makers	12	Fitchburg	Mass	5.00
	Operative Potters' Union	7	Tiffin	Ohio	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	63	Williamstown	N.J	5.00
	Iron and Steel Workers' Union	30	Youngstown	Ohio	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	917	Olyphant	Pa	10.00
	Carpenters' Union	850	Leadville	Colo	10.00
	Central Labor Union		Holyoke	Mass	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1135	Huntsville	Mo	20.00
	Machinists' Union	71	Sedalia	Mo	25.00
16.	Federal Labor Union	10746	Honesdale	Pa	1.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2120	Black Betsy	W.Va	2.00
	Federation of Labor		Sedalia	Mo	2.00
	Central Trades and Labor Council		New Orleans	La	2.50
	Musicians' Union	37	Joliet	Ill	3.00
	Central Labor Union		Shamokin	Pa	3.00
	Typographical Union	104	Birmingham	Ala	5.00
	Cooper's Union	32	Baltimore	Md	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	176	Newport	R.I	5.00
	Central Trades and Labor Council		Little Rock	Ark	5.00
	Cooks and Waiters' Union	31	Oakland	Cal	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	683	Murphysboro	Ill	50.00
17.	Cork Workers' Protective Union	12032	Baltimore	Md	1.00
	Operative Plasterers' Union	150	Wilkes-Barre	Pa	1.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	270	Fort Dodge	Iowa	1.00
	Central Labor Union		Binghamton	N.Y	1.00
	Central Labor Union		Portsmouth	N.H	2.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
August, 1906—Continued.				
17. Cloth and Stock Workers' Union	10184	Cincinnati	Ohio	$2.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	111	Brockton	Mass	2.00
Thurber Trades Council	.....	Thurber	Tex	2.50
Federal Labor Union	11311	Millinocket	Me	5.00
Federal Labor Union	8818	Mansfield	Ohio	5.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Danbury,	Conn	5.00
Railroad Telegraphers' Union	125	Fredericksburg	Va	5.00
Central Labor Union	.....	South Bend	Ind	5.00
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Union	51	Milton	Pa	5.00
Interior Freight Handlers and Warehousemen's International Union of America.	32	Jersey City	N. J	5.00
Theatrical Stage Employees' Union	9	Syracuse	N. Y	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1248	Batavia	Ill	5.00
United Mine Workers	1541	Gilberton	Pa	5.00
Machinists' Union	135	De Soto	Mo	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	815	Lincoln	Ill	20.00
Jefferson County Trades and Labor Assembly.	.....	Steubenville	Ohio	10.00
18. United Mine Workers' Union	1391	Thayer	Ill	5.00
Tin Plate Workers' International Protective Association.	.....	Elwood	Ind	5.00
Pattern Makers' Union, Local	.....	South Boston	Mass	5.00
M. J. Hynes	.....	Waltham	Mass	2.00
Trades and Labor Assembly	.....	Burlington	Iowa	10.00
Cigarmakers' Union	500	Tampa	Fla	2.00
Barbers' Union	380	Boise	Idaho	1.00
Cigarmakers' Union	202	Portland	Oreg	2.50
Longshoremen's Union	44	Escanaba	Mich	10.00
Cement Workers' Union	18	Long Island	N. Y	1.00
Carpenters' Union	775	Hoquiam	Wash	10.00
Aluminum Workers' Union	8261	New Kensington	Pa	1.00
20. Federal Labor Union	8997	Salem	Ill	1.00
Garment Workers' Union	86	Jefferson City	Mo	1.00
Typographical Union	323	Hoboken	N. J	1.00
Lobster Fishermen's Union	12100	Georges Island	Me	1.50
Tailors' Union	133	Huntington	W. Va	2.00
Carpenters' Union	1245	Newport	R. I	2.00
Cigarmakers' Union	338	Eureka	Cal	2.00
Federal Labor Union	11823	Evanston	Wyo	3.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2613	Graham	Ky	5.00
Typographical Union	221	San Diego	Cal	5.00
Plumbers' Union	338	Fargo	N. D	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	56	Colfax	Iowa	25.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Omaha	Nebr	5.00
Granite Cutters' Local Union	.....	West Chelmsford	Mass	10.00
Plumbers' Union	24	Newark	N. J	10.00
Locomotive and Firemen's Union	174	Harrisburg	Pa	5.00
21. Cigarmakers' Union	26	South Norwalk	Conn	1.00
Typographical Union	60	Roanoke	Va	1.00
Typographical Union	252	Bridgeport	Conn	1.00
Potters' Union	12	East Liverpool	Ohio	2.00
United Mine Workers' Union	153	East Palestine	Ohio	2.00
Bricklayers' and Masons' Union	13	Wellington	Kans	2.50
United Mine Workers' Union	1407	Wilkes-Barre	Pa	3.00
Machinists' Union	63	Portland	Oreg	5.00
Bartenders' Union	643	Ogden	Utah	5.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Local	.....	Brockton	Mass	5.00
Typographical Union	468	Yonkers	N. Y	5.00
Typographical Union	286	Marion	Ind	5.00
Typographical Union	583	Pasadena	Cal	5.00
Machinists' Union	311	Los Angeles	Cal	10.00
Painters' Union	534	Newport	R. I	10.00
22. Labor Council	.....	Galveston	Tex	5.00
Bartenders' Union	211	Salisbury	N. C	5.00
Machinists' Union	461	Barre	Vt	5.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Wichita	Kans	5.00
Boilermakers' Union, Local	.....	Philadelphia	Pa	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1021	Henderson	Ky	5.00
Leather Workers' on Horse Goods Union	70	Springfield	Mo	5.00
Metal Polishers' Union	322	Kenosha	Wis	5.00
Cigarmakers' Union	40	Biddeford	Me	3.00
23. A friend	.....	Washington	D. C	.01
Barbers' Union	566	Marshall	Tex	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2474	Tomsburg	W. Va	1.00
Blacksmiths' Union	228	Galion	Ohio	2.00
United Garment Workers' Union	32	Brattleboro	Vt	2.00
Railroad Trainmen, Union Division	705	Syracuse	N. Y	5.00
Garment Workers' Union	145	New Orleans	La	5.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
August, 1906—Continued.				
23. Federal Labor Union	7087	Belleville	Ill	$5.00
Painters' Union	31	Syracuse	N. Y.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	917	Astoria	Oreg.	5.00
Painters' Union	208	Washington	Pa.	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2091	Cherry Valley	Pa.	10.00
24. Painters' Union	802	Madison	Wis.	1.00
Tailors' Union, Local	.....	Bloomington	Ill.	2.50
Machinists' Union	768	Dover	N. H.	5.00
Shipwrights' Union	1	Elizabeth	N. J.	5.00
Longshoremen's Union	184	Cleveland	Ohio	5.00
25. Ada Berry Local Union	33	London	Ont.	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1721	Yorkville	Pa.	1.00
Egg Inspectors' Union	11254	New York	N. Y.	1.00
Hat and Cap Leather Sweat-Band Cutters' Union.	11307	New York	N. Y.	5.00
Labor Council	.....	Cadillac	Mich.	5.00
Metal Polishers' Union	49	Rock Island	Ill.	5.00
Carpenters and Joiners, district council	.....	Newport	R. I.	5.00
Typographical Union	150	Elizabeth	N. J.	5.00
Brick, Tile, and Terracotta Workers' Union	153	Thurber	Tex.	5.00
Painters' Union	751	Little Rock	Ark.	5.00
27. Meat Cutters' Union	148	Washington	D. C.	1.00
Locomotive Engineers, Division	22	Camden	N. J.	1.00
Machinists' Union	716	Dayton	Ohio	1.00
Pocket Knife Blade Grinders' Union	3	Newark	N. J.	2.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Bridgeport	Conn.	2.00
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' Union.	7	Oshkosh	Wis.	2.00
A friend	.....	Washington	D. C.	5.00
Granite Cutters' Union, Local	.....	Wausau	Wis.	5.00
Hotel and Restaurant Employés' Union	23	Omaha	Nebr.	5.00
United Textile Workers' Union	332	Amsterdam	N. Y.	20.00
Federal Labor Union	10190	Berlin	N. H.	5.00
Press Feeders' Union	37	Los Angeles	Cal.	5.00
Elastic Goring Weavers' Association	.....	Brockton	Mass.	6.25
Pattern Makers' Union, Local	.....	Alexandria	Va.	10.00
Textile Workers' Union	492	Manchester	N. H.	10.00
Carpenters' Union	667	Norwood	Ohio	10.00
Amos L. Eyler	.....	Norwood	Ohio	4.00
28. Pattern Makers' Local	.....	New Orleans	La.	1.00
Maintenance of Way Employés' Union	5	Wirtz	Va.	2.50
Machinists' Union	64	Osawatomie	Kans.	5.00
Quarry Workers' Union	331	Index	Wash.	5.00
Operative Potters' Union	77	Mannington	W. Va.	5.00
Quarry Workers' Union	6	Stony Creek	Conn.	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1577	Connerton	Pa.	5.00
29. Bricklayers' Union	28	Norwich	Conn.	1.00
Iron Molders' Union	157	Bloomington	Ill.	2.00
Cigarmakers' Union	251	New York	N. Y.	4.50
United Mine Workers' Union	61	Vandling	Pa.	5.00
Brewery Workmen's Union	354	Lethbridge	Can.	5.00
Electrical Workers' Union	149	Aurora	Ill.	5.00
Machinists' Union	379	Dubuque	Iowa	10.00
Carpenters' Union	405	Wellsville	Ohio	10.00
Operative Potters' Union	26	Kokomo	Ind.	10.00
Machinists' Union	174	Washington	D. C.	250.00
30. Musicians' Union	52	South Norwalk	Conn.	2.00
Federal Labor Union	10486	Odin	Ill.	2.00
Locomotive Firemen, Division	288	Estherville	Iowa	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	385	Wainwright	Ohio	5.00
Woodworkers' Union	5	New Orleans	La.	5.00
Barbers' Union	224	Providence	R. I.	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1574	Bay City	Mich.	5.00
Electrical Workers' Union, Local	.....	Portland	Oreg.	13.55
31. United Powder and High Explosive Workers' Union.	122	Steppville	Kans.	5.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	20	Wichita	Kans.	1.00
Typographical Union	132	Camden	N. J.	1.00
John H. Ruch	.....	Akron	Ohio	3.00
Tailors	215	Madison	Wis.	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	110	Shamokin	Pa.	5.00
September.				
1. United Mine Workers' Union	1897	Carbondale	Pa.	5.00
Longshoremen Union	385	Galveston	Tex.	2.50
Carpenters' Union	526	Galveston	Tex.	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1133	Minooka	Pa.	5.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

	Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
	September, 1906—Continued.				
1.	Longshoremen Union	109	Buffalo	N. Y.	$100.00
4.	Musicians' Union	148	Atlanta	Ga	10.00
	Cigar Makers' Union	94	Pawtucket	R. I.	2.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	358	Fremont	Nebr.	2.00
	Woodsmen Sawmill Workers' Union	4	Fortuna	Cal.	1.00
	Carpenters' Union	700	Covington	Ky.	5.00
	F. Benson		Brooklyn	N. Y.	1.00
5.	Central Labor Union		Washington	D. C.	100.00
	Machinists' Union	68	San Francisco	Cal.	25.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	135	Appleton	Wis.	1.00
	Stampers and Gold Layers' Union	22	Brooklyn	N. Y.	1.00
	Iron Molders' Union	211	Port Deposit	Md.	1.00
	G. B. B. A. Branch, Thos. L. Campbell	3	Streator	Ill.	10.00
	Pressmen Union	26	New Orleans	La.	5.00
	Quarry Workers' Union	47	Quincy	Ill.	2.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	51	Holyoke	Mass.	5.00
7.	Typographical Union	403	Tulsa	Ind. T.	5.00
	Machinists' Union	96	Mattoon	Ill.	1.00
8.	Central Labor Union		Biddeford and Saco	Me.	5.00
	Quarry Workers' Union, local		Rockland	Me.	10.00
	Trades and Labor Assembly		Decatur	Ill.	5.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	72	Burlington	Iowa	20.00
	Trades and Labor Council		Peekskill	N. Y.	5.00
	Carpet Mechanics' Union	12246	Portland	Oreg.	5.00
	Barbers Union	483	Napa	Cal.	2.00
	Granite Cutters' Union, branch		Vinalhaven	Me.	5.00
	Machinists Union	325	Little Rock	Ark.	6.40
	Garment Workers Union	128	Syracuse	N. Y.	10.00
11.	State Federation of Labor		Rutland	Vt.	25.00
	Granite Cutters, branch		Monson	Mass.	5.00
	Federal Labor Union	10307	Dallas	Tex.	2.00
	Steam Engineers' Union	157	Cumberland	Md.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1558	Pine Grove	Pa.	10.00
	Federal Labor Union	12102	Peekskill	N. Y.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2092	Blandburg	Pa.	1.00
	Freight Handlers' Union	78	Mansfield	Mass.	3.00
	Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Union	10	Chicago	Ill.	2.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2463	Bay City	Mich.	5.00
	Central Labor Union		Salisbury	N. C.	5.00
	Iron Molders' Union	266	Rutland	Vt.	1.00
	W. R. Love		Washington	D. C.	1.00
13.	Musicians' Union	56	Grand Rapids	Mich.	5.00
	Machinists' Union	632	Pensacola	Fla.	4.50
	Federation of Trades Unions		Atlanta	Ga.	25.00
	Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Union	54	Connersville	Pa.	5.00
	Iron Molders' Union	215	Washington	D. C.	5.00
14.	Locomotive Engineers' Union, division	365	Somerset	Ky.	8.00
	Tailors' Union	49	Louisville	Ky.	2.00
	Icemen's Protective Union	10176	Cedar Rapids	Iowa	1.00
	Sheet Metal Workers' Union	35	Racine	Wis.	2.00
15.	Central Associated Trades Council		Corning	N. Y.	5.00
	Locomotive Engineers' Union, Division	565	New Castle	Pa.	5.00
	Longshoremen's Union	136	Gladstone	Mich.	5.00
	Longshoremen's Union	714	Brooklyn	N. Y.	10.00
18.	Bartenders' Union	318	Putnam	Conn.	3.00
	Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	338	St. Louis	Mo.	2.00
	Federal Labor Union	6925	Kewanee	Ill.	10.00
	Barbers' Union	316	New Britain	Conn.	2.00
	Trades and Labor Assembly		Hannibal	Mo.	5.00
	Local Union	105	Whitman	Mass.	1.00
	Musicians' Union	292	Santa Rosa	Cal.	5.00
	Mule Spinners' Association		Cohoes	N. Y.	5.00
	Longshoremen's Union	63	Munising	Mich.	5.00
	Friendly Union		Washington	D. C.	500.00
	New York Transfer Companies Employees' Union.	11824	New York	N. Y.	5.00
	Locomotive Engineers' Union, division	342	Wilmington	Del.	5.00
19.	Cigarmakers' Union	144	New York	N. Y.	7.35
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	12	Muncie	Ind.	5.00
20.	Sheet Metal Workers' Union	87	Belleville	Ill.	2.00
	Teamsters' Union	567	Dubuque	Iowa	1.00
	Mailers' Union	3	St. Louis	Mo.	10.00
	Paving Cutters' Union	1	Lithonia	Ga.	1.00
	Friendly Union		Washington	D. C.	100.00
21.	Railroad Telegraphers' Union, division	8	Rochester	N. Y.	10.00
	Geo. T. Farrell		Lisbon	Ohio	1.00
	Central Federation of Labor		Albany	N. Y.	10.00
22.	Typographical Union, local	6	New York	N. Y.	10.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
September, 1906—Continued.				
22. Railroad Telegraphers' Union	67	Wilkes-Barre	Pa	$5.00
Electrical Workers' Union	61	Los Angeles	Cal	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1763	Mt. Carmel	Pa	5.00
24. Carpenters' Union	404	Painesville	Ohio	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2225	Lexington	Mo	10.20
Cigarmakers' Union	112	Oneonta	N. Y	5.00
25. Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.		Detroit	Mich	100.00
Wood Carvers' Union	1846	Minneapolis	Minn	5.00
26. Amalgamated Association Lace Curtain Operatives of America.		Philadelphia	Pa	10.00
Coopers' Union	199	Winona	Minn	2.00
27. United Mine Workers' Union	1560	Tremont	Pa	5.00
Barbers' Union	72	South Norwalk	Conn	1.00
Musicians' Union	418	Millfield	Ohio	5.00
Federal Labor Union	7187	Streator	Ill	5.00
28. Central Trades and Labor Union		Pawtucket	R. I	5.00
Granite Cutters' Union, local		Roxbury	Conn	2.50
Cooks and Waiters' Alliance	220	Eureka	Cal	5.00
29. Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' Union	22	Marshall	Tex	5.00
October.				
1. Elmer Johnson		Washington	D. C	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1168	Wilkes-Barre	Pa	1.00
Meat Cutters' Union, local		Syracuse	N. Y	2.00
A. F. Liebig Lathers' Union	2	Cleveland	Ohio	1.00
2. Federal Labor Union	8327	Little Falls	N. Y	2.00
3. Brewery Workmen's Union	173	Baltimore	Md	15.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1218	Indianapolis	Ind	5.00
4. Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	17	Masillon	Ohio	25.00
Pattern Makers' Union, local		Schenectady	N. Y	25.00
United Mine Workers' Union	61	Forest City	Pa	5.00
Plumbers' Union	27	Pittsburg	Pa	35.00
Cigarmakers' Union	268	Escanaba	Mich	3.00
Chainmakers' Union	4	Columbus	Ohio	15.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	377	Fernandina	Fla	2.00
Steam Engineers' Union	99	Washington	D. C	10.00
Machinists' Union	64	St. Louis	Mo	1.00
Cigarmakers' Union	132	Brooklyn	N. Y	10.00
5. United Mine Workers' Union	2527	Cadiz	Ohio	10.00
Lewis Gompers		Brooklyn	N. Y	1.00
Painters' Union	654	Meadville	Pa	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1116	Indianapolis	Ind	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1563	Indianapolis	Ind	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	953	Deanefield	Ky	25.00
Operative Potters' Union	7	Tiffin	Ohio	15.00
Iron Molders' Union	373	Middletown	Conn	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	829	Broughton	Pa	5.00
Steam Engineers' Union	131	Wheeling	W. Va	5.00
Carpenters' Union	337	Whitesboro	N. Y	5.00
Shipwrights' Union	1	Elizabeth	N. J	5.00
Typographical Union	230	Danville	Ill	5.00
Typographical Union	270	New Castle	Pa	1.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	107	Colorado Springs	Colo	2.00
6. Central Labor Union		Brooklyn	N. Y	25.00
Pattern Makers' Union		Columbus	Ohio	5.00
Plumbers' Union	90	Scranton	Pa	2.00
Machinists' Union	174	Washington	D. C	250.00
Barbers' Union	131	Hamilton	Can	2.00
Trades Council		Albion	Mich	15.00
Painters' Union	797	Manchester	Mass	2.00
Electrical Workers' Union	91	Easton	Pa	3.00
Carpenters and Joiners' Union	495	Streator	Ill	2.00
Statistician, United Mine Workers		Indianapolis	Ind	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1256	Dilles Bottom	Ohio	1.00
Plumbers' Union	474	Council Bluffs	Iowa	5.00
Railroad Telegraphers	40	Huntington	W. Va	4.60
Missouri State Federation of Labor		Kansas City	Mo	10.00
E. D. Bisthrow		White River Junct	Vt	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2773	Clarksville	Ark	10.00
Federal Labor Union	10786	Honesdale	Pa	3.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1370	Morris Run	Pa	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	358	Chauncey	Ohio	10.00
Musicians' Union	9	Boston	Mass	50.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1881	Salineville	Ohio	15.00
Barbers' Union	285	Washington	Pa	1.25
United Mine Workers' Union	2538	Thurber	Tex	10.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

	Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
	October, 1906—Continued.				
6.	Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	153	Chicago	Ill	$15.00
	Electrical Workers' Union	2	St. Louis	Mo	10.00
	Leather Workers on Horse Goods Union	28	Dallas	Tex	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1382	Oakdale	Pa	10.00
	Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Union	14	Denver	Colo	5.00
	Central Labor Union		Ithaca	N. Y	5.00
8.	Blacksmiths' Union	316	San Francisco	Cal	20.00
	Central Labor Union		Cairo	Ill	5.00
	Garment Workers' Union	194	Chicago	Ill	2.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1765	Stone City	Kans	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	302	Huntington	W. Va	13.00
	Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	93	Chicago	Ill	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1873	Centerville	Iowa	5.00
	J. J. Campbell, local	260	Moon Run	Pa	5.00
	J. O. Godward, local	217	Beloit	Ohio	5.00
	C. A. Howard		Kalamazoo	Mich	2.25
	Shipwrights' Union	73	Point Pleasant	W. Va	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	1078	Fredericksburg	Va	5.00
9.	United Mine Workers' Union	524	Carnegie	Pa	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	618	Peru	Ill	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1121	Hocking	Iowa	50.00
	Carpenters' Union	50	Portland	Oreg	20.00
	Machinists' Union	453	Mansfield	Ohio	10.00
	Painters' Union	80	Lafayette	Ind	2.00
	Machinists' Union	30	Bridgeport	Conn	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	102	Parkers Landing	Pa	1.00
	Bartenders' Union	71	Connellsville	Pa	6.00
	Central Labor Union		New Britain	Conn	8.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1391	Thayer	Ill	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2246	Moss Creek	Pa	1.00
10.	James Hayes		Sheffield	Pa	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1104	Sherrard	Ill	10.00
	Inland Seamen's Union		Whitehall	N. Y	10.00
	John Morrison		New York	N. Y	100.00
	Plumbers' Union	45	St. Joseph	Mo	20.00
	Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Union	20	Middletown	Ohio	5.00
	Teamsters' Union	239	Elgin	Ill	5.00
	Loom Fixers' Union (textile workers)	65	Fall River	Mass	5.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	179	Bangor	Me	4.20
	Stationary Firemen's Union	119	Whiting	Ind	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	91	Tallapoosa	Ga	3.15
	Cigarmakers' Union	47	Quincy	Ill	2.00
	Trades and Labor Assembly		Charleston	S. C	5.00
	A. Newman		Washington	D. C	1.00
	F. C. Roberts		Washington	D. C	1.00
	Central Labor Union		Manchester	N. H	10.00
11.	Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Union	46	Hyde, Clearfield Co	Pa	36.00
	International Brotherhood Steam Shovel and Dredgemen's Union.		Chicago	Ill	100.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2710	Indianapolis	Ind	5.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	316	McSherrystown	Pa	10.00
	Machinists' Union	193	Washington	D. C	15.00
	Operative Potters' Union	42	Salem	Ohio	4.50
	United Mine Workers' Union	1552	Mt. Carmel	Pa	3.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	422	Coal Bluff	Pa	20.00
	Machinists' Union	27	Kansas City	Mo	1.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1025	Jermyn	Pa	25.00
	C. J. Oberle		Ouray	Colo	2.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	141	New York	N. Y	10.00
	Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	411	Lebanon	Pa	2.00
	Sheet Metal Workers' Union	41	Indianapolis	Ind	20.00
	Painters' Union	835	Corinth	N. Y	1.00
	Molders' Union	237	Moline	Ill	10.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	425	Astoria	Oreg	1.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	354	Higbee	Mo	10.00
	Street and Electrical Railway Employes' Union.	285	Steubenville	Ohio	10.00
	Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	256	Brockton	Mass	1.00
	N. A. L. C. Union	387	Yonkers	N. Y	15.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2214	Yonkers		5.00
12.	Leather Workers' Union	107	Glen Cove	N. Y	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union, local		Brownsville	Pa	10.00
	Carpenters' Union	177	Springfield	Mass	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1685	Shenandoah	Pa	5.00
	Horseshoers' Union	55	Albany	N. Y	5.00
	Barbers' Union	288	Bridgeport	Conn	2.00
	Musicians' Union	49	Cripple Creek	Colo	5.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	262	Dallas	Tex	5.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

	Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
	October, 1906—Continued.				
12	Blacksmiths' Union	69	Big Spring	Tex	$1.00
	Machinists' Union	647	Two Harbors	Minn	15.00
	Barbers' Union	229	Watervliet	N. Y	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2020	Sandcoulee	Mont	25.00
	Machinists' Union	308	St. Louis	Mo	2.00
13.	Machinists' Union	89	Cheyenne	Wyo	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2656	Indianapolis	Ind	5.00
	Musicians' Union	74	Galveston	Tex	5.00
	Bartenders' Union	535	Keokuk	Iowa	5.00
	Leather Workers' Union	36	Waco	Tex	3.00
	Warehouse Workers' Union	537	Crockett	Cal	5.00
	Carpenters and Joiners' Union	1212	Coffeyville	Kans	4.50
	Cigarmakers' Union	41	Aurora	Ill	5.00
	Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union	21	Omaha	Nebr	1.00
	Carpenters and Joiners' Union	1019	Cortland	N. Y	5.00
	Anna Renken		Jefferson City	Mo	4.80
	Elmer Smith		Lancaster	Pa	1.00
	Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union	87	New Liverpool	Ont	61.00
	Carpenters' Union	465	Ardmore	Pa	5.00
	Tin Plate Workers' Union	32	Wheeling	W. Va	2.00
15.	Central Trades and Labor Union		Pawtucket	R. I	25.00
	Blacksmiths' Union	456	Butte	Mont	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1156	Pittston	Pa	5.00
	Trades and Labor Assembly		Massillon	Ohio	5.00
	Trades and Labor Council		Hammond	Ind	2.00
	Federal Labor Union	9083	Kinmundy	Ill	2.80
	Machinists' Union	252	Vallejo	Cal	20.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2086	Brownsville	Pa	5.00
	Tailors' Union	315	Hibbing	Minn	5.00
	Longshoremen's Union	500	Ashtabula	Ohio	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	53	White Plains	N. Y	25.00
	Carpenters' Union	284	Erie	Pa	1.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	391	Bellingham	Wash	1.00
	Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers' Union	153	Thurber	Tex	5.00
	Archie Adams		Houtzdale	Pa	5.00
	Barbers' Union	481	Ithaca	N. Y	5.00
	Brewery Workmen's Union, Branch 4, local	9	Watertown	Wis	1.00
	Typographical Union	583	Pasadena	Cal	5.00
	S. Chadwick, local union	1713	Nacogdoches	Tex	3.25
	Sheet Metal Workers' Union	270	Norristown	Pa	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1932	Evans	Iowa	5.00
	Grinders and Finishers' Union	4	Winsted	Conn	5.39
	Electrical Workers' Union	258	Providence	R. I	5.00
	Iron Molders' Union	170	Aurora	Ill	2.00
	Barbers' Union	242	Kokomo	Ind	2.00
16.	Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	1	Pittsburgh	Pa	10.00
	Trades and Labor Council		Waukegan	Ill	5.00
	Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	68	Cincinnati	Ohio	3.00
	Carpenters and Joiners' Union	1417	Tonopah	Nev	50.00
	I. B. M. W. E. Union	150	Piketon	Ohio	21.72
	Labor Council		Galveston	Tex	10.00
	John A. Onyun		Washington	D. C	1.00
	Bartenders' Union	782	Huntsville	Ala	15.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	3	Streator	Ill	50.00
	Central Trades and Labor Assembly		Taylorsville	Ill	10.00
	Central Labor Union		Milford	Mass	10.00
	Fibre Pressmen's Union	9331	Lockport	N. Y	2.00
	H. Hackett		Rochester	N. Y	5.00
	Carpenters and Joiners' Union	958	Marquette	Mich	2.00
	Electrical Workers' Union	43	Syracuse	N. Y	5.00
	Iron Molders' Union	226	Brainerd	Minn	16.50
	Teamsters' Union	721	Chicago	Ill	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1727	Hilton	Iowa	4.00
	Carpenters and Joiners' Union	667	Cincinnati	Ohio	16.10
	J. P. Brislin, local	297	Lansford	Pa	3.00
	Woodworkers' Union	102	Albany	N. Y	3.00
	Painters' Union	757	Chicago	Ill	5.00
	John Butterfield, local	2730	Comly	Ohio	5.00
18.	Wm. Dobson, secretary Bricklayers and Masons' Union.		Indianapolis	Ind	5.00
	Friend		Washington	D. C	50.00
	Henry Striefler		Meridian	Miss	4.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	902	Panama	Mo	5.00
	Stationary Firemen's Union	49	Cincinnati	Ohio	1.00
	Bartenders' Union	166	New Britain	Conn	50.00
	Machine Printers and Color Mixers' Union	5	New Brunswick	N. J	10.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	177	Council Bluffs	Iowa	2.25
	Machinists' Union	86	Spokane	Wash	5.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

	Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
	October, 1906—Continued.				
18.	Garment Workers' Union	73	Paterson	N. J.	$15.00
	Last Makers' Union	9771	Malden	Mass.	5.00
	Bartenders' Union	96	Milford	Mass.	10.00
	Print Cutters' Union	4	Buffalo	N. Y.	5.00
	Tailors' Union	42	Waterloo	Iowa.	1.50
	Operative Potters' Union	52	Kittanning	Pa.	3.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1266	Hays	Pa.	5.00
	Powder and High Explosive Workers' Union	122	Stippville	Kans.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1512	Farber	Mo.	5.00
	Hospital Attendants' Protective Union	8097	Anacostia	D. C.	10.00
19.	Milk Dealers' Protective Union	8226	Baltimore	Md.	1.00
	Typographical Union	232	Binghamton	N. Y.	5.00
	Typographical Union	499	Deposit	N. Y.	10.00
	Bartenders' Union	243	Alton	Ill.	5.00
	Tailors' Union	60	Decatur	Ill.	3.00
	Typographical Union	78	Ft. Wayne	Ind.	10.00
	Carpenters' Union	700	Corning	N. Y.	16.00
	Waiters' Union	23	Omaha	Nebr.	10.00
	Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	361	N. Weymouth	Mass.	15.00
	Machinists' Union	656	Riviere-du-Loup	Que.	2.85
	Textile Workers' Union	472	Cohoes	N. Y.	5.00
20.	United Mine Workers' Union	499	Stewartsville	Ohio.	2.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	437	Jasenville	Ind.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2684	Tomsburg	W. Va.	5.00
	O. Eck		Lorain	Ohio	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	62	Poughkeepsie	N. Y.	5.00
	Boilermakers' Union	100	Marshall	Tex.	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2292	Pinefield	Pa.	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2514	Shiloh	Ill.	36.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1261	Tower City	Pa.	10.00
	Granite Cutters' International Association of America, local.		Quincy	Mass.	5.00
22.	Theatrical Protective Union	2	Chicago	Ill.	50.00
	United Labor Council		Butler	Pa.	10.00
	W. J. Collins, local	844	Carbondale	Pa.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	101	Pana	Ill.	15.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	837	Fairmont City	Pa.	22.75
	Central Labor Council		St. Joseph	Mo.	50.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	952	Braceville	Ill.	5.00
	Street and Electrical Railway Employees' Union.	326	St. Joseph	Mo.	15.00
	Theatrical Stage Employes' Union	84	Hartford	Conn.	1.00
	Federated Trades Council		Portland	Oreg.	10.00
	Paper Makers' Union	9	Rumford	Me.	22.50
	Central Labor Union		Batavia	N. Y.	5.00
	Carpenters and Joiners' Union	1642	Snohomish	Wash.	8.00
	Boilermakers' Union	92	Los Angeles	Cal.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1534	Heckersville	Pa.	10.00
	Machinists' Union	79	Seattle	Wash.	3.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	22	San Francisco	Cal.	5.50
	Barbers' Union	83	Birmingham	Ala.	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1432	Ashley	Pa.	10.00
	Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association	8	Milwaukee	Wis.	15.00
	Cooks and Waiters' Union	239	Seattle	Wash.	12.40
	United Mine Workers' Union, subdistrict 2 of district.	6	Wellston	Ohio.	1.00
23.	Trades Council		New Haven	Conn.	10.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	95	Brackenridge	Pa.	15.00
	Bartenders' Union	573	Springfield	Ill.	25.00
	Carpenters and Joiners' Union	668	Palo Alto	Cal.	31.85
	Longshoremen's Union	44	Escanaba	Mich.	68.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1826	Canonsburg	Pa.	10.00
	Marble and Slate Cutters and Setters' Union	5	Washington	D. C.	3.00
24.	J. Higgins, local	29	Calgary	Can.	10.00
	Machinists' Union	695	Rock Island	Ill.	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Association	20	Zanesville	Ohio.	10.00
	Molders and Helpers' Union	11569	Venice	Ill.	45.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	30	Denver	Colo.	8.25
	Tailors' Union	99	Ft. Worth	Tex.	3.00
	Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union	7	Boston	Mass.	3.00
	Musicians' Union	48	Elgin	Ill.	5.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	270	Ft. Dodge	Iowa.	1.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	382	Lingo	Mo.	18.00
	Commercial Telegraphers' Union	16	New York	N. Y.	4.50
	Theatrical Stage Employees' Union	73	Lynn	Mass.	2.00
25.	Carpenters' Union	948	Sioux City	Iowa.	10.00
	Painters' Union	156	Evansville	Ind.	2.00
	Metal Polishers' Union	277	Menominee	Mich.	10.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
October, 1906—Continued.				
25. Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	26	Rochester	N. Y.	$10.60
Freight and Teamsters' Union	89	New Orleans	La.	1.00
Paper Makers' Local Union	.....	Franklin	N. H.	6.25
Tailors' Union	89	Minneapolis	Minn.	10.00
26. Central Labor Union	.....	Washington	D. C.	25.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1361	California	Pa.	20.00
United Mine Workers' Union	704	Trenton	Ill.	5.00
Federal Labor Union	12263	Valley Junction	Iowa.	1.00
Barbers' Union	138	St. Louis	Ill.	5.00
Paper Makers' Union	135	Sturgeon	Ont.	13.00
Painters' Union	113	Auburn	N. Y.	11.00
27. Federal Labor Union	11185	Gardiner	Me.	5.00
Machinists' Union	22	Alliance	Ohio.	5.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	106	Columbus	Ohio.	27.38
Iron Molders' Union	271	Kokomo	Ind.	15.50
Operative Potters' Union	46	Wheeling	W. Va.	6.75
United Mine Workers' Union	387	Jerome	Iowa.	3.00
Mule Spinners' Association, local	.....	Cohoes	N. Y.	5.00
Letter Carriers' Union	385	Youngstown	Ohio.	2.00
Meat Cutters' Union	246	Evansville	Ind.	5.00
Friend	.....	Washington	D. C.	5.00
29. Central Trades' Council	.....	Little Rock	Ark.	5.00
Musicians' Union	382	Fargo	N. D.	15.00
Garment Workers' Union	146	Peoria	Ill.	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	393	Indianapolis	Ind.	10.00
Granite Cutters' local	.....	Peekskill	N. Y.	10.00
Retail Clerks' Union	218	Ft. Worth	Tex.	5.00
Bartenders' Union	225	Meadville	Pa.	5.00
S. E. Herr andy	.....	San Antonio	Tex.	1.00
Steam Engineers' Union	64	San Francisco	Cal.	20.00
Musicians' Union	69	Pueblo	Colo.	5.00
L. H. Moore	.....	Little Rock	Ark.	1.00
30. Elastic Goring Weavers' Amalgamated Association.	.....	Brockton	Mass.	1.00
Machinists' Union	587	McCook	Nebr.	10.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	9	Baltimore	Md.	20.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1973	Bulger	Pa.	10.00
Carpenters' Union	39	Cleveland	Ohio.	1.00
31. Iron Molders' Union	232	St. Paul	Minn.	5.00
Federal Labor Union	11158	Boston	Mass.	8.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	45	Allentown	Pa.	10.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Westerly	R. I.	5.00
Quarry Workers' Union	45	Hulburton	N. Y.	1.00
November.				
1. United Mine Workers' Union	720	Staunton	Ill.	23.86
Bookbinders' Union	148	Fargo	N. D.	4.00
Electrical Workers' Union	92	Hornell	N. Y.	1.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	101	Little Rock	Ark.	2.00
Locomotive Engineers' Division	231	Chicago	Ill.	5.00
Stereotypers' Union	2	Boston	Mass.	5.00
Paper Makers' Union, local	.....	Piercefield	N. Y.	10.00
Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union	75	Concord	N. H.	3.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	54	Medford	N. J.	10.00
2. Cigarmakers' Union	72	Burlington	Iowa.	13.50
Machinists' Union	96	Mattoon	Ill.	14.40
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union	10	Wichita Falls	Tex.	9.50
3. Cigarmakers' Union	49	Springfield	Mass.	6.75
Marble Workers' Union	14	Cleveland	Ohio.	5.00
Federal Labor Union	11587	Seattle	Wash.	2.50
Glass Bottle Blowers Union	106	Columbus	Ohio.	7.92
Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	92	Chattanooga	Tenn.	9.25
5. Glass Bottle Blowers' Union	78	East St. Louis	Ill.	73.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Newport News	Va.	5.00
B. Lorch	.....	Washington	D. C.	1.00
6. F. H. Abbott, musicians' local	.....	Brockton	Mass.	5.60
Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers	17	Eureka	Cal.	5.00
Robert Behling, acting secretary	.....	Minneapolis	Minn.	1.00
7. Machinists' Union	472	Connellsville	Pa.	5.000
Wood Workers' Union	36	Dayton	Ohio.	1.00
Street and Electric Railway Employees' Union.	265	San Jose	Cal.	10.00
8. Laborers' Protective Union	9523	Bellows Falls	Vt.	2.00
Wm. Liebner, treasurer	.....	Cheboygan	Mich.	2.00
Theatrical Stage Employees' Union	95	Ottawa	Can.	1.00
Maintenance of Way Employees' Union	224	Portsmouth	N. H.	1.00
Central Trades and Labor Union	.....	St. Louis	Mo.	25.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt
November, 1906—Continued.				
9. Longshoremen's Union	300	San Juan	P. R	$5.00
Steam Engineers' Union	87	Portland	Oreg	10.00
12. United Mine Workers' Union	1611	Leavenworth	Kans	2.00
13. Electrical Workers' Union	317	Portland	Oreg	15.00
24. Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	78	Holbrook	Mass	5.00
28. Carpenters' Union	668	Palo Alto	Cal	1.95
30. Central Labor Union	.....	Hornell	N. Y	10.00
Meter Makers' Protective Union	11250	Philadelphia	Pa	5.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Binghamton	N. Y	5.00
Bartenders' Union	93	Haverhill	Mass	5.00
December.				
5. Carpenters' Union	1214	Walla Walla	Wash	5.00
6. P. J. Byrne, refund of expenses	.....	Washington	D. C	9.50
10. Longshoremen's Union	150	Lorain	Ohio	10.00
Theatrical Stage Employees' Union	68	Chicago	Ill	5.00
Theatrical Stage Employees' Union	82	Chicago	Ill	2.00
12. Carpenters' and Joiners' Union	1043	Hanford	Cal	10.00
15. Stereotypers' Union	58	Los Angeles	Cal	21.00
19. Carpenters' and Joiners' Union	1014	Warren	Pa	2.60
24. Carpenters' and Joiners' Union	50	Portland	Oreg	5.00
Trades and Labor Council	.....	Ridgway	Pa	2.00
Central Trades and Labor Assembly	.....	Springfield	Ohio	2.00
Total amount received and deposited January 19, 1907.	.....	.....	.....	8,225.94

EXPENDITURES.

Expenses, salaries, and supplies.	Name.	Amount.
August, 1906.		
16. Printing	Law Reporter Co	$286.43
25,000 one-cent stamps	Post Office Department	250.00
Clerk hire	A. F. of L	134.04
Expenses (see Appendix)	Samuel Gompers	250.00
Expenses attending committee meetings	Frank Morrison	29.00
Expenses attending committee meetings	Jas. O'Connell	29.00
17. Salary and expenses	Sam De Nedrey	60.00
22. Salary and expenses	Thos. F. Tracy	108.00
Salary and expenses	Thos. F. Tracy	92.00
30. Salary and expenses	M. Grant Hamilton	100.00
31. Salary and expenses	Sam De Nedrey	50.00
September, 1906.		
8. Expenses (see Appendix)	Samuel Gompers	250.00
Salary and expenses	Sam De Nedrey	50.00
14. Salary and expenses	D. D'Alessandro	136.55
Salary and expenses	Thos. F. Tracy	108.00
Salary and expenses	Thos. F. Tracy	92.00
17. Salary and expenses	Sam De Nedrey	67.28
Expenses (see Appendix)	Samuel Gompers	170.00
21. Expenses (see Appendix)	Samuel Gompers	100.00
Expenses (see Appendix)	Samuel Gompers	150.00
To salaries mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes: M. A. Jones, $6; Helen A. Calhoun, $9; Olga M. Nielson, $9; E. H. Wood, $3; E. F. Watson, $3; E. M. Hayes, $3; Laura Cheshire, $3.	.....	36.00
25. 18,000 one-cent postage stamps	Post Office Department	180.00
8,000 two-cent postage stamps	Post Office Department	160.00
28. To salaries mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes: Ruby E. Potter, $5.25; M. L. Lowe, $5.25; Helen A. Calhoun, $7.50; E. H. Wood, $7.50; M. A. Jones, $7.50; E. F. Watson, $7.50; M. D. Davis, $5.25; Edna M. Hayes, $7.50; Lulu E. Roberts, $5.25; Laura Cheshire, $7.50; Olga M. Nielsen, $7.50.	.....	73.50
29. Printing 50,000 circulars	Law Reporter Co	59.25
Printing 10,000 campaign documents	C. F. Sudwarth	153.65
Printing 25,000 campaign appeals	The Trades Unionist	103.00
Printing 10,000 envelopes		
51 pages Federationist at $8; queries and answers, labor bill of grievances, and A. F. of L. campaign program.	A. F. of L	408.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

EXPENDITURES—Continued.

Expenses, salaries, and supplies.	Name.	Amount.
October, 1906.		
4. Salary and expenses, Chicago, Ill	John B. Lennon	$47.50
8. Expenses (see Appendix)	Samuel Gompers	50.00
9. Salary and expenses	Thos. F. Tracy	75.00
Salary and expenses	Thos. F. Tracy	75.00
11. Salary and expenses	Hugh Frayne	100.00
Salary and expenses	M. Grant Hamilton	100.00
Salary and expenses	Cal Wyatt	100.00
12. Expenses (see Appendix)	Samuel Gompers	100.00
Expenses (see Appendix)	Samuel Gompers	150.00
16. Salary and expenses	J. L. Rodier	75.00
Expenses, Pittsburgh, Pa	Frank Morrison	24.65
17. Salary and expenses	C. F. Davis	50.00
19. To salaries, mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes: F. MacCallen, $9; B. M. Holtzman, $9; O. M. Nielsen, $10.50; H. A. Calhoun, $7.50; M. A. Jones, $7.50; L. M. Baldwin, $7.50; K. L. Nielsen, $7.50; E. F. Watson, $7.50; L. E. Roberts, $5.25; Mary Davis, $7.50; Helen Henry, $7.50; E. M. Hayes, $7.50; R. E. Potter, $7.50; D. H. Sprague, $6; M. L. Lowe, $6.		113.25
Salary and expenses	W. E. Terry	100.00
Salary and expenses	Hugh Frayne	100.00
Salary and expenses	M. Grant Hamilton	100.00
Salary and expenses	Stuart Reid	100.00
Salary and expenses	Jacob Tazelaar	150.00
Salary and expenses	Cal Wyatt	100.00
20. Salary and expenses	Travis Glascoe	10.00
24. Salary and expenses	E. L. Adams	50.00
25. Salary and expenses	Travis Glascoe	1.00
Salary and expenses	T. H. Flynn	100.00
26. To salaries, mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes: B. M. Holtzman, $9; M. A. Jones, $9; E. F. Watson, $9; R. E. Potter, $9; Helen Henry, $9; M. L. Lowe, $9; D. H. Sprague, $9; H. A. Calhoun, $9; F. MacCallen, $9; Mary Davis, $9; O. M. Nielsen, $9; E. M. Hayes, $9; L. E. Roberts, $9; K. L. Nielsen, $9; L. M. Baldwin, $6.75; W. von Ezdorf, $8.		140.75
Salary and expenses	J. L. Rodier	75.00
27. Salary and expenses	J. L. Feeney	50.00
Salary and expenses	W. C. Hahn	50.00
November.		
1. 3,000 two-cent stamps	Post Office Department	60.00
Salary and expenses	Thos. F. Tracy	100.00
Salary and expenses	E. E. Greenawalt	100.00
Salary and expenses	T. H. Flynn	100.00
Salary and expenses	C. F. Davis	50.00
Salary and expenses	Cal Wyatt	100.00
2. Salary and expenses, Baltimore and Annapolis, Md	John H. Brinkman	20.00
Salary and expenses, J. D. Pierce and others	J. D. Pierce	300.00
Expenses, Canton and East Liverpool, Ohio, and Wilmington, Del.	Frank Morrison	20.50
3. Salary and expenses	John R. Frey	135.66
Salary and expenses	Edwin P. Wright	50.00
5. Salary and expenses	Travis Glascoe	24.00
6. Salary and expenses	Stuart Reid	200.00
7. Salary and expenses	E. L. Adams	86.75
Salary and expenses	E. E. Greenawalt	14.25
8. Salary and expenses	C. F. Davis	21.10
Salary and expenses	J. L. Feeney	29.00
Salary and expenses	E. T. Flood	100.00
Salary and expenses	Hugh Frayne	100.00
Salary and expenses	M. Grant Hamilton	200.00
Salary and expenses	Cal Wyatt	100.00
Salary and expenses	J. L. Rodier	45.00
10. Salary and expenses	E. E. Greenawalt	36.75
28. Salary and expenses	J. L. Rodier	26.71
30. Salary and expenses	N. G. Eaton	36.00
December.		
11. Composition on campaign circulars	Law Reporter Co	26.60
14. Salary	T. H. Flynn	5.00
18. Salary and expenses	J. D. Pierce	29.15

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1906—Contd.

EXPENDITURES—Continued.

Expenses, salaries, and supplies.	Name.	Amount.
March, 1907.		
8. Printing 5,300 copies of this financial report	The Trades Unionist	$112.00
9. Postage	Post Office Department	45.87
Total		8,147.19

RECAPITULATION.

Speakers	$5,804.85	
Printing	1,148.93	
Postage	695.87	
Clerk hire	497.54	
Total expenses	8,147.19	
Receipts		$8,225.94
Expenses		8,147.19
Balance on hand March 9, 1907		78.75

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
FRANK MORRISON,
Labor Representation Committee.

APPENDIX.

President Gompers's accounting of expenses of political campaign incurred by him and others under his direction July, August, September, October, and November, 1906.

MAINE TRIP.

August 16, left Washington, D. C.; August 18, Lewiston; August 20, Rumford Falls; August 21, Livermore Falls; August 22, Bath; August 23, Waldoboro; August 24, Rockland; August 25, Vinalhaven; August 27, Keene, N. H.; August 29, Munsonville, N. H.; September 3, Rutland, Vt.; September 5, Lewiston; September 6, North Jay; September 7, Lisbon Falls; September 8, Richmond; September 12, returned to Washington, D. C.

Paid to Phillip J. Burne for receipted bills rendered by him, car fare, printing, meeting halls, as per receipted bills submitted	$124.70
Paid to W. H. Roberts as per receipted bill, traveling and hotel expenses as per receipted bills submitted	34.00
Paid to several assistants miscellaneous expenses during campaign	170.00
Railroad fare, sleepers, etc	90.45
Hotels, meals, meeting rooms, etc	184.00
Baggage, cartage, cab hire, porterage, etc	18.50
Telegrams, telephones, and long distance	40.00
Entertainment and miscellaneous	65.00
July 27-30, hotel, Atlantic City, meeting, and meeting labor representation committee	29.00

NEW YORK, CHICAGO, AND NEW YORK.

September 21, left Washington, D. C.

Railroad fare, sleepers, etc	82.50
Hotels, meals, meeting rooms, etc	61.00
Cab hire, etc	4.00
Telegrams, telephones, and collect telegrams	5.80
Entertainment and miscellaneous	10.00

October 3, returned to Washington, D. C.; October 8, New York City; October 15, Bridgeport, Conn.; October 16, Newark, N. J.; October 17, Scranton, Pa.; October 18, Williamsport, Pa.; October 20-21, Chicago, Ill.; October 22, Hammond, Ind.; October 22, Kankakee, Ill.; October 22, Lafayette, Ind.; November 2, Annapolis, Md.; November 3, Baltimore, Md.; November 3, Washington, D. C.

Railroad fare, sleepers, etc	147.50
Hotels, meals, meeting rooms, etc	76.75
Cab hire, etc	17.00
Telegrams, telephones, messengers, and porterage	9.80
Entertainment and miscellaneous	30.00
Assistants	20.00
Total	1,220.00

Mr. STAFFORD. Do I understand that amount of money was expended alone in Mr. Littlefield's campaign?

Mr. GOMPERS. That was in Mr. Littlefield's campaign; yes, sir. May I see that statement again?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. GOMPERS (after examining paper). I want to correct my answer to your last question, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Stafford asked me the question. That sum of $8,147.19 was expended for the campaign all over the country wherever we were interested. It was during the campaign of 1906. Mr. Littlefield's campaign stands out conspicuously in my mind, and it was for that reason I made that inaccurate answer.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can you tell how much was expended in Mr. Littlefield's district?

Mr. GOMPERS. I could not tell you, but I think it could be furnished.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood you to state a while ago that nothing was paid in the Littlefield campaign except your traveling expenses and the circulation of literature in the district.

Mr. RALSTON. And the traveling expenses of some others.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes; there were others besides myself who were in that campaign.

Mr. WILLIS. Were you participating in any campaign anywhere else in the country that year?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; I could not tell you from memory.

Mr. RALSTON. There was a campaign against Speaker Cannon that year?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; but that was not very conspicuous.

Mr. WILLIS. If it can be done without too much trouble, I think the committee would be glad to have a statement of the expenditures in the Littlefield campaign.

Mr. GOMPERS. I shall be glad to furnish that.

Mr. RALSTON. Have you the receipts and expenditures politically for other years?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. Here is the financial statement of the American Federation of Labor for the political campaign of 1908, being a record of the receipts, from which source received, and the expenditures, and to whom and for what paid. The total receipts were $8,531.97 and the expenditures $8,469.98. The recapitulation shows: For speakers, $6,361.08; printing, $581.40; postage, $1,024.20; clerk hire, $504.30.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908.

[Being a true account of all moneys received and expended for that campaign.]

RECEIPTS.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
Balance on hand March 9, 1907				$78.75
June, 1907.				
20. Boilermakers' Union	341	Philadelphia	Pa	5.00
May, 1908.				
8. United Mine Workers' Union	1062	Wiconisco	Pa	5.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union.	809	West Chester	Pa	2.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908 —Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
May, 1908—Continued.				
9. Barbers' Union	30	Springfield	Mass	$3.00
11. Wood Workers' Union	298	Milford	N. H	5.00
Tailors' Union	260	Dotham	Ala	3.00
Central Trades and Labor Council		Allentown	Pa	10.00
Carpenters' Union	122	Philadelphia	Pa	5.00
Plumbers' Union	227	Columbia	S. C	5.00
Hod Carriers' Union	108	Racine	Wis	5.00
Pattern Makers' League		Akron and vicinity	Ohio	2.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	332	Montgomery	Ala	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1305	Rimersburg	Pa	2.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union.	602	Waycross	Ga	1.00
Carpenters' Union	331	Norfolk	Va	2.50
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	53	South Weymouth	Mass	10.00
12. Musicians' Union	87	Danbury	Conn	5.00
Railroad Telegraphers' Division	41	Wakefield	Mass	5.00
Arthur Lewis, of Garment Workers' Union		Bronx	N. Y	1.00
Carpenters' Union	1585	Lawton	Okla	2.50
Machinists' Lodge	365	Troy	N. Y	5.00
Garment Workers' Union	5	Brooklyn	N. Y	5.00
Central Labor Union		Waterloo	Iowa	2.00
Brewery Workmen Union	303	Boise	Idaho	5.00
Carpenters' Union	236	Clarksburg	W. Va	2.50
United Mine Workers' Union	894	Lyra	Tex	5.00
D. A. Hayes		Philadelphia	Pa	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1991	Mulberry	Kans	1.00
13. Cigarmakers' Union	316	McSherrystown	Pa	25.00
Machinists' Lodge	257	Jacksonville	Fla	5.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union.	971	Wilmington	Del	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1250	Tamaroa	Ill	2.50
Bricklayers' Union	1	Grand Rapids	Mich	5.00
Grain Elevator Employees' Union	418	Chicago	Ill	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1403	Watertown	[illegible]	5.60
United Mine Workers' Union	1328	Linton	Ind	5.00
Central Labor Union		Boonville	Ind	2.60
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union.	43	Buffalo	N. Y	5.00
Shipwrights and Joiners' Union	64	Memphis	Tenn	5.00
Car Workers' Union	29	East Hartford	Conn	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1641	Ranch Creek	Pa	1.00
14. Carpenters' Union	1014	Warren	Pa	3.00
Electrical Workers' Union	256	Charleston	W. Va	5.00
Barbers' Union	178	Jamestown	N. Y	2.00
Iron Moulders' Union	5	Worcester	Mass	10.00
Railroad Telegraphers' Division	44	Brooklyn	N. Y	5.00
Machinists' Lodge	730	Dayton	Ohio	1.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union.	280	Natick	Mass	1.00
T. B. Hewitt, Carpenters' Union	580	Du Bois	Pa	1.00
Trades and Labor Assembly		Sandusky	Ohio	5.00
Pattern Makers' League		Newport News and vicinity.		5.00
Central Labor Union		Pittsfield	Mass	10.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union.	559	Superior	Wis	2.00
Street Railway Employees' Division	304	Glens Falls	N. Y	5.00
Steam Engineers	115	South Chicago	Ill	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1014	Elmwood	Ill	2.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	276	Racine	Wis	2.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union.	62	Schenectady	N. Y	3.00
Longshoremen Union	488	Harbor Springs	Mich	6.00
Pattern Makers' League		Chicago	Ill	5.00
J. G. Richardson		Portage	Pa	1.00
15. Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	91	Tallapoosa	Ga	3.85
Federal Labor Union	10279	Burlington	Vt	2.00
Hairspinners' Protective Union	12347	Philadelphia	Pa	2.00
Hairspinners' Protective Union	12353	Baltimore	Md	5.00
Central Labor Union		Newport	R. I	5.00
Federal Labor Union	11891	Athol	Mass	2.00
Carpenters' Union	736	Philadelphia	Pa	10.00
Trades Assembly		Utica	N. Y	5 00
Machinists' Lodge	363	Springfield	Mo	5.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	377	Honesdale	Pa	10.00
Carpenters' Union	80	Chicago	Ill	10.00
Central Labor Union		Berwick	Pa	5.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

	Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
	May, 1908—Continued.				
15.	Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union.	67	Bayonne	N. J.	$5.00
	Machinists' Lodge	536	Norwalk	Ohio	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	72	Rochester	N. Y.	10.00
	Barbers' Union	475	Jackson	Miss.	5.00
	Metal Polishers' Union	9	Elizabeth	N. J.	5.00
	Waiters' Union	106	Cleveland	Ohio	5.00
	Bakers' Union	271	Topeka	Kans.	5.00
	Operative Potters' Union	46	Wheeling	W. Va.	5.00
	Chris Evans		Nelsonville	Ohio	1.00
16.	Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union.	283	Kokomo	Ind.	1.00
	Street Railway Employees' Division	312	Davenport	Iowa	2.00
	Central Labor Union		Brockton	Mass.	25.00
	Plumbers' Union	41	Butte	Mont.	10.00
	Carpenters' Union	53	White Plains	N. Y.	10.00
	Street Railway Employees' Division	98	Akron	Ohio	2.00
	Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Lodge	2	Poughkeepsie	N. Y.	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	45	Allentown	Pa.	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	720	Staunton	Ill.	10.00
	Iron Moulders' Union	222	Royersford	Pa.	5.00
	Barbers' Union	13	Bay City	Mich.	2.00
	Electrical Workers' Union	278	Davenport	Iowa	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2301	Stockett	Mont.	20.00
	United Garment Workers' Union	119	Buffalo	N. Y.	2.00
	Leather Workers' Union	131	Bloomington	Ill.	2.00
	Sheet Metal Workers' Union	83	Albany	N. Y.	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	903	East St. Louis	Ill.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2098	Antrim	Pa.	2.00
	Steam Fitters' Union	81	Ft. Wayne	Ind.	3.00
	Carpenters' Union	284	Erie	Pa.	5.00
	Retail Clerks' Union	10	Ft. Wayne	Ind.	2.00
	Carpenters' Union	838	Sunbury	Pa.	3.00
18.	Carpenters' Union	1190	Bellefonte	Pa.	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	131	Paden City	W. Va.	15.00
	Plumbers' Union	82	Tacoma	Wash.	5.00
	Tailors' Union	215	Madison	Wis.	2.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	898	Dist. 1, Nanticoke	Pa.	10.00
	Carpenters' Union	515	Colorado Springs	Colo.	10.00
	Iron Moulders' Union	221	Joliet	Ill.	3.00
	Machinists' Lodge	349	Portsmouth	Ohio	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	444	Pittsfield	Mass.	2.00
	Carpenters' Union	1829	Plainview	Tex.	5.00
	Longshoremen Union	518	Ashland	Wis.	3.00
	Trades and Labor Assembly		Superior	Wis.	5.00
	Iron Moulders' Union	210	Sharon	Pa.	5.00
	Shirt, Waist, and Laundry Workers' Union	166	Kingston	N. Y.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2538	Thurber	Tex.	5.00
	Shingle Weavers' Union	2	Everett	Wash.	7.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	6	Syracuse	N. Y.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1567	Saginaw	Mich.	2.50
	Switchmen's Lodge	6	Council Bluffs	Iowa	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union (Jno. Alberts)	992	Kangley	Ill.	3.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1358	Shenandoah	Pa.	25.00
	Central Labor Union		Danbury	Conn.	5.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	117	Orange	N. J.	1.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	250	Belleville	Ill.	3.00
	Teamsters' Union	304	Rochester	N. Y.	2.00
	Carpenters' Union	1153	Crooksville	Ohio	1.00
	Federal Labor Union	10746	Honesdale	Pa.	1.00
19.	United Mine Workers' Union	1678	Monongahela	Pa.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1550	Williamstown	Pa.	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	10	Royersford	Pa.	10.00
	Central Labor Union		Pittston	Pa.	5.00
	Trades Assembly		Staunton	Ill.	5.00
	Bakers' Union	119	Oakland	Cal.	5.20
	Federation of Labor		Yonkers	N. Y.	10.00
	Central Labor Union		Honesdale	Pa.	5.00
	Central Labor Union		Marquette	Mich.	1.05
	Shirt, Waist, and Laundry Workers' Union	5	Philadelphia	Pa.	5.00
	R. Carleton, local union	892	Dedham	Mass.	2.00
	Granite Cutters' Branch		Worcester	Mass.	10.00
	Sheet Metal Workers' Union	216	Oakland	Cal.	5.00
	Print Cutters' Union	1	New York	N. Y.	10.00
	Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Lodge	46	Hyde	Pa.	20.00
	Longshoremen Union	44	Escanaba	Mich.	5.00
	Upholsterers' Union	21	St. Louis	Mo.	5.00
	Woodworkers' Union	97	Philadelphia	Pa.	1.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

	Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
	May, 1908—Continued.				
20.	Operative Potters' Union	31	East Palestine	Ohio	$5.00
	Iron Moulders' Union	270	Allegheny	Pa	1.00
	Trades Assembly		Glens Falls	N. Y.	5.00
	Operative Potters' Union	44	Sebring	Ohio	2.50
	Trades and Labor Assembly		Toronto	Ohio	1.00
	Teamsters' Union	74	Belleville	Ill.	1.00
	Car Workers' Union	50	Chicago	Ill.	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	24	Newark	Ohio	25.00
	United Garment Workers' Union	46	Buffalo	N. Y.	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2466	Bridgeport	Tex.	10.00
	Teamsters' Union	710	Chicago	Ill.	5.00
	City Firemen Protective Association	11431	Pittsburgh	Pa.	25.00
	Steam Engineers' Union	107	Utica	N. Y.	2.00
	Teamsters' Union	402	Marquette	Mich.	1.00
	Blacksmiths' Union	70	Beaumont	Tex.	2.00
	Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Lodge	25	Danville	Pa.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2336	Diamondville	Wyo.	2.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	79	Sandusky	Ohio	1.00
	Carpenters' Union	667	Cincinnati	Ohio	5.00
	Street Railway Employees' Division	288	Omaha	Nebr.	3.00
	Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	444	Princeton	Ind.	2.00
	Carpenters' Union	674	Mt. Clemens	Mich.	2.00
	Wm. F. Thompson, local union	2008	St. Benedict	Pa.	1.00
	Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	826	East St. Louis	Ill.	2.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1771	Red Lodge	Mont.	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1558	Pine Grove	Pa.	5.00
	Federal Labor Union	9644	Albion	Mich.	1.00
	Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	33	Joliet	Ill.	1.00
	Calumet Joint Labor Council		Kensington	Ill.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	56	Colfax	Iowa	10.00
21.	United Mine Workers' Union	2399	Coal Center	Pa.	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	29	Hawley	Pa.	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	63	Williamstown	N. J.	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	696	Tampa	Fla.	10.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	62	Poughkeepsie	N. Y.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1191	Coalgate	Okla.	2.50
	Machinists' Lodge	74	Oneonta	N. J.	1.00
	Coopers' Union	90	Houston	Tex.	1.00
	Maintenance of Way Employees' Union	215	Council Bluffs	Iowa	5.00
	Central Labor Union		Tiffin	Ohio	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	15	Milwaukee	Wis.	5.00
	Tailors' Union	384	Watertown	Wis.	3.00
	Street Railway Employees' Division	169	Easton	Pa.	2.00
	Street Railway Employees' Division	477	Philadelphia	Pa.	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	100	Muskegon	Mich.	1.00
	Federal Labor Union	12538	Charlotte	N. C.	2.50
	Stove Mounters' Union	3	Quincy	Ill.	1.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	32	Clyde	N. Y.	3.00
	Carpenters' Union	458	Lawrence	Kans.	2.00
	Barbers' Union	218	Bowling Green	Ohio	1.00
	Retail Clerks' Union	62	Leavenworth	Kans.	2.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2742	Carneyville	Wyo.	5.00
	Operative Potters' Union	72	Evansville	Ind.	2.00
	Carpenters' Union	392	Beaumont	Tex.	2.00
22.	Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	814	Englewood	N. J.	2.00
	Typographical Union	52	Troy	N. Y.	5.00
	Paper Makers' Union	29	Berlin	N. H.	25.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1561	Donaldson	Pa.	2.00
	Railroad Telegraphers' Division	126	Langdon	Kans.	3.00
	Carpenters' Union	171	Youngstown	Ohio	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1353	Parsons	Pa.	2.00
	Pattern Makers' League		Los Angeles	Cal.	2.00
	Garment Workers' Union	217	Kalamazoo	Mich.	5.00
	Trades and Labor Congress		Dubuque	Iowa	5.00
	Papermakers' Union	52	Kalamazoo	Mich.	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	311	Joplin	Mo.	5.50
	Carpenters' Union	1846	Monroe	La.	2.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2535	Strawn	Tex.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2140	White City	Iowa	10.00
	Pattern Makers' League		Philadelphia	Pa.	5.00
	Steam Engineers' Union	7	Springfield	Ill.	5.00
23.	Street Railway Employees' Division	260	Chicago	Ill.	10.00
	Central Federation of Labor		Cohoes	N. Y.	10.00
	Bricklayers' Union	18	Scranton	Pa.	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	81	Chicago Heights	Ill.	17.25
	United Mine Workers' Union	787	Bridgeport	Tex.	5.00
	Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	25	St. Louis	Mo.	5.00
	Plumbers' Union	189	Columbus	Ohio	5.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
May, 1908—Continued.				
23. Longshoremen Union	538	Port Arthur	Tex	$25.00
C. B. Maitrejean (collected from members)		Port Arthur	Tex	17.50
Carpenters' Union	1739	Mayfield	Ky	5.00
Central Labor Union		Elkhart	Ind	4.95
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	720	Butte	Mont	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	923	Wolcott	Ill	5.00
Longshoremen Union	743	Superior	Wis	5.00
Carpenters' Union	323	Fishkill on the Hud	N. Y	5.00
Plumbers' Union	224	Goldfield	Nev	1.00
Trades and Labor Council		Niagara Falls	N. Y	5.00
Boiler Makers' Union	311	S. Kaukauna	Wis	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1674	Weir	Kans	1.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	390	Winfield	Kans	1.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	68	Bellaire	Ohio	5.00
Tailors' Union	78	Dallas	Tex	2.50
Bricklayers' Union	24	Adrian	Mich	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2462	Fergus	Mich	5.00
Cigar Makers' Union	24	Muskegon	Mich	2.00
Carpenters' Union	482	Jersey City	N. J	5.00
25. Machinists Helpers' Lodge	12550	Yonkers	N. Y	1.00
Steel Case Makers' Union	11842	Defiance	Ohio	1.00
Street Railway Employees' Division	416	Peoria	Ill	5.00
Musicians' Union	125	Norfolk	Va	2.00
Teamsters' Union	3	Collinsville	Ill	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2087	Brownsville	Pa	5.00
Trades Council		Marion	Ill	2.00
Shingle Weavers' Union	18	Blaine	Wash	5.00
Central Labor Union		Berlin	N. H	5.00
Railroad Telegraphers' Division	105	N. Boscawen	N. H	25.00
Bartenders' League	339	Portland	Oreg	10.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	363	Keokuk	Ia	3.00
Tin, Steel, Iron, and Granite Workers' Union	10943	Granite City	Ill	5.00
Bricklayers' Union	4	Bar Harbor	Me	5.00
Central Labor Union		Wilkesbarre	Pa	10.00
Teamsters' Union	567	Dubuque	Ia	2.00
Central Labor Council		Oakland	Cal	10.00
Bricklayers' Union	48	Du Bois	Pa	2.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1761	Madrid	Ia	5.00
Bakers' Union	85	Sacramento	Cal	5.00
Glass Blowers' Branch	101	Coshocton	Ohio	5.00
Granite Cutters' Branch		Graniteville	Mo	1.00
Electrical Workers' Union	233	Colorado Springs	Colo	5.00
Cigar Makers' Union	358	Fremont	Nebr	2.00
Electrical Workers' Union	144	Wichita	Kans	5.00
Carpenters' Union	668	Palo Alto	Cal	5.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	781	Enid	Okla	1.00
Trades and Labor Assembly		Savannah	Ga	10.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	21	Richmond	Va	24.00
Cloak Makers' Union	4	Baltimore	Md	2.00
Waiters' Uniot	189	Portland	Oreg	5.00
Federated Trades Council		Portland	Oreg	25.00
Theatrical Stage Employees' Union	122	San Diego	Cal	2.00
Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers' Union	144	San Jose	Cal	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2020	Sandcoulee	Mont	2.50
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	111	Brockton	Mass	10.00
Iron Moulders' Union	271	Kokomo	Ind	1.00
Metal Polishers' Union	68	Cincinnati	Ohio	1.00
Iron Moulders' Union	11	Rochester	N. Y	5.00
Machinists' Lodge	517	Monroe	La	5.00
Trades and Labor Assembly		Salem	Ohio	5.00
Trades and Labor Assembly		Springfield	Ohio	3.00
26. Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	44	Olean	N. Y	5.00
Musicians' Union	83	Lowell	Mass	5.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	73	Bellaire	Ohio	10.00
Carpenters' Union	718	New Rochelle	N. Y	5.00
Operative Potters' Union	45	Trenton	N. J	5.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	102	Parkers Landing	Pa	2.00
Longshoremen Union	400	Escanaba	Mich	5.00
Porters' Union	12029	Aberdeen	Wash	5.00
Barbers' Union	158	Tacoma	Wash	5.00
Carpenters' Union	503	Lancaster	N. Y	10.00
Boilermakers' Union	81	Springfield	Ill	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2613	Graham	Ky	5.00
27. Operative Potters' Union	70	Minerva	Ohio	2.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2645	Ottumwa	Ia	5.00
Trades and Labor Council		Piqua	Ohio	10.00
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union	277	Salem	Mass	5.00
Central Labor Union		Brooklyn and vic	N. Y	25.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
May, 1908—Continued.				
27. Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	48	Brockland	Mass	$10.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Trenton	N. J.	5.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	3	Streator	Ill.	10.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	83	Butler	Pa.	10.0
Coopers' Union	61	St. Paul	Minn.	1.00
Coopers' Union	95	Memphis	Tenn.	1.50
United Mine Workers' Union	2257	Black Diamond	Wash.	10.00
Central Labor Council	.....	Los Angeles	Cal.	10.00
Carpenters' Union	1766	Fostoria	Ohio	2.00
United Mine Workers' Union	129	Saginaw	Mich.	5.00
Coopers' Union	12	Evansville	Ind.	2.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2015	Plymouth	W. Va.	5.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Norwalk	Ohio	2.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Waco	Tex.	2.50
Central Labor Union	.....	Fremont	Neb.	2.00
Central Trades and Labor Council	.....	Reno	Nev.	10.00
28. Rock Drillers and Tool Sharpeners' Union	11808	New York	N. Y.	5.00
Federation of Labor	.....	Salt Lake City	Utah	2.00
Trades and Labor Assembly	.....	Marietta	Ohio	5.00
Barbers' Union	178	Jamestown	N. Y.	5.00
Textile Workers' Union	553	Lebanon	N. H.	5.00
Central Labor Union	.....	South Bend	Ind.	5.00
Metal Polishers' Union	335	Elkhart	Ind.	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1907	Des Moines	Ia.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	635	Boise	Idaho	2.50
Carpenters' Union	283	Augusta	Ga.	1.00
Cigar Makers' Union	45	Springfield	Ohio	2.00
Trades and Labor Council	.....	Muskegon	Mich.	5.00
Pocket Knife Makers' Union	12272	Newark	N. J.	2.00
Paper Makers' Union	27	Millinocket	Me.	10.00
Operative Potters' Union	12	East Liverpool	Ohio	5.00
29. Carpenters' Union	55	Denver	Colo.	25.00
Street Railway Employees' Division	241	Chicago	Ill.	25.00
Railroad Telegraphers' Division	14	Gloverdale	Va.	25.00
Iron Moulders' Union	287	Lancaster	Pa.	2.00
Operative Potters' Union	42	Salem	Ohio	5.00
Polishers' Union	297	Elyria	Ohio	2.00
Carpenters' Union	1496	Fresno	Cal.	10.00
Ed. Abbott	.....	Dubuque	Ia.	1.00
Walter MacArthur	.....	San Francisco	Cal.	5.00
Wood Workers' Union	267	Kansas City	Kans.	2.00
Bricklayers' Union	2	Mobile	Ala.	5.00
Barbers' Union	233	Linton	Ind.	2.00
Carpenters' Union	1616	Selma	Ala.	2.00
Print Cutters' Union	5	York	Pa.	2.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Auburn	N. Y.	3.00
June.				
1. Cigar Makers' Union	359	Atchison	Kans.	5.00
Granite Cutters' Branch	.....	Lynn	Mass.	1.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	95	Brackenridge	Pa.	6.00
Bartenders' League	367	Cincinnati	Ohio	5.00
Trades and Labor Council	.....	Escanaba	Mich.	10.00
Central Trades Council	.....	Pittsburg	Pa.	25.00
United Hatters' Union	14	Newark	N. J.	10.00
Barbers' Union	480	Berlin	N. H.	5.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Chattanooga	Tenn.	5.00
Teamsters' Union	734	Chicago	Ill.	5.00
Electrical Workers' Union	61	Los Angeles	Cal.	10.00
Carpenters' Union	1166	Fremont	Ohio	5.00
Switchmen's Lodge	13	Detroit	Mich.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1832	Escanaba	Mich.	1.75
Hod Carriers' Union	73	Stockton	Cal.	2.50
Federal Labor Union	11449	Thurber	Tex.	5.00
Labor Council	.....	Goldfield	Nev.	3.00
Teamsters' Union	258	Newark	Ohio	2.00
Leather Workers' Union	155	Benton	Ill.	2.00
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union	65	Seattle	Wash.	10.00
Trades and Labor Council	.....	La Crosse	Wis.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1224	Emporia	Kans.	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2318	Cumberland	Wyo.	5.00
Retail Clerks' Union	706	New Orleans	La.	5.00
Coopers' Union	58	Boston	Mass.	5.00
Machinists' Lodge	30	Bridgeport	Conn.	3.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2150	St. Clairsville	Ohio	2.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	75	Port Allegany	Pa.	5.00
2. Plumbers' Union	489	Cumberland	Md.	5.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
June, 1908—Continued.				
2. Plumbers' Union	16	Omaha	Nebr.	$5.00
3. Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	475	Muskegon	Mich.	2.00
Barbers' Union	125	Lansing	Mich.	2.00
Electrical Workers' Union	314	Bellingham	Wash.	5.00
Central Labor Union		Quincy and vicinity	Mass.	5.00
Hod Carriers' Union	35	Utica	N. Y.	5.00
Machinists' Lodge	685	Gorgona	Pan.	5.00
L. H. Losheider		Norwalk	Ohio	1.00
4. Essex Trades Council		Newark	N. J.	10.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	20	Middleboro	Mass.	25.00
Theatrical Stage Employees' Union	28	Portland	Oreg.	10.00
Barbers' Union	21	La Crosse	Wis.	1.00
Trades and Labor Council		Port Huron	Mich.	5.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	46	Rochester	N. Y.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	764	Shreveport	La.	5.00
Federated Trades Council		Sacramento	Cal.	10.00
Federated Trades Council		Colorado Springs	Colo.	5.00
5. Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	708	Monmouth	Ill.	2.00
Federation of Labor		Baltimore	Md.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	62	Chicago	Ill.	10.00
Chain Makers' Union	4	Columbus	Ohio	2.00
Butcher Workmen's Union	13	Utica	N. Y.	5.00
6. Railroad Telegraphers' Division	24	Williamsport	Pa.	3.00
Typographical Union	2	Philadelphia	Pa.	15.00
Horse Nail Makers' Union	10953	Seymour	Conn.	2.00
Federation of Labor		Columbus	Ohio	2.00
Trades and Labor Assembly		Tyler	Tex.	1.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	47	Sheffield	Pa.	5.65
Carpenters' Union	46	Sault Ste. Marie	Mich.	2.00
Trades and Labor Council		Sherman	Tex.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	993	Miami	Fla.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	657	Sheboygan	Wis.	5.00
Steam Engineers' Union	8	Peoria	Ill.	3.00
Theatrical Stage Employees	85	Davenport	Ia.	5.00
8. Carpenters' Union	1082	San Francisco	Cal.	25.00
United Mine Workers' Union	524	Carnegie	Pa.	10.00
Quarry Workers' Union	21	Bethel	Vt.	10.00
Trades and Labor Assembly		Decatur	Ill.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1409	Apalachicola	Fla.	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	103	Mountainash	Ky.	2.50
Typographical Union	13	Boston	Mass.	15.00
Wood Workers' Union	139	Athol	Mass.	2.00
Trades and Labor Council		Leavenworth	Kan.	2.00
Marble Cutters' Union	55	Los Angeles	Cal.	1.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	270	Norristown	Pa.	3.00
Cigar Makers' Union	490	Fairfield	Ia.	1.00
Metal Polishers' Union	325	Evansville	Ind.	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	55	Des Moines	Ia.	5.00
9. Elevator Constructors' Union	8	Philadelphia	Pa.	50.00
Street Railway Employees' Division	209	Danbury	Conn.	2.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2610	Ravensdale	Wash.	5.00
Central Labor Union		Canton	Ohio	5.00
Carpenters' Union	971	Reno	Nev.	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1574	Bay City	Mich.	2.00
Shingle Weavers' Union	55	Skamokawa	Wash.	5.00
10. Operative Potters' Union	77	Manningston	W. Va.	7.50
Steam Engineers' Union	13	Belleville	Ill.	1.00
Machinists' Lodge	474	Kaukauna	Wis.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1641	Lodi	Cal.	5.00
Cigar Makers' Union	61	La Crosse	Wis.	1.00
Typographical Union	46	Sacramento	Cal.	10.00
11. Central Labor Union		Barre and vicinity	Vt.	10.00
Teamsters' Union (C. J. Carroll, sec. treas.)		San Francisco	Cal.	100.00
Cigar Makers' Union	222	Peru	Ill.	1.00
Philip J. Byrne		Marlboro	Mass.	2.00
Tailors' Union	79	Memphis	Tenn.	2.00
12. Bricklayers' Union	8	Austin	Tex.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1214	Walla Walla	Wash.	3.80
Hod Carriers' Union	1221	Walla Walla	Wash.	2.50
Cigar Makers' Union	444	Walla Walla	Wash.	1.50
Granite Workers' Branch		Dallas	Tex.	4.25
Team Drivers' Union	441	Everett	Wash.	1.00
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Lodge	8	Granite City	Ill.	1.00
Machinists' Lodge	377	Chicago Heights	Ill.	1.00
13. Cement Workers' Union	64	Muskegon	Mich.	3.00
Tailors' Union	247	Houston	Tex.	1.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
June, 1908—Continued.				
13. Brush Makers' Union	10	Milwaukee	Wis.	$2.00
Trades and Labor Assembly		Brainerd	Minn.	5.00
15. Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	171	Colorado Springs	Colo.	5.00
Iron Moulders' Union	298	Waterbury	Conn.	14.60
Pattern Makers' League, local union		San Francisco	Cal.	10.00
Bricklayers' Union	3	Tampa	Fla.	5.00
Rubber Workers' Union	12420	Lambertville	N. J.	6.00
Carpenters' Union	336	La Salle	Ill.	10.00
United Hatters' Union	3	Wabash	Ind.	5.00
16. Carpenters' Union	1182	Santa Cruz	Cal.	5.00
Wood Workers' Union	102	Albany	N. Y.	2.00
Hector F. Sarro	67	Marlboro	N. H.	5.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	20	Wichita	Kans.	22.00
Plumbers' Union	171	Wichita	Kans.	1.00
Hod Carriers' Union	74	Wichita	Kans.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	201	Wichita	Kans.	5.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	16	Ravenswood	N. J.	9.50
Paving Cutters' Union	5	Dunbar	Pa.	4.90
Machinists' Lodge	406	New York	N. Y.	1.00
17. Teamsters' Union	801	Chicago	Ill.	5.00
Machinists' Lodge	68	San Francisco	Cal.	25.00
Labor Council		San Francisco	Cal.	100.00
Fred H. Mosher		Manchester	Mass.	5.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	982	Hagerstown	Md.	1.00
18. State Federation of Labor		Wichita	Kans.	5.00
Leather Workers' Union	44	Wichita	Kans.	4.65
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers	86	Seattle	Wash.	2.00
Bricklayers' Union	4	Springfield	Ill.	2.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	85	Kane	Pa.	4.68
19. Typographical Union	21	San Francisco	Cal.	15.00
Carpenters' Union	2	Cincinnati	Ohio	10.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	92	Chattanooga	Tenn.	4.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	82	California	Pa.	8.00
20. Trades and Labor Council		Uniontown	Pa.	2.50
Textile Workers' Union	479	Amsterdam	N. Y.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1085	Livingston	Mont.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	763	Enid	Okla.	2.20
Teamsters' Union	339	Enid	Okla.	.70
Carpenters' Union	350	Nashville	Tenn.	2.10
Carpenters' Union	512	Ann Arbor	Mich.	3.00
Boiler Makers' Union	501	Walnut Springs	Tex.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	382	New York	N. Y.	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	835	Big Muddy	Wyo.	5.00
22. Tailors' Union	92	Omaha	Nebr.	10.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	37	Whitman	Mass.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1354	Ogdensburg	N. Y.	5.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	738	Walla Walla	Wash.	2.20
Street Railway Employees' Division	148	Albany	N. Y.	5.00
Cigar Makers' Union	109	Aberdeen	Wash.	1.00
23. Steam and Hot Water Fitters' Union	89	Berlin	N. H.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1505	Berlin	N. H.	5.00
Laborers Protective Union	9558	Berlin	N. H.	3.00
Federal Labor Union	10190	Berlin	N. H.	5.00
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union	48	Portland	Oreg.	5.00
Typographical Union	388	Walla Walla	Wash.	3.50
Central Labor Union		Pasadena	Cal.	5.00
Central Labor Union		South Omaha	Nebr.	1.00
Central Associated Trades Council		Corning	N. Y.	5.00
Transfer Employees Protective Union	11824	New York	N. Y.	5.00
Soda and Mineral Water Bottlers	8514	St. Louis	Mo.	2.00
Music Engravers Union	11809	Long Island	N. Y.	2.00
Amal. Lace Curtain Operatives Union		Philadelphia	Pa.	10.00
Aluminum Workers' Union	8261	New Kensington	Pa.	5.00
Federal Labor Union	8139	McSherrystown	Pa.	2.00
24. Blacksmiths Union	283	Zanesville	Ohio	1.00
Glass Bottle Blowers Branch	109	Wheeling	W. Va.	5.00
Typographical Union	593	Pasadena	Cal.	5.00
25. Barbers Union	153	Madison	Wis.	2.00
Stone Masons' Union	6	Winona	Minn.	2.00
Barbers' Union	335	Vallejo	Cal.	2.50
Trades Assembly		Peoria	Ill.	10.00
26. Carpenters' Union	220	Wallace	Idaho	10.00
Tailors' Union	56	Philadelphia	Pa.	2.00
29. Trades and Labor Assembly		Chicago Heights	Ill.	10.00
Garment Workers' Union	146	Peoria	Ill.	2.00
Cereal and Flour Mill Employees	91	South Vallejo	Cal.	5.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	52	Brooklyn	N. Y.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1204	Gulfport	Miss.	1.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
July.				
1. Bookbinders' Union	$79	New Orleans	La	$0.70
Machinists' Lodge	68	San Francisco	Cal	75.00
2. Marinette and Menominee Trades Council		Menominee	Mich	5.00
Typographical Union	564	Aberdeen	S. Dak	5.00
Moulders' Union	199	Broderick	Cal	2.50
3. Electrical Workers' Union	36	Sacramento	Cal	10.00
Teamsters' Union	304	Rochester	N. Y	4.00
Garment Workers' Union	143	Syracuse	N. Y	5.00
6. Machinists' Lodge	33	Sacramento	Cal	2.00
Print Cutters' Union	2	Philadelphia	Pa	3.00
Cigar Makers' Union	94	Pawtucket	R. I	7.25
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	57	Binghamton	N. Y	2.00
7. Mule Spinners' Union		Cohoes	N. Y	3.00
8. Wall Paper Color Mixers Union	2	Hackensack	N. J	5.00
9. Carpenters' Union	422	San Francisco	Cal	10.00
10. Federal Labor Union	8818	Mansfield	Ohio	2.00
21. Granite Cutters' Branch		East Barre	Vt	5.00
Horse Nail Workers' Union	10582	Hoopeston	Ill	5.00
Machinists' Lodge	461	Barre	Vt	5.00
22. Central Labor Union		Boston	Mass	10.00
23. Railway Trainmen Division	356	Wichita	Kans	6.00
Egg Inspectors	11254	New York	N. Y	5.00
31. Egg Candlers	12090	Philadelphia	Pa	.70
Plumbers' Union	153	Salem	Ohio	1.00
August.				
1. Machinists' Lodge	544	Augusta	Ga	2.50
3. Gas Workers' Union	12369	Sacramento	Cal	3.00
Carpenters' Union	137	Norwich	Conn	10.00
7. Central Trades and Labor Council		Roanoke	Va	5.00
10. Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	533	Springfield	Ohio	1.00
13. Water Pipe Caulkers	10630	Newark	N. J	5.00
15. Bartenders' League	386	Hannibal	Mo	10.00
Hatters' Union	13	Newark	N. J	50.00
17. F. J. McNulty		Springfield	Ill	10.00
Teamsters' Union	269	Livingston	Mont	9.50
United Hatters of North America		New York	N. Y	200.00
Federal Labor Union	8367	La Salle	Ill	25.00
Iron Moulders' Union	222	Spring City	Pa	5.00
Central Labor Union		McSherrystown	Pa	5.00
Henry Haas		Meadville	Pa	2.00
18. D. A. Taylor		Washington	D. C	1.00
Federation of Trades		Atlanta	Ga	10.00
19. Central Labor Union		Berwick	Pa	5.00
Central Labor Union		Newport	R. I	10.00
Federated Trades' Council		Green Bay	Wis	3.00
Painters' Union	818	Suffern	N. Y	5.00
Vermont State Branch		Rutland	Vt	25.00
Teamsters' Union	304	Rochester	N. Y	4.00
20. United Mine Workers' Union	842	Patton	Pa	5.00
Quarry Workers' Union	37	Hurricane Island	Me	3.00
Cigar Makers' Union	132	Brooklyn	N. Y	25.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2310	Shawmut	Pa	5.00
Cigar Makers' Union	1	Baltimore	Md	5.00
21. Carpenters' Union	819	West Palm Beach	Fla	10.00
Bartenders' League	559	Fort Smith	Ark	10.00
Musicians' Union	34	Kansas City	Mo	5.00
Bricklayers' Union	6	Nevada	Mo	1.00
Trades and Labor Assembly		New Athens	Ill	10.00
Carpenters' Union	191	York	Pa	5.00
Hatters' Union	15-16	Norwalk	Conn	25.00
Joseph Schneider		Bangor	Me	1.00
22. Machinists' Lodge	137	Newport News	Va	10.00
Carpenters' Union	233	Binghamton	N. Y	5.00
Iron Moulders' Union	272	Richmond	Ind	5.00
Plasterers' Union	148	Atlanta	Ga	5.00
M. F. Tighe		Pittsburgh	Pa	5.00
24. United Mine Workers Union (E. A. Sheras)	1403	Shenandoah	Pa	25.00
Brewery Workers' Union	54	Utica	N. Y	10.00
Iron Moulders' Union	373	Portland	Conn	5.00
Street Railway Employees Division	326	St. Joseph	Mo	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	177	Marceline	Mo	5.00
Iron Moulders' Union	75	Spring City	Pa	5.00
Order of Railroad Telegraphers		St. Louis	Mo	100.00
Railroad Telegraphers' Division	2	St. Louis	Mo	25.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union (L. Larson).	817	Marquette	Mich	2.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
August, 1908—Continued.				
Trades and Labor Assembly	.....	Superior	Wis.	$2.50
Carpenters' Union	$263	Berwick	Pa.	5.00
Stone Cutters' Branch	.....	Birmingham	Ala.	5.00
Laborers' Protective Union	12008	Jersey City	N. J.	10.00
Operative Potters' Union	50	Camden	N. J.	4.40
Trades and Labor Assembly	.....	Breese	Ill.	10.00
Frederick Thorp	.....	Pittsburgh	Pa.	1.00
25. Railroad Telegraphers' Division	126	Whiting	Kan.	20.00
Typographical Union	468	Yonkers	N. Y.	2.00
Central Federated Union	.....	New York	N. Y.	15.00
Iron Moulders' Union	56	Indianapolis	Ind.	5.00
Bricklayers' Union	1	Grand Rapids	Mich.	5.00
Leather Workers' Union	63	Duluth	Minn.	2.00
District No. 5, Electrical Workers' Union	144	Wichita	Kans.	10.00
Garment Workers' Union	127	Indianapolis	Ind.	5.00
Trades Council	.....	Thurber	Tex.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	311	Joplin	Mo.	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2538	Thurber	Tex.	10.00
United Mine Workers' Union	323	Greenridge	Iowa	5.00
M. E. Schooler	.....	Whiting	Kans.	1.00
26. Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	210	Cincinnati	Ohio	5.00
Electrical Workers' Union	41	Buffalo	N. Y.	15.00
Typographical Union	2	Philadelphia	Pa.	10.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	278	Webster	Mass.	5.00
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Lodge	2	East Chicago	Ind.	10.00
Freight Handlers' Union	70	Boston	Mass.	5.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	411	Lebanon	Pa.	5.00
Operative Potters' Union	46	Wheeling	W. Va.	3.00
27. Central Labor Union	.....	South Bend	Ind.	5.00
Machinists' Lodge	434	New York	N. Y.	5.00
Machinists' Lodge	537	Hannibal	Mo.	10.00
28. Street Railway Employees' Division	312	Davenport	Ia.	5.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	131	Paden City	W. Va.	5.00
Plumbers' Union	162	Dayton	Ohio	5.00
Carpenters' Union	344	Waukesha	Wis.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1	Chicago	Ill.	5.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	634	Wilmington	Del.	5.00
Leo Benninghoven	.....	Grand Island	Nebr.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1014	Warren	Pa.	2.00
Barbers' Union	175	Danbury	Conn.	2.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	31	Syracuse	N. Y.	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	365	Hollister	Ohio	5.00
Leather Workers' Union	32	Fremont	Nebr.	10.00
Iron Moulders' Union	100	North Buffalo	N. Y.	25.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	21	Richmond	Va.	25.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	276	Racine	Wis.	2.00
Brewery Workers' Union	219	Mahanoy City	Pa.	10.00
Iron Moulders' Union	182	Belleville	Ill.	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	706	French Village	Ill.	10.00
Carpenters' Union	1403	Watertown	Wis.	5.00
29. Shingle Weavers' Union	21	Hoquiam	Wash.	5.00
Hair Spinners' Union	12347	Philadelphia	Pa.	2.00
Painters' Union	71	Cohoes	N. Y.	3.00
Iron Moulders' Union	12	Rochester	N. Y.	5.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Ithaca	N. Y.	10.00
Electrical Workers' Union	191	Everett	Wash.	5.00
Bakers' Union	118	Washington	D. C.	5.00
31. Plumbers' Union	82	Tacoma	Wash.	1.00
Iron Moulders' Union	305	Warren	Ohio	5.00
Machinists' Lodge	124	Joliet	Ill.	5.00
Steam Engineers' Union	1	Denver	Colo.	10.00
Central Labor Union	.....	Scranton	Pa.	25.00
Carpenters' Union	958	Marquette	Mich.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	603	Ithaca	N. Y.	5.00
Iron Moulders' Union	30	Akron	Ohio	5.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	319	Kansas City	Kans.	5.00
Machinists' Lodge	210	Wilkes Barre	Pa.	5.00
Machinists' Lodge	62	Algiers	La.	10.00
Stove Mounters' Union	3	Quincy	Ill.	1.00
United Mine Workers' Union	2545	Laredo	Tex.	3.00
Iron Moulders' Union	170	Aurora	Ill.	2.00
[*September.*				
1. Trades Assembly	.....	Joplin	Mo.	2.00
Street Railway Employees Division	125	East St. Louis	Ill.	10.00
Iron Moulders' Union	101	Bangor	Me.	5.00
Iron Moulders' Union	246	Frankfort	N. Y.	5.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
September, 1908—Continued.				
1. Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	487	Sacramento	Cal.	$10.00
Upholsterers' Union	21	St. Louis	Mo.	5.00
2. Typographical Union	141	Duboistown	Pa.	5.00
Operative Potters' Union	52	Kittanning	Pa.	10.00
Machinists' Lodge	396	Frankfort	Ind.	10.00
Machinists' Lodge	360	Peoria	Ill.	5.00
Frank F. Traiger		Peoria	Ill.	5.00
Leather Novelty Workers' Union	16	Kansas City	Mo.	1.00
Loom Fixers' Union	486	Pawtucket	R. I.	5.00
Jas. H. Newcome		Newburgh	W. Va.	.22
3. Musicians' Union	58	Fort Wayne	Ind.	5.00
Street Railway Employees' Division	281	New Haven	Conn.	5.00
Trades Council		New Haven	Conn.	10.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of United States and Canada.		Philadelphia	Pa.	100.00
Bartenders' League	139	Lincoln	Ill.	5.00
Pattern Makers' League		Portland	Oreg.	5.00
Plumbers' Union	338	Fargo	N. Dak.	5.00
Butcher Workmen's Union	246	Evansville	Ind.	5.00
Trades and Labor Assembly		Hannibal	Mo.	15.00
4. Machinists' Lodge	488	Greensboro	N. C.	10.00
Street Railway Employees' Division	260	Chicago	Ill.	10.00
Warehouse Workers' Union	537	Crockett	Cal.	10.00
Leather Workers' Union	159	Winona	Minn.	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	750	Belleville	Ill.	10.00
Iron Moulders' Union	380	Niagara Falls	N. Y.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	1544	Coal City	Ill.	1.00
Coopers' Union	61	St. Paul	Minn.	2.30
Salesmen of Carbonated Water Union	155	Buffalo	N. Y.	10.00
Elijah McClintock		Harnedsville	Pa.	1.00
5. Machinists' Lodge	363	Springfield	Mo.	10.00
Electrical Workers' Union	45	Buffalo	N. Y.	10.00
Warehouse Workers' Union	32	Jersey City	N. J.	5.00
8. Leather Workers on Horse Goods' Union	108	Shreveport	La.	2.50
Bartenders' League	79	Louisville	Ky.	5.00
Typographical Union	373	Durango	Colo.	5.00
United Mine Workers' Union	33	Mulberry	Kans.	5.00
Typographical Union	94	Bayonne	N. J.	5.00
Federation of Labor		Saginaw	Mich.	2.00
Blacksmiths' Union	445	Tucson	Ariz.	3.00
Blacksmiths' Union	48	Stockton	Cal.	5.00
Carpenters' Union	421	Elwood City	Pa.	10.00
Longshoremen Union	495	Buffalo	N. Y.	5.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	178	Ithaca	N. Y.	5.00
9. Plumbers' Union	458	Appleton	Wis.	1.00
10. Tugmen's Protective Union	14	Sandusky	Ohio	5.00
Carpenters' Union	494	Columbus	Ohio	25.00
Typographical Union	128	South Bend	Ind.	5.00
Jas. P. Reynolds		Allegheny	Pa.	5.00
Barbers' Union	105	Akron	Ohio	1.00
Leather Workers on Horse Goods' Union	56	Portland	Oreg.	1.00
Marble Polishers' Union		Greater New York	N. Y.	25.00
11. Sheet Metal Workers' Union	9	Denver	Colo.	50.00
Bartenders' League	81	Holyoke	Mass.	10.00
Teamsters' Union	6	Cambridge	Ohio	10.00
Twin City Federation of Labor		Champaign-Urbana	Ill.	5.00
Barbers' Union	439	Champaign	Ill.	3.00
Barbers' Union	552	Detroit	Mich.	1.00
Trades Council		Dayton	Ohio	30.00
Musicians' Union	289	Dubuque	Ia.	5.00
12. Upholsterers' Union	58	Washington	D. C.	25.00
Iron Moulders' Union	10	St. Louis	Mo.	5.00
Federal Labor Union	12514	Milltown	Ind.	1.00
14. Teamsters' Union	571	Carlinville	Ill.	2.00
Musicians' Union	148	Atlanta	Ga.	10.00
Typographical Union	58	Portland	Oreg.	20.00
Cigar Makers' Union	250	Belleville	Ill.	5.00
Bartenders' League	339	Portland	Oreg.	10.00
Trades Union Assembly		Williamsport	Pa.	10.00
Central Labor Union		Athol	Mass.	5.00
Typographical Union	262	Seattle	Wash.	5.00
Cigar Makers' Union	262	Dallas	Tex.	1.00
15. Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	74	Brockton	Mass.	5.00
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union	720	Butte	Mont.	5.00
A friend				5.00
16. United Mine Workers' Union	704	Trenton	Ill.	10.00
Central Labor Union		Akron	Ohio	5.00
Wire Weavers' Protective Union		Holyoke	Mass.	8.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

	Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
	September, 1908—Continued.				
16.	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	62	Poughkeepsie	N. Y.	$5.00
	Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	28	Manchester	N. H.	10.00
	Carpenters' Union	947	Ridgway	Pa.	10.00
	T. H. Lidden		Ridgway	Pa.	1.00
	John Flynn		Ridgway	Pa.	1.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	593	Charlerol	Pa.	5.00
	Iron Moulders' Union	450	Beaumont	Tex.	4.00
17.	E. E. Greenawalt		Lancaster	Pa.	5.00
	Marble Workers' Union	14	Cleveland	Ohio	5.00
	Cigar Makers' Union	416	Norwalk	Ohio	1.00
	Central Labor Union		Waterville	Me.	10.00
	Granite Workers' Union	9289	Graniteville	Mo.	2.00
	Transfer Employees' Protective Union	11824	New York	N. Y.	5.00
	Central Labor Union		Holyoke	Mass.	25.00
18.	Typographical Union	193	Spokane	Wash.	10.00
	Colman J. De Goode		Norfolk	Va.	10.00
	Carpenters' Union	913	Palacios	Tex.	33.50
	Ralph M. McKenzie		Buffalo	N. Y.	10.00
	Tri-City Labor Congress		Lyons	Iowa	10.00
	Electrical Workers' Union	68	Denver	Colo.	25.00
	Trades and Labor Assembly		Pueblo	Colo.	5.00
	C. C. Houston		Pueblo	Colo.	1.00
	United Labor Council		Butler	Pa.	10.00
	Plumbers' Union	146	Fort Worth	Tex.	5.00
19.	Central Labor Union		Norwich	Conn.	10.00
	Typographical Union	180	Sioux City	Iowa	5.00
	Bartenders' League	67	Springfield	Mass.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union (H. C. Shaffer)	357	Delroy	Ohio	5.00
21.	Coopers' Union	96	Townsend	Mass.	2.00
	Longshoremen Union	400	Escanaba	Mich.	10.00
	Boilermakers' Union	4	Birmingham	Ala.	5.00
	Sheet Metal Workers' Union	221	Vallejo	Cal.	5.00
	Geo. C. Berry		Kendall	Mont.	1.00
	Robert Mungall		Kendall	Mont.	2.00
22.	Labor Council		San Francisco	Cal.	100.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	9	Shamokin	Pa.	100.00
	Carpenters' Union	180	Vallejo	Cal.	22.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	78	Wellston	Ohio	5.00
23.	Glass Bottle Blowers' Association		Philadelphia	Pa.	100.00
	Cigar Makers' Union	182	Madison	Wis.	2.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	787	Bridgeport	Tex.	5.00
	A friend		Washington	D. C.	25.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1514	Lost Creek	Pa.	5.50
24.	E. Brahan		Brooklyn	N. Y.	5.00
	Pocket Knife Blade Grinders' Union		Bridgeport	Conn.	25.00
	Cigar Makers' Union	415	Elkhart	Ind.	1.00
	Pocket Knife Blade Grinders' Union	5	Winsted	Conn.	1.00
	Street Railway Employees' Division	356	Oak Park	Ill.	5.00
25.	Musicians' Union	6	San Francisco	Cal.	5.00
26.	Martin W. Walter		Cincinnati	Ohio	5.00
	Baltimore Federation of Labor		Baltimore	Md.	100.00
	Central Trades' Council		Mobile	Ala.	10.00
	Central Labor Union		Pittston	Pa.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1756	Pittston	Pa.	2.00
	Cigar Makers' Union	136	Hudson	N. Y.	5.40
28.	Central Labor Union		Honesdale	Pa.	5.00
	Central Labor Union		Brockton	Mass.	25.00
	Teamsters' Union	313	Tacoma	Wash.	5.00
	Musicians' Union	161	Washington	D. C.	10.00
	Upholsterers' Union	23	Minneapolis	Minn.	5.00
	Cigar Makers' Union	61	La Crosse	Wis.	2.00
29.	Cigar Makers' Union	316	McSherrystown	Pa.	10.00
	Sailors' Union of the Pacific		San Francisco	Cal.	100.00
30.	Street Railway Employees' Division	241	Chicago	Ill.	10.00
	Central Labor Union		Norwalk	Ohio	5.00
	Iron Moulders' Union	271	Kokomo	Ind.	2.00
	Edward H. Hartery		Victoria	B. C.	1.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	2362	Newcastle	Wash.	5.00
	Musicians' Union	76	Seattle	Wash.	5.00
	Workingmen's State Federation		Utica	N. Y.	200.00
	October.				
1.	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	20	Zanesville	Ohio	5.00
3.	John Mitchell		New York	N. Y.	10.00
	Slate Workers' Union	108	Granville	N. Y.	20.00
	Miles Goldbas		Utica	N. Y.	1.00
5.	Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers' Union	488	Pittston	Pa.	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	44	Olean	N. Y.	5.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

	Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
	October, 1908—Continued.				
5.	Peter H. Lavalley	378	Brunswick	Me.	$3.00
	Owen Miller		St. Louis	Mo.	5.00
	Paving Cutters' Union	40	Albion	N. Y.	3.20
	Plumbers' Union	236	Trenton	N. J.	3.00
	Federal Labor Union	12396	Hardwick	Vt.	5.00
	State Branch Butcher Workmen Union		Syracuse	N. Y.	5.00
	Central Labor Union		Lancaster	Pa.	5.00
	Central Trades and Labor Council		New Orleans	La.	25.00
	Bricklayers' Union	11739	Guayama	P. R.	3.00
6.	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	63	Williamstown	N. J.	10.00
7.	United Mine Workers' Union	2414	Saginaw	Mich.	2.00
	Pocket Knife Makers	12349	Hotchkissville	Conn.	2.00
	Cigar Makers' Union	77	Minneapolis	Minn.	15.85
	Bartenders' League	532	Baltimore	Md.	3.00
	Broom Makers' Union	2	Detroit	Mich.	5.00
	Typographical Union	215	Decatur	Ill.	2.00
	Lesan-Gould Pub. Co. Chapel of Typographical Union.	8	St. Louis	Mo.	2.50
	Teamsters' Union	721	Chicago	Ill.	10.00
	Carpenters' Union	42	New Rochelle	N. Y.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	963	Manown	Pa.	5.00
	Trades and Labor Federation		New Brunswick	N. J.	2.00
8.	Metal Trades Council		St. Louis	Mo.	5.00
	Bartenders' League	100	New Bedford	Mass.	5.00
	Barbers' Union	128	St. Joseph	Mo.	5.00
	Typographical Union	27	Mobile	Ala.	25.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	905	Plymouth	Pa.	5.00
	Federation of Labor		Columbus	Ohio	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	122	Philadelphia	Pa.	2.50
	H. S. Sharpe		St. Louis	Mo.	1.00
9.	Federal Labor Union	10746	East Honesdale	Pa.	1.00
	Wm. Fennell, jr. (4,000 circulars, political platforms).		Wellston	Ohio	14.80
	Typographical Union (W. J. Brown)	379	Ithaca	N. Y.	3.00
	Cigar Makers' Union	41	Aurora	Ill.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	998	Nanticoke	Pa.	5.00
	Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers' Union	100	Allegheny	Pa.	3.00
	Bricklayers' Union	7	Akron	Ohio	10.00
	Carpenters' Union	387	New York	N. Y.	5.00
	Cigar Makers' Union	2	Buffalo	N. Y.	25.00
	Operative Potters' Union	77	Mannington	W. Va.	5.00
	Butcher Workmen Union	1	Syracuse	N. Y.	15.00
	Wood Workers' Union	257	Terre Haute	Ind.	1.50
10.	Carpenters' Union	1055	Lincoln	Nebr.	5.00
	Trades and Labor Council		Escanaba	Mich.	5.00
	Trades and Labor Assembly		Alton	Ill.	10.00
	Shingle Weavers' Union	20	Sault Ste. Marie	Mich.	2.00
	Allegheny County Trades Council		Cumberland	Md.	5.00
	Machinists' Lodge	121	East St. Louis	Ill.	1.40
	Carpenters' Union	1226	Manistee	Mich.	2.00
	Trades and Labor Council		Mt. Olive	Ill.	5.00
	Barbers' Union	133	Ottumwa	Iowa	2.00
	Cigar Makers' Union	179	Bangor	Me.	5.00
12.	J. C. Thompson		Mobile	Ala.	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	571	Montana	Ark.	10.00
	Horseshoers' Union	3	St. Louis	Mo.	10.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	73	Bellaire	Ohio	5.00
	Cigar Makers' Union	282	Bridgeport	Conn.	5.00
	Machinists' Lodge	349	Portsmouth	Ohio	2.50
	Hatters' Union	3	Wabash	Ind.	2.50
	Cigar Makers' Union	20	Decatur	Ill.	5.00
	Street Railway Employees' Division	22	Worcester	Mass.	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	519	Scranton	Pa.	3.00
	Coopers' Union	65	San Francisco	Cal.	10.00
	Teamsters' Union	186	Geneva	N. Y.	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1025	Jermyn	Pa.	25.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	22	San Francisco	Cal.	10.00
	Typographical Union	588	St. Augustine	Fla.	5.00
	Shingle Weavers' Union	2	Everett	Wash.	10.00
	United Garment Workers' Union	67	St. Louis	Mo.	5.00
	Street Railway Employees' Division	19	Colorado Springs	Colo.	5.25
	Carpenters' Union	323	Fishkill Landing	N. Y.	10.00
13.	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	6	Salem	N. J.	25.00
	Leather Workers on Horse Goods' Union	39	Janesville	Wis.	2.00
	Central Labor Union		Biddeford	Me.	1.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	3	Streator	Ill.	25.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	60	Terre Haute	Ind.	20.00
	Carpenters' Union	1765	Orlando	Fla.	2.00
	Street Railway Employees' Division	288	Omaha	Nebr.	$5.00
	Millmen's Union	327	Cincinnati	Ohio	5.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
October, 1908—Continued.				
13. Carpenters' Union	776	Marshall	Tex	2.00
Dr. Bluit		Beaumont	Tex	1.00
Boilermakers' Union	234	Laredo	Tex	2.00
Typographical Union	662	Fremont	Nebr	2.00
Print Cutters' Union	2	Philadelphia	Pa	2.00
Henry Streifler		Scranton	Pa	1.00
14. Musicians' Union	265	Quincy	Ill	5.00
Musicians' Union	362	Huntington	W. Va	5.00
Barbers' Union	29	Olean	N. Y	2.00
Longshoremen's Union	279	Escanaba	Mich	10.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	46	Rochester	N. Y	5.00
Moulders' Union	50	Poughkeepsie	N. Y	5.00
Tailors' Union	133	Huntington	W. Va	4.00
Trades and Labor Assembly		Decatur	Ill	2.00
Musicians' Union	169	Traverse City	Mich	2.00
Grain Workers' Union	11407	New York	N. Y	2.00
Frank Williams		East Chicago	Ind	5.00
Plate Printers' Union	4	Chicago	Ill	5.00
Federal Labor Union	7087	Belleville	Ill	5.00
Tile Layers' Union	31	Hartford	Conn	15.00
Member of Typographical Union	101			2.00
15. Carpenters' Union	1003	Indianapolis	Ind	5.00
A friend		Washington	D. C	5.00
C. B. Uncapher		Duluth	Minn	1.00
Federal Labor Union	11587	Seattle	Wash	10.00
Moulders' Union	143	Mt. Vernon	Ohio	5.00
Brewery Workers' Union	122	Boston	Mass	5.00
Trades and Labor Assembly		Tyler	Tex	4.00
Water Pipe Caulkers' Union	10830	Newark	N. J	5.00
Stove Mounters' Union	3	Quincy	Ill	1.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	92	Chattanooga	Tenn	2.50
Hod Carriers' Union	154	Boston	Mass	15.00
16. A friend		Washington	D. C	5.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	14	Woodbury	N. J	20.00
Carpenters' Union	736	Philadelphia	Pa	10.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	377	Honesdale	Pa	3.00
W. S. Dutters		McSherrystown	Pa	2.00
Bartenders' League	117	Belleville	Ill	5.00
Retail Clerks' Union	243	Syracuse	N. Y	5.00
Central Trades and Labor Council		Roanoke	Va	10.00
Freight Handlers' Union	64	Duluth	Minn	10.00
Carpenters' Union	1166	Fremont	Ohio	1.00
Steam Engineers' Union	16	Boston	Mass	10.00
Machinists' Lodge	514	Syracuse	N. Y	10.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	8	Bridgeton	N. J	10.00
Federal Labor Union (James Y. Gooch)	8806	Carlinville	Ill	2.00
Elevator Conductors' Union	11959	Chicago	Ill	5.00
Hair Spinners' Union	12358	Hyde Park	Mass	1.00
17. A member of Typographical Union	101	Washington	D. C	5.00
R. M. McKenzie		Chicago	Ill	5.00
Trades and Labor Assembly		Syracuse	N. Y	50.00
Central Labor Union		Boonville	Ind	10.00
Typographical Union	59	Quincy	Ill	10.00
Garment Workers' Union	143	Syracuse	N. Y	2.00
United Mine Workers' Union	1036	Minooka	Pa	10.00
Switchmen's Lodge	30	Minneapolis	Minn	5.00
19. The Bath County World		Sharpsburg	Ky	1.00
Machinists' Lodge	89	Cheyenne	Wyo	5.00
Railroad Telegraphers' Division	100	Elmira	N. Y	5.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	25	St. Louis	Mo	10.00
Garment Workers' Union	119	Buffalo	N. Y	3.00
Theatrical Stage Employees' Union	9	Syracuse	N. Y	10.00
Horseshoers' Union	23	Buffalo	N. Y	10.00
Bartenders' League	822	Boonville	Ind	10.00
Undertakers' Union	9049	San Francisco	Cal	5.00
Leather Workers on Horse Goods' Union	14	Louisville	Ky	5.00
Cigar Makers' Union	250	Belleville	Ill	5.00
20. Amalgamated Association Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.		Detroit	Mich	100.00
Street Railway Employees' Division	194	New Orleans	La	50.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	1	Pittsburg	Pa	10.00
Operative Potters' Union	12	East Liverpool	Ohio	5.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	118	Brockton	Mass	5.00
Carpenters' Union	958	Marquette	Mich	2.00
Iron Moulders' Union	4	Cincinnati	Ohio	10.00
Waiters' Union	23	Omaha	Nebr	3.00
Tailors' Union	74	Portland	Oreg	2.50
21. Quarry Workers' Union		Montpelier	Vt	3.00
Carpenters' District Council		Denver	Colo	25.00
Carpenters' Union	1371	Lynchburg	Va	2.50

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

	Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
	October, 1908—Continued.				
22.	Moulders' Union	255	Birmingham	Ala	$5.00
	Stationary Firemen's Union	56	New York	N. Y	100.00
	Timothy Healy		New York	N. Y	5.00
	Machinists' Lodge	9	St. Louis	Mo	5.00
	Car Workers' Union	50	Chicago	Ill	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	131	Paden City	W. Va	2.00
	Federated Trades Council		Waukesha	Wis	5.00
	Federal Labor Union	12652	Jonesboro	Ark	3.00
	Tailors' Union	78	Dallas	Tex	3.00
	Carpenters' Union	185	Falls Creek	Pa	2.00
	Federal Labor Union	12424	Hillsboro	Ill	5.00
	Cigar Makers' Union	218	Binghamton	N. Y	5.00
23.	Glass Bottle Blowers' Association		Philadelphia	Pa	100.00
	Carpenters' Union	193	North Adams	Mass	15.00
	Central Labor Council		Hornell	N. Y	10.00
	Colonel Fox		Hornell	N. Y	1.00
	Bartenders' League	420	Kansas City	Mo	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1201	Monongahela City	Pa	10.00
	Federation of Labor		Yonkers	N. Y	10.00
	Blacksmiths' Union	174	Joliet	Ill	2.00
	Typographical Union	55	Syracuse	N. Y	7.55
	Electrical Workers' Union	245	Toledo	Ohio	5.00
	T. P. Menton		Topeka	Kans	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	1950	Montgomery	W. Va	2.00
	Garment Workers' Union	174	Richford	Vt	2.00
	Typographical Union	136	Duluth	Minn	1.05
	Ralph M. McKenzie		Cleveland	Ohio	5.00
	A friend		Philadelphia	Pa	1.00
24.	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	29	Hawley	Pa	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	9	Baltimore	Md	19.50
	Lewis Gompers		Brooklyn	N. Y	2.00
	Trades and Labor Council		East Liverpool	Ohio	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	1556	Jerseyville	Ill	5.00
	Hatters' Union	18	Philadelphia	Pa	5.00
26.	Coopers' Union	240	Philadelphia	Pa	2.00
	Carriage and Wagon Painters' Union	618	Philadelphia	Pa	2.00
	Carpenters' Union	1551	Three Rivers	Mich	3.00
	Samuel Prince		New York	N. Y	3.00
	Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	4	Lynn	Mass	5.08
	Federal Labor Union	8786	Austin	Tex	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	388	Richmond	Va	10.00
27.	Samuel Gompers		Washington	D. C	5.00
	Millmen's Union	1764	Richmond	Va	5.00
	Central Labor Union		Carbondale	Pa	10.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	280	Courtney	Pa	5.00
28.	International Union of Elevator Constructors		Philadelphia	Pa	100.00
	Pavers and Rammermen's Union	42	New York	N. Y	25.00
	Mohawk Valley Lodge of Machinists	497	Ilion	N. Y	5.00
	Federal Labor Union	8217	Malden	Mass	5.00
	Watch Case Engravers' Int'l Ass'n		Canton	Ohio	2.00
	Plumbers' Union	240	Lafayette	Ind	5.00
	Carpenters' Union	1174	Willoughby	Ohio	2.00
	Coopers' Union	58	Somerville	Mass	5.00
	Machinists' Lodge	30	Bridgeport	Conn	3.00
	Andrew Johnson		Gouverneur	N. Y	2.00
29.	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	75	Port Allegany	Pa	5.00
	United Mine Workers' Union	55	Des Moines	Ia	5.00
	Barbers' Union	43	Des Moines	Ia	2.00
	Barbers' Union	595	Montpelier	Vt	2.00
	Newspaper and Mailers' Union	9463	New York	N. Y	5.00
	Sheet Metal Workers' Union	7	Terre Haute	Ind	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	54	Medford	N. J	3.90
	Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers' Union	712	Water Valley	Miss	1.25
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	38	Marion	Ind	11.90
30.	J. J. Densee		Hannibal	Mo	1.00
	Plumbers' Union	45	St. Joseph	Mo	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	97	Philadelphia	Pa	25.00
31.	J. L. Butt		Gettysburg	Pa	10.00
	Cigarmakers' Union	316	McSherrystown	Pa	50.00
	Hon. E. D. Ziegler		York	Pa	10.00
	J. L. Williams		Gettysburg	Pa	5.00
	D. F. Steffy		Gettysburg	Pa	4.00
	W. F. Watson		Iron Springs	Pa	2.00
	Theatrical Stage Employees' Union	59	Jersey City	N. J	5.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	72	Smethport	Pa	4.25
	Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Lodge	11	Granite City	Ill	10.00
	Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	47	Sheffield	Pa	5.17
	A friend		Washington	D. C	5.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

Name of union, etc.	No.	City.	State.	Amt.
November.				
2. Machinists' Lodge	544	Augusta	Ga	$2.00
Ralph M. McKenzie		Chicago	Ill	5.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	113	Jeannette	Pa	8.00
Typographical Union	426	Bristol	Tenn	10.00
Garment Workers' Union	60	Detroit	Mich	2.00
Sheet Metal Workers' Union	270	Morristown	Pa	3.00
Pilots' Protective Union	12693	Pensacola	Fla	10.00
3. Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	9	Baltimore	Md	1.25
4. Z. H. Cashman		New Oxford	Pa	5.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch (Edw. W. Perkins).	9	Bangor	Me	1.00
5. Glass Bottle Blowers' Branch	45	Allentown	Pa	6.50
Tailors' Union	285	Fairmont	W. Va	3.00
Plumbers' Union	311	Stamford	Conn	5.00
Paving Cutters' Union	5	Dunbar	Pa	5.00
6. Coopers' Union	90	Houston	Tex	1.00
Freight Handlers' Union		Des Moines	Ia	5.00
7. Cigarmakers' Union	264	Rutland	Vt	2.00
12. Bartenders' League	399	Lincoln	Nebr	5.00
Suspender Workers' Union	10833	Milwaukee	Wis	1.00
23. Typographical Union	55	Syracuse	N. Y	1.35
28. Cigarmakers' Union	316	McSherrystown	Pa	6.05
December.				
2. Beer Drivers and Stablemen's Union	38	Detroit	Mich	10.00
7. Philip Wagaman		McSherrystown	Pa	4.10
8. United Mine Workers' Union	2455	Franklin	Kans	5.00
Total				8,531.97

EXPENDITURES.

Expenses, salaries, and supplies.	Name.	Amt.
August, 1907.		
Printing	Trades Unionist	$35.10
January, 1908.		
24. Translating	W. Von Ezdorf	5.00
April, 1908.		
1. Salary and expenses	J. L. Rodier	40.00
25. Salary and expenses	E. N. Nockels	50.00
Salary and expenses	E. N. Nockels	54.25
August, 1908.		
5. Postage	Post-Office Department	250.00
7. To salaries mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes: B. L. Calhoun, $9; Olive W. Perry, $9; A. H. Bocock, $9; Katie Ward, $9; D. H. Sprague, $9; F. G. Whittington, $9; Nettie Kewell, $9; I. M. Von Ezdorf, $7.50; E. B. Kane, $5.36; Bessie Davis, $3; J. B. Kane, $9; Minnie Hawkins, $1.50; A. B. Grace, $9.		98.36
11. Postage	Post Office Department	5.50
To salaries mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals and addressing envelopes: Bessie Davis, $6; K. Ward, $6; M. Hawkins, $6; A. H. Bocock, $6; I. M. Von Ezdorf, $6; F. G. Whittington, $6; B. L. Calhoun, $6; Della Sprague, $6; O. W. Perry, $6; E. B. Kane, $6; J. B. Kane, $9; N. Kewell, $6.		75.00
27. Salary and expenses	M. G. Hamilton	150.00
28. Expenses, New York and return	Frank Morrison	24.40
September, 1908.		
4. To salaries mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes: H. Otterbach, $9; E. Barndollar, $11; V. Buckley, $9; C. P. Sprague, $8; A. B. Harkinson, $12; B. M. Herman, $7.		56.00
5. Salary and expenses	J. L. Rodier	35.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

EXPENDITURES—Continued.

Expenses, salaries, and supplies.	Name.	Amt
September, 1908—Continued.		
11. To salaries mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes: H. Otterback, $12; E. B. Barndollar, $12; V. Buckley, $12; C. P. Sprague, $12; A. B. Harkinson, $12; B. M. Herman, $12.	.....	$72.00
Expenses, Syracuse, N. Y., and return	Frank Morrison	32.80
14. Expenses and salary	J. L. Rodier	6.31
18. To salaries mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes: H. Otterbach, $12; E. E. Barndollar, $12; V. Buckley, $11; C. P. Sprague, $12; A. B. Harkinson, $12; B. M. Herman, $12; Geo. O. Burch, $7.50.	.....	78.50
23. To salaries mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes: C. P. Sprague, $5; H. Otterbach, $5; E. E. Berndollar, $5; B. M. Herman, $5; A. B. Harkinson, $5; Geo. O. Burch, $3.75.	.....	28.75
Salary and expenses	J. L. Rodier	35.00
Salary	Clifford Reed	25.00
24. Salary and expenses	John S. Kirchner	28.00
28. Salary and expenses	John S. Kirchner	50.00
Railroad fare and expenses, St. Louis, Mo., Ft. Worth and Dallas, Tex., Chicago and Danville, Ill.	Samuel Gompers	194.45
29. Postage	Post Office Department	200.00
Printing 20,000 letter circulars	Trades Unionist	75.00
Salary and expenses	J. L. Rodier	84.23
30. Printing	Federationist	149.20
Printing 43,500 circulars	Law Reporter Co	158.75
October, 1908.		
1. Expenses	Clifford Reed	25.00
Salary and expenses	M. G. Hamilton	43.75
Salary and expenses	W. C. Hahn	100.00
Salary and expenses	A. E. Holder	100.00
Salary and expenses	Jacob Tazelaar	80.40
2. To salaries mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes: Geo. O. Burch, $2.63; Katie Ward, $2.63; Jas. B. Kane, $2.63; M. E. Rodier, $2.63; Della H. Sprague, $2.63; Cora E. Poulton, $2.63; Bernice L. Calhoun, $2.63; Lulu E. Roberts, $2.63; Bessie Davis, $3.50; E. E. Barndollar, $3.50; C. P. Sprague, $3.50; B. M. Herman, $3.50; H. Otterbach, $3.50; Ellice Baker, $3.50.	.....	42.04
5. Expenses	Geo. C. Campbell	34.47
6. Salary and expenses	J. D. Pierce	100.00
Salary and expenses	Stuart Reid	100.00
Expenses	Edward Sterne	10.00
Salary and expenses	Thos. F. Tracy	125.00
Salary and expenses	J. T. Windell	29.74
Salary and expenses	T. H. Flynn	100.00
Expenses	John H. Brinkman	30.00
Salary and expenses	John S. Kirchner	75.00
7. Salary	Clifford Reed	25.00
8. Expenses	W. W. Beattie	21.00
Expenses	Sam De Nedry	75.00
12. Salary and expenses	J. L. Rodier	40.00
Salary and expenses	E. A. Bowerman	54.95
Salary and expenses	J. L. Rodier	9.04
Expenses, New York and return	Frank Morrison	24.00
13. Salary and expenses	P. J. Flannery	75.00
Salary and expenses	Andrew Furuseth	100.00
14. Salary and expenses	Stuart Reid	100.00
Salary and expenses	H. A. Heisler	50.00
15. Salary and expenses	John S. Kirchner	50.00
Salary and expenses	W. W. Beattie	50.00
Salary and expenses	N. E. Duffy	50.00
Salary and expenses	E. A. Bowerman	49.00
16. Salary and expenses	Edw. Wood	50.00
Salary and expenses	Sam De Nedry	75.00
17. Salary and expenses	John W. Cowper	75.00
Salary and expenses	Jas. R. Crozier	75.00
Salary and expenses	C. J. Skoraszewski	23.92
Salary and expenses	W. J. Pfleger	63.80
Salary and expenses	John S. Kirchner	50.00
Salary and expenses	J. D. Pierce	150.00
Salary and expenses	Stuart Reid	100.00
Salary and expenses	A. E. Holder	200.00
Salary and expenses	Clifford Reed	50.00
Salary and expenses	Geo. C. Campbell	100.00
Salary and expenses	P. J. Flannery	50.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

EXPENDITURES—Continued.

Expenses, salaries, and supplies.	Name.	Amt.
October, 1908—Continued.		
17. Salary and expenses	Sam De Nedry	$50.00
Salary and expenses	W. W. Beatty	50.00
Salary and expenses	N. E. Duffy	50.00
Salary and expenses	H. A. Heisler	50.00
Salary and expenses	E. A. Bowerman	50.00
Salary and expenses	J. C. Shanessy	100.00
Salary and expenses	Edw. B. Wood	50.00
Salary and expenses	John W. Cowper	50.00
Salary and expenses	J. R. Crozier	50.00
Salary and expenses	W. F. Pfleger	50.00
19. Salary and expenses	Peter E. Duffy	75.00
Salary and expenses	Geo. C. Campbell	50.00
27. Salary and expenses	E. E. Hancock	60.00
Salary and expenses	M. Snellings	50.00
Salary and expenses	Thos. B. Farrell	25.00
Printing 5,000 circulars	Law Reporter Co	18.50
Printing	Law Reporter Co	112.35
Salary and expenses	John J. Purcell	50.00
Telegrams	Postal Tel. Cable Co	39.70
Salary and expenses	Frank S. Lerch	50.00
28. Salary and expenses	John S. Kirchner	23.55
Postage	Post Office Department	29.00
Expenses, Elmira, Rochester, Utica, Rome, Syracuse, Ithaca, N. Y.; Woonsocket, Providence, R. I.	Frank Morrison	77.43
Salary and expenses	Sim A. Bramlette	46.94
Salary and expenses	Clifford Reed	3.75
Salary and expenses	N. E. Duffy	45.80
Salary and expenses	Thos. F. Tracy	75.00
29. Salary and expenses	Edw. V. Wood	50.03
Salary and expenses	John J. Manning	34.00
Salary and expenses	W. F. Pfleger	50.00
Salary and expenses	H. A. Heisler	50.00
Salary and expenses	Geo. C. Campbell	50.00
Salary and expenses	W. W. Beattie	40.00
Expenses	T. J. Duffy	22.30
Salary and expenses	E. E. Hancock	50.00
30. Salary and expenses	W. F. Pfleger	58.95
To salaries mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes: Cora E. Poulton, $6; B. L. Calhoun, $4.50; Bessie Davis, $4.50; Della H. Sprague, $3; Clara S. Coblentz, $2.25; A. B. Harkinson, $6; Minnie Hawkins, $3.75; Katie Ward, $6; Lula E. Roberts, $4.50; M. Clemans, $4.15; M. E. Rodler, $4.		48.65
Printing 3,000 circulars, 300 resolution blanks	Trades Unionist	31.50
November, 1908.		
2. Expenses, Elizabeth and Newark, N. J., Port Chester and New York, N. Y.	Frank Morrison	47.15
Expenses, Indianapolis, Vincennes, Washington, Philadelphia, Schnectady, Troy, Buffalo, Dayton, Columbus, Detroit, Chicago, Hammond, Gary, South Bend, Elkhart, Goshen, Kendallville, Garrett, Fort Wayne, Cicero, Huntington, Peru, Logansport, Kokomo, Greencastle, Terre Haute, Shelburn, Hymera, Jacksonville, Linton, Dugger, Sullivan, Evansville, Anderson, Alexandria, Marion, Bluffton, Montpelier, Hartford City, Muncie, Richmond, Washington, Chicago, Newark, New York, and Washington.	Samuel Gompers	380.00
Salary and expenses	M. Snellings	15.40
Salary and expenses	E. A. Bowerman	54.60
Salary and expenses	Sam De Nedry	27.45
Salary and expenses	Sam De Nedry	25.00
Salary and expenses	John J. Purcell	24.45
3. Salary and expenses	Frank Lerch	13.92
Salary and expenses	Edw. V. Wood	28.75
Salary and expenses	J. C. Shanessy	55.85
Salary and expenses	Geo. H. Klein	50.50
Salary and expenses	Peter E. Duffy	41.00
Salary and expenses	John S. Kirchner	20.00
Salary and expenses	Sim A. Bramlette	52.40
4. Salary and expenses	N. E. Duffy	16.22
Salary and expenses	Clifford Reed	25.72
5. Salary and expenses	Geo. C. Campbell	10.28
Salary and expenses	H. A. Heisler	28.75
Salary and expenses	W. J. Pfleger	21.15
Salary and expenses	John W. Cowper	34.36
Telegrams	Postal Tel. Cable Co	500.00

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1908—Contd.

EXPENDITURES—Continued.

Expenses, salaries, and supplies.	Name.	Amt.
November, 1908—Continued.		
5. Salary and expenses	E. E. Hancock	$11.10
Expenses	J. Gallaher	10.00
6. Salary and expenses	W. W. Beattie	38.97
December, 1908.		
3. Expenses	James O'Connell	58.00
8. Salary and expenses	Clifford Reed	8.30
16. Salary	Clifford Reed	25.00
18. Salary and expenses	Geo. H. Klein	50.50
Total		8,469.96

RECAPITULATION.

Speakers	$6,361.06	
Printing	580.40	
Postage	1,024.20	
Clerk hire	504.30	
Total expenses	8,469.96	
Receipts		$8,531.97
Expenses		8,469.96
Balance on hand December 18, 1908		61.99

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
FRANK MORRISON,
Labor Representation Committee.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did your association participate at all during this year in the presidential contest?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Some of these expenditures of $6,300 for speakers was partly for expenses in the presidential contest?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir; our campaign of 1912——

Mr. STAFFORD. You have just testified as to expenditures during the campaign of 1908. I am directing the inquiry to whether or not any of the expenditures were connected with the presidential contest.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall what those expenditures were?

Mr. GOMPERS. It would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to divide what was expended in the presidential campaign and what was expended in the congressional campaign, because we made our campaign in the open and advocated the defeat of one candidate for president and the election of another, and the defeat of one candidate for congressman and the election of another.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall how many districts you participated in toward the election or defeat of any Representative in Congress in 1908?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will you give it to the committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. I can, as far as my memory serves: In Indiana, in Illinois, in Michigan, in New York, in New Jersey, in Connecticut, in Massachusetts, in California, in Colorado—I can not think of all the States.

The CHAIRMAN. Idaho?

Mr. GOMPERS. Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Mr. STAFFORD. In what manner did you participate in these congressional districts in that year? When I say "you" I mean your federation.

Mr. GOMPERS. By public meetings, addresses, and mass meetings.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall how many speakers you had engaged in that work?

Mr. GOMPERS. We had a number of volunteers in addition to those whose expenses we were required to meet—probably 25 whose expenses were paid in whole or in part for a period of from one week to six weeks. I am giving this approximately.

Mr. STAFFORD. Would it be very difficult for you to ascertain and submit the districts in which your association participated in the campaign of 1908?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think it would not be difficult. As a matter of fact, I think it was in that campaign, or after that campaign, that a summary was made of the results of the activity.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand you, you participated more generally in the campaign of 1908 than in that of 1906?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. The campaign of 1906 was your first venture into the political arena, so far as congressional candidates were concerned?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; in a systematic effort. The reasons for that are plain: The war that had been declared upon us by the officers of the National Association of Manufacturers; the suits that were begun against us in 1907; the decision of the court holding that the Sherman antitrust law did apply to associations of workers, and that they could be mulcted in damages for any injury or loss that an employer or business man could claim was due to the normal activities of workers; the injunction proceedings brought by the Buck Stove & Range Co.; the proceedings in contempt against Mr. John Mitchell, Mr. Frank Morrison, and myself—all these aroused an interest and an activity among the workers of the country in that campaign that was very marked, and we were more generally active in that campaign than in any preceding.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you support any party candidates in that campaign?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not as party candidates. For instance, we had a statement by Mr. Taft, who was then Secretary of War, that he, if elected to the Presidency, would not change his views as to the antitrust law and the application of it to labor organizations and the activities of labor, or any modification of what we believed to be an abuse of the issuance of the writ of injunction. In view of that statement on the one hand, and his record on these matters on the other, we felt that we could not support him; and indeed I should say that the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, in compliance with the instructions of the conference to which I referred earlier in my testimony, waited upon the Republican national convention. We had a delegation to attend the convention, and had the opportunity of meeting our friends, the enemy—Mr. Emery, Mr. Mulhall, and Mr. Van Cleave—in the committee room.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Davenport there?

Mr. DAVENPORT. He belongs to the other party.

Mr. GOMPERS. God help the other party.

Mr. DAVENPORT. You say that in that Littlefield campaign you were a Republican.

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Davenport is as inaccurate in that statement as he is in so many others.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want to get into an argument about that now.

Mr. GOMPERS. Since it has been interjected, may I make this statement in connection with it, and it will be brief. In my early young manhood——

The CHAIRMAN. I am afraid you might invite an argument. Let us adjourn now until 10 o'clock in the morning.

(Thereupon, at 9.35 o'clock p. m., the committee stood adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, September 11, 1913, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBY INVESTIGATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, September 11, 1913.

The committee assembled at 10 o'clock a. m., Hon. Cyrus Cline presiding.

Present: Representatives Russell, Ferris, Stafford, Willis, and MacDonald.

Mr. CLINE. The chairman of the committee was called to a session of the Rules Committee and will not be back for some little time, and we had directions to proceed with the hearing. Mr. Ralston, you may continue with the examination of the witness.

TESTIMONY OF MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR—Continued.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers, referring for a moment to the Littlefield campaign of which we spoke, I ask you if this is a carbon copy of the letter of instructions sent by you to Mr. Stuart Reid [handing letter to witness]?

Mr. GOMPERS (after examining paper). It is.

Mr. RALSTON. Who is Stuart Reid?

Mr. GOMPERS. He was an organizer for the American Federation of Labor and had been specially designated for some months to organizing work among the workingmen of Maine—to organize the lobster fishermen of Maine. Later he was principally in charge of the campaign in the Littlefield district.

Mr. RALSTON. Do you know whether Mr. Reid followed the instructions contained in this letter in his management of the campaign against Mr. Littlefield?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. I would like, with the permission of the committee, to read into the record this letter which I think fully expressed the attitude of the Federation in that campaign.

Mr. CLINE. Let me see it, please. Who is the author of this letter?

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers.

Mr. GOMPERS. I am desirous of putting my name to it.

Mr. RALSTON. The record shows you are the author.

Mr. RUSSELL. It is a carbon copy of the original letter which was sent?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. It is not necessary to put your name to it then; the record will show it is a carbon copy of the letter.

Mr. CLINE. It may be introduced and made a part of the record.

Mr. RALSTON. I will ask that the letter be copied into the record, so that the carbon may be returned to me.

(The letter is as follows:)

ROCKLAND, ME., *July 9, 1906.*

Mr. STUART REID, *Organizer.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your several favors to hand and contents noted. Many thanks for the information you give.

I wired you that the dates suggested would be agreeable to me; and if nothing unforeseen occurs, I shall keep them. They are as follows: August 18, Lewiston, Saturday; August 20, Rumford Falls, Monday; August 21, Livermore Falls, Tuesday; August 22, Bath, Wednesday; August 23, Waldoboro, Thursday; August 24, Rockland, Friday; August 25, Vinal Haven, Saturday.

Now, I would prefer that you would meet Mr. McGillicuddy. I do not think that I shall write him. The arrangements for meetings can be made by him or by organized labor, or jointly. So far as you and I and other representatives of labor are concerned, we must have no financial transactions whatsoever in our effort to defeat that arrogant antagonist to the interests of labor, Mr. Littlefield: We must not give him nor anyone else cause to suggest, much less charge, that we have any interest in the campaign against him other than his defeat and the election of a man who will be fair, just, and sympathetic toward labor.

I would suggest that you proceed to the places named and definitely make arrangements for the meetings and enlist the cooperation of all in the effort to make the meetings a success.

In addition, the thought occurred to me that it might be well to have open-air meetings near the factories and mills during the noontime—that is, have a horse and buggy, visit the vicinity of the mills and factories, and make 5 or 10 minute speeches. Handbills for that purpose could be distributed as the employees leave the mills the night before or announcements made in the local papers. Perhaps the latter would be the better. In that way interest could also be aroused for a larger attendance at the evening meetings.

Thanks for the clipping. The interview you gave is O. K.

With kind regards and best wishes, and hoping to hear from you often and counting upon your activity and watchfulness, I am,

Fraternally, yours,

_____,

President American Federation of Labor.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers, you have put in evidence here itemized accounts of your political expenditures except for 1910. I will ask you if this is a correct account of such expenditures as there were in 1910 [handing paper to witness].

Mr. GOMPERS (after examining paper). Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. Without taking up the time of the committee to read it, I will offer this in evidence.

(The paper referred to is as follows:)

Financial report of the American Federation of Labor, political campaign of 1910.

[Being a true account of all moneys received and expended for that campaign.]

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand December 18, 1908	$61.99
January, 1909.	
8. Photo-Engravers, No. 24	2.00
April, 1910.	
30. Chas. N. Isler, Pittsburgh, Pa	100.00
30. W. J. Burke, Pittsburgh, Pa	100.00
May, 1910.	
6. George Liffert, Pittsburgh, Pa	100.00
21. A. W. Powell, Pittsburgh, Pa	100.00

August, 1910.

11.	J. Ed. O'Brien, Washington, D. C	$100.00

September, 1910.

28.	Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of United States and Canada	50.00
28.	Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America	34.00
28.	International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers	28.00
28.	National Brotherhood of Operative Potters	28.00
28.	International Molders' Union of North America	250.00
28.	International Protective Association of Lithographic Press Feeders of United States and Canada	4.40
28.	Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America	14.00
29.	Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc	195.00
29.	Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America	5.00
29.	United Hatters of North America	42.50
29.	International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, etc	94.00
29.	Pocket Knife Blade Grinders and Finishers' National Union	1.70
30.	National Association Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States	2.50
30.	United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America	1.00

October, 1910.

1.	Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union	25.00
1.	International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance	24.00
1.	International Union of Elevator Constructors	10.00
3.	Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union of North America	7.00
3.	Steel Plate Transferrers' Association of America	.30
3.	International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees	27.50
3.	International Alliance Bill Posters and Billers of America	7.00
3.	Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of United States and Canada	8.50
3.	National Print Cutters' Association	2.00
4.	International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, etc	6.00
4.	United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America	9.00
4.	Ceramic, Mosaic, and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union	10.00
5.	International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Union of America	65.00
6.	The Granite Cutters' International Association of America	67.50
6.	International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America	19.00
6.	International Jewelry Workers' Union of North America	1.80
7.	International Typographical Union	262.00
7.	Chain Makers' National Union	1.00
8.	United Garment Workers of America	283.00
8.	Pattern Makers' League of America	26.50
8.	International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union	21.00
10.	Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America	190.00
10.	Amalgamated Lace Curtain Operatives of America	4.00
10.	International Glove Workers' Union of America	4.50
10.	Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America	6.50
10.	Brotherhood of Railway Car Men of America	111.00
13.	International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees of United States and Canada	47.50
13.	Brushmakers' International Union	.87
15.	United Association Journeymen Plumbers, etc	100.00
17.	Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners	38.00
17.	International Wood Carvers' Association of North America	5.00
17.	International Association of Fur Workers of United States and Canada	.42
18.	Laundry Workers' International Union	12.75
18.	International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers	50.00
21.	International Brotherhood of Teamsters, etc	205.00
21.	Amalgamated Association Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers of North America	30.00
21.	Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union of North America	7.50
21.	Stove Mounters' International Union	4.50
22.	Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America	134.00
24.	Paving Cutters' Union, etc	17.00
24.	Coopers' International Union of North America	21.00
25.	International Steel and Copper Plate Printers	6.00
26.	American Federation of Musicians	200.00

November, 1910.

1.	Watch Case Engravers' International Association of America	.75
8.	United Textile Workers of America	50.00
10.	American Brotherhood of Cement Workers	45.00
21.	International Union of Steam Engineers	80.00

December, 1910.

19.	Switchmen's Union of North America	41.00
	Total receipts, December 19, 1908, to January 5, 1911	3,609.48

EXPENDITURES.

Expenses, salaries, and supplies.	Name.	Amount.
April, 1910.		
11. Expenses, Rochester, N. Y., to Washington, D. C., and return	John S. Whalen	$25.70
12. Expenses, Washington, D. C., to Philadelphia, Pa., and return	Frank Morrison	12.15
21. To salaries, mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes: E. B. Kane, $1.39; B. L. Calhoun, $1.39; H. M. Sprague, $1.07.		3.85
May, 1910.		
10. Expenses	A. W. Garren	15.00
10. Salary and expenses	E. E. Greenawalt	28.97
16. Salary and expenses	E. E. Greenawalt	80.53
17. Salary and expenses	E. E. Greenawalt	46.08
24. Expenses, Washington, D. C., to Pittsburgh and Cincinnati and return.	Frank Morrison	52.60
24. Salary and expenses	E. E. Greenawalt	52.12
31. Salary and expenses	E. E. Greenawalt	64.35
June, 1910.		
6. Salary and expenses	E. E. Greenawalt	51.88
13. Pittsburgh office expenses	T. H. Flynn	19.00
July, 1910.		
5. Expenses, Atlantic City, N. J	Frank Morrison	10.00
September, 1910.		
9. Salary and expenses	H. L. Eichelberger	70.80
12. Salary and expenses	H. L. Eichelberger	30.96
October, 1910.		
7. Postage	Post Office Dept	200.00
10. Salary and expenses	M. Grant Hamilton	94.35
10. Postage	Post Office Dept	100.00
10. To salary, mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes.	D. Davidson	4.39
12. To salaries: E. Hart, $6.64; C. Manakee, $9; M. H. Harris, $9; C. Nielsen, $9; A. T. Rodier, $9; S. B. Ritchie, $9; E. B. Kane, $9; B. L. Calhoun, $9; B. E. Nabors, $9; H. M. Sprague, $9; D. H. Sprague, $9; L. E. Roberts, $12; M. E. Rodier, $16.		124.64
14. Postage	Post Office Dept	50.00
17. Printing 200,000 8 pp. leaflets	Law Rep. Ptg. Co	636.00
17. Printing 50,000 8 pp. leaflets	Globe Ptg. Co	155.00
17. Salary and expenses	M. Grant Hamilton	62.00
18. To salary, mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes.	M. E. Rodier	12.00
24. Salary and expenses	M. Grant Hamilton	65.55
25. Salary and expenses	Frank S. Lerch	50.00
25. Salary and expenses	John F. Walsh	80.65
25. Salary and expenses	W. H. Regan	40.00
27. Salary and expenses	Wm. H. Johnston	50.00
27. Salary and expenses	J. E. Galligan	50.00
28. Salary and expenses	Jas. M. Kreiter	50.00
28. To salary, mailing circulars, campaign documents, appeals, and addressing envelopes.	M. E. Rodier	12.00
31. Salary and expenses	M. Grant Hamilton	60.90
31. Salary and expenses	S. A. Bramlette	55.05
31. Salary and expenses	S. Botterill	50.00
November, 1910.		
1. Postage	Post Office Dept	170.00
1. Salary and expenses	W. H. Regan	41.30
2. Salary and expenses	Sam'l Botterill	50.00
3. Printing 102,000 circulars	Law Rep. Ptg. Co	182.90
8. On account expenses	Jas. M. Kreiter	30.00
9. On account expenses	Jas. M. Kreiter	17.86
9. Salary and expenses	W. H. Regan	45.00
9. Salary and expenses	F. S. Lerch	45.15
16. Salary and expenses	S. A. Bramlette	37.15
16. Salary	W. H. Regan	30.00
16. Salary and expenses	J. E. Galligan	61.68
29. Salary and expenses	Sam'l Botterill	104.50

EXPENDITURES—Continued.

Expenses, salaries, and supplies.	Name.	Amount.
December, 1910.		
7. Expenses	Wm. H. Johnston	$16.67
8. Salary and expenses	S. A. Bramlette	61.00
9. Hall rent, Concordia Turner Hall, St. Louis	Hans Elmiger, mgr	20.00
9. Printing: 5,000 dodgers (English and German), $12; 5,000 circulars (English and German), $12; 2,000 dodgers, $5.25; 5,000 small circulars, $7.50.	Co-Operative Print	36.75
22. Printing 500 financial reports	Jno. P. Dunn & Bro	21.50
January, 1911.		
5. Expenses, Washington, D. C., to Columbus, Ohio, and return	Frank Morrison	52.30
Total expenses, Dec. 19, 1908, to Jan. 5, 1911		3,590.28

RECAPITULATION.

Speakers	$1,881.25	
Printing	1,032.15	
Postage	520.00	
Clerk hire	156.88	
Total expenses	3,590.28	
Receipts, December 19, 1908, to January 5, 1911		$3,609.48
Expenses, December 19, 1908, to January 5, 1911		3,590.28
Balance on hand January 5, 1911		19.20

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
FRANK MORRISON,
Labor Representation Committee.

Mr. STAFFORD. I would like just to interpolate there. In looking over some of the items of expenditures in the account for 1908, I see the name of Mr. Clifford Reed in various places in which it is stated for salary he received $25. I will ask you if this is $25 a week?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. And there are some items here—for instance, October 6, 1908, expenses of Mr. Clifford Reed, $25. Did he get on the average $25 a week for expenses?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. He got salary and expenses?

Mr. GOMPERS. And expenses as they occurred.

Mr. STAFFORD. What do you pay those organizers to go into a district to help elect or defeat a candidate?

Mr. GOMPERS. Usually the same salary as is paid regularly to organizers doing organizing work. It has varied since 1906, as I testified yesterday. The salaries for organizers, for speakers, and for executive council members for loss of time was upon the basis of $3 a day for a time, and then it was increased from that to $3.50, to $4, to $5, and only quite recently raised to $6 per day.

Mr. WILLIS. Just a moment, Mr. Ralston, before you proceed. I have the account here for 1906, Mr. Gompers, and I notice the names on the salary list here for the month of October of some 20 gentlemen. Could you state for the information of the committee which ones of those, if any, were engaged in the Maine campaign. I will hand you the list. It begins right here and then goes over on the next page [indicating].

Mr. GOMPERS (after examining the list). I should say that last evening Secretary Morrison, who was in the room, was requested to make an analysis of the moneys expended in the Littlefield cam-

paign, and that our bookkeepers are now engaged in the preparation of that work. But I could mention the names of some of those I recall as having been active in that campaign in the Littlefield district.

Mr. WILLIS Perhaps it would be better to wait until you get that statement, if you prefer, as what we want is the complete information.

Mr. CLINE. Your report will show that, Mr. Gompers, which you are preparing?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr STAFFORD. Who is Mr. Stuart Reid, whose name I find in this circular as being one who received moneys during the campaign of 1908?

Mr. GOMPERS Mr. Stuart Reid is a machinist by trade and a man of remarkable ability as a speaker.

Mr STAFFORD What did he do, so far as political work is concerned, if you know?

Mr GOMPERS Organizing and addressing public meetings, organizing and arranging for public meetings, and addressing public meetings

Mr. STAFFORD. In my cursory looking over this list of expenditures, I see the following notations: "October." Under "October 6, salary and expenses, Stuart Reid, $100." Again, "October 14, salary and expenses, Stuart Reid, $100"; and, "October 17, Stuart Reid, $100 for salary and expenses." There in the course of less than two weeks he received $300. Can you tell what those expenditures were for?

(At this point Mr. Garrett entered the room and took the chair.)

Mr. GOMPERS. I think I could produce the statement made by Mr. Reid for the expenses incurred by him and upon which the orders for moneys were sent.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Morrison would have the detailed voucher for that?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes; we can produce the vouchers.

Mr. STAFFORD. I thought possibly you could recall the occasion for his receiving those three payments of $100 each within two weeks.

Mr. GOMPERS. Is it within two weeks?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; the first item is October 6 and the last one my attention was called to was October 17.

Mr. GOMPERS. And how many items are there?

Mr. STAFFORD. Three, of $100 each.

Mr. GOMPERS. I was going to say that instead of sending to Mr. Reid or our organizers usually an exact amount for which they would render bills, checks are sent them or money orders in round numbers, say, $100. They return to Secretary Morrison a detailed statement of the time they have devoted to their work, what they have done, the hotel expenses so much per diem, car fare, telephones or telegrams, hall hire, and printing, etc.; and when these bills are received at the office of the American Federation of Labor, when they are O. K'd, they are entered as the expenditures incurred by the organizers and this account is kept. So we send an organizer $100 at a time (and he is indebted probably $2, $10, or $20 to the Federation) so as to carry him along for a few days. Of course, you will understand that the organizers we have in the American

labor movement are wage earners who have been taken from their benches, from the factories, from the shops, from the mines, and printing offices, and they have not any means. They have probably some little exceptional ability, and for that reason they are selected as organizers, and as a consequence the secretary, Mr. Morrison, is directed to send them a check with a commission which I issue to them as organizers, and it is a sort of contingent fund from which they can draw for a week or two or three, perhaps, and their vouchers come to balance it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall in what district Mr. Stuart Reid was engaged in the presidential campaign of 1908?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, he was engaged in several, I think. I was pretty busy in many States at that time.

Mr. RALSTON. I want to introduce in evidence—it has not yet been specifically offered—a statement of the account for political activities in 1910, which the chairman has, and I want to ask you, Mr. Gompers, as to a similar statement for the year 1912.

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know.

Mr. WILLIS. I want to ask you one other question, perhaps two other questions, concerning this 1906 account. In the month of October I notice the names of some 20 gentlemen on the pay roll, at various amounts, most of them $100. In the month of October there are some 22, I think. Among those I find the name of Mr. J. L. Feeney. Who is Mr. Feeney?

Mr. GOMPERS. A bookbinder.

Mr. WILLIS. What is his residence?

Mr. GOMPERS. Washington.

Mr. RALSTON. That is not the Mr. Feeney referred to in the Mulhall letters.

Mr. WILLIS. That is just what I had in mind, whether he is the one referred to in the testimony here.

Mr. RALSTON. No. He is quite a different man.

Mr. WILLIS. There is another one, Jacob Tazelaer. Who is he, what is his business, and where does he live?

Mr. GOMPERS. He is a painter, a member of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, and some 10 years ago both he and the officers of the Brotherhood of Painters requested his appointment as an organizer. He is a man of considerable ability and strong personality. I had never heard of anything that reflected in any way discreditably upon his character, and finding that the means of the federation admitted of his appointment, I appointed him as an organizer and he was organizer for the American Federation of Labor for a number of years, with about two interruptions, and they were of his own seeking.

Mr. WILLIS. Is he at present one of your organizers?

Mr. GOMPERS. He is not, and has not been for a year and a half or a little longer.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you happen to remember whether he was in the Maine campaign?

Mr. GOMPERS. He was.

Mr. WILLIS. All right. Any other questions I may have on that Maine campaign we will hold in abeyance until you get the accounts.

Mr. RALSTON. I asked you about the accounts for 1912.

Mr. GOMPERS. We had no political expenditures for 1912, or expenditures in a political campaign. A word of explanation may be helpful. The American Federation of Labor entered into the campaign of 1906; was most active in the campaigns of 1908 and 1910. We had accomplished much that we desired, and that was publicity for our grievances and to arouse public attention to the relief which we sought. In the campaigns of 1906, 1908, and 1910 we found the representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers and the trail could be seen—the influences could be felt on every hand, of their activity and hostile attitude or hostile effort to anything we attempted to do. We met them at Chicago before the national Republican committee on resolutions and on platform. It is a fact that the working people of the country, particularly the organized working people, were very much in earnest to bring about the defeat of the Republican Party because of its refusal to give any sort of favorable consideration to the requests which we made of that party, and of the Democratic Party to be incorporated in the platform.

Mr. CLINE. What date are you referring to now?

Mr. GOMPERS. I am speaking of the 1908 campaign now. I might say I could present to you, if you thought it of value or interest, the identical requests which we submitted to both the Republican committee on platform and to the Democratic committee on rules and platform, and the declarations which the Republican Party made in its platform or the absence of declaration, conspicuous by its absence, and the declarations made by the Democratic Party in its platform. The men of labor were never so active in any political campaign as they were in the campaign of 1908, but our very publicity, our very activity, was turned by the representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers and by the men of vested interests to their own account. In other words, men who were, say, opposed as a matter of party principle, probably, to the election of Mr. Taft, were driven into supporting Mr. Taft because as the National Association of Manufacturers declared every moment they had the opportunity, the country would go to the damnation bow-wows if Mr. Taft should be beaten and Mr. Bryan elected. It was said by them as a matter of fact that I had written the platform, that I had dominated the campaign, that it was those labor-movement men who were dominating a political party.

This is probably a long way of getting at the point I want to make. In the 1910 campaign we too were active, but we believed we had made our point on the public mind and the public conscience and we could do better service in accomplishing our purpose of a change in the political complexion of this country—in the administration, in the legislation of this country—to change its political complexion in order to dislodge those who had been in power so long and imagined they were the dominating forces and the only expression of anything like the feeling and sentiment and conviction of the people of our country; and we had made up our mind that if we accomplished nothing further than that, it would clear the atmosphere and make things brighter and better in the country if the political parties were changed. In addition the Republican Party again neglected in 1912 the requests which labor submitted. The Democratic Party indorsed and adopted the requests which we made, requests in the interest of equal rights before the law and propositions seeking to maintain absolute equality

before the law for all our people. Then we made up our mind that our campaign could be conducted much better without the publicity in 1912 than in 1908. So that our campaign was by a circular here and there, by a conference with some particular man, and the organizers, who understood the purpose for which we were contending

Mr RALSTON Then, as a matter of fact, the political activities, so far as seeking to elect or defeat particular Members of Congress, ceased in 1910—activities of the federation.

Mr. GOMPERS It ceased in 1910 systematically and comprehensively, because we have not gone out of business yet. We hope to exercise some little influence in the future.

Mr. WILLIS Did you appear before the resolutions committee of the respective parties at their conventions in 1912?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. Now, Mr. Gompers, as a matter of historical interest at any rate, do you know of any political accounting, campaign accounting of receipts and expenses ever made prior to that made by the Federation of Labor, printed copies of which were submitted to the committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. We submitted the first—we printed our financial statement of that campaign before any other political party or political factor did so, and the committee which was organized for the purpose of securing the legislation for the publicity of campaign accounts, contributions, and expenditures, complimented the American Federation of Labor upon having issued the first publication of the character.

Mr. RALSTON. In your contributions for political activities did the general fund of the American Federation take any part or were these contributions obtained at special times for special campaigns?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes. They were from the voluntary contributions. In the campaign of 1908 there was some little money used for publication.

Mr. RALSTON. From the general funds?

Mr. GOMPERS. From the general funds.

Mr. RALSTON. And in the succeeding campaigns it has not been so used?

Mr. GOMPERS. It has not been.

Mr. STAFFORD. You said you appeared before the respective party committees, and you refer to the Republican and Democratic Parties?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. You never appeared before the Socialist Party convention to have any policies incorporated?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. In fact, you are, as I understand your position, diametrically opposed to the Socialist Party movement?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not think that that is my province at all, to be opposed to anyone. What I am opposed to is either that party or any other party attempting to interfere with the fullest normal and natural development of the organized labor movement of the workers of America. I can not undertake to dispute the theories of the Socialists any more than I can undertake to dispute the theories of the alchemists. I am busy enough in the work in which I am engaged, in trying to impress upon my fellow workers their duty to prevent deterioration in their condition. I am in entire discord and out of harmony,

and in opposition, if you please, with the philosophy of socialism as it is expounded by the spokesmen for socialism. Of course, no one can tell who is really the spokesman, because there are 57 varieties of him, but I am speaking of those who are regarded as the spokesmen for the Socialists. I believe in the duty of man to make the life of himself and his fellows better to-day—to-day, not in the remote future, but to-day—and to make him better prepared, by reason of his improved conditions, to meet the human problems that confront him to-morrow.

Mr. STAFFORD. That policy is diametrically opposed to the principles enunciated by Carl Marx in his work on socialism——

Mr. GOMPERS (interposing). Des Capital?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes, Des Capital.

Mr. GOMPERS. About 27 years ago I undertook to learn to read the German language for the purpose of reading Des Capita of Carl Marx in its original, and I have read the very best of what the philosophers and writers on socialism have had to say, as I have read and tried to digest that which the best economists of the past 300 years have had to say. Without egotism, and I hope little, if any, vanity, I will say I believe I have come to the conclusion many years ago that it is our duty to live our lives as workers in the society in which we live, and not to work for the downfall or the destruction or the overthrow of that society, but for the fuller development and evolution of the society in which we live; to make life the better worth the living; and if in the course of that effort some men are inconvenienced, then it is not to be ascribed to the detriment of that natural and evolutionary movement, but rather to the credit of that movement, because it is the great conservator of the peace and of the public welfare.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers, I want to ask one question, if the committee will allow me, and I think your answer will prove illuminating, and that is as to the different way—if you will give it in a word—as to the different way in which yourself, as a representative of the American trade-unionists, and the English trade-unionists have treated this matter of approaching public questions—I mean in England from the party standpoint, and in this country from the individual standpoint of the man who does not agree with you?

Mr. GOMPERS. For more than 30 years there has been some representative of English workingmen in the Parliament in England. I think that the dean of the House of Commons of England is an English coal miner.

Mr. RALSTON. Elected as a workingman?

Mr. GOMPERS. Elected as a coal miner and the representative of the miners and other workingmen who are incidentally employed in the mining districts.

Mr. RALSTON. Not as a Liberal or a Conservative?

Mr. GOMPERS. Well, by labor Liberals, I think it would be fair to say. When the courts of England made their decision in the Taff-Vail case it brought the funds of the unions of England subject to being mulcted in damages by employers, and there was a new and unexpected interpretation given to the existing law by the courts, if I may say so, just exactly as the courts of this country have done with the Sherman antitrust law, to make that law apply to the organizations of the working people. When that was done the British workingmen realized that they were about to be placed in

the same position as the old guilds were, of about three centuries ago, subject to confiscation at the will and the fancy of the King. They were aroused. They held public meetings, and in their organization meetings and in their national congresses they decided upon the inauguration of a campaign for the repeal or, rather, for an amendment to the law that would annul the decision or would overcome the decision of the courts of England in the Taff-Vail case, and it resulted in the enactment by Parliament of what is known as the British trades dispute act of 1906. With that came the launching of the independent labor party by the workingmen and the election of, I think, 42 members of the House of Commons, and then in the last election, I think, there were 53 members of the House of Commons who were elected who are labor men—union men. The independent labor party is a fairly established party in England.

Mr. RALSTON. Now, as I understand it, in this country, on the other hand, the trade-unionists have sought to throw the weight of their influence for those particular men whom they believe to be most favorable to those things which the labor unionists stand for?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Who determines whether a candidate is favorable or unfavorable to the position you take?

Mr. GOMPERS. Usually he himself.

Mr. STAFFORD. The candidate determines?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. You judge that by his votes?

Mr. GOMPERS. He usually determines it himself.

Mr. STAFFORD. How?

Mr. GOMPERS. We have that information for his constituents.

Mr. STAFFORD. Who, if I may use the term, are the censors or the persons who determine whether a candidate is worthy of your support?

Mr. GOMPERS. For instance, we have our legislative committee, composed of three men in whose judgment and whose integrity we have absolute confidence, as the result of our experience with them. When Congress is in session the committee is sometimes in daily consultation with us or makes daily reports to us, Mr. Morrison or myself, or Mr. James O'Connell, who is a resident of Washington and a vice president of the Federation of Labor. They report to us, and it is published in the American Federationist as to the status of legislation and the activity of this member or that member, either particularly friendly or particularly hostile in his attitude.

Mr. STAFFORD. Suppose a candidate may be opposed by his votes to some legislation that you are in favor of; does that determine the question whether you will oppose him for reelection?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. I will make a personal matter of it. Take my own case. In December, 1906, I voted against the antipilotage bill. I did that from the best information I then had, and believe I would do so to-day. However, I consider myself in sympathy with labor. I voted for the Hughes amendment to exclude labor unions from the effect of the Sherman antitrust law. I voted in the Republican caucus to bring out an injunction bill.

Now, would my vote—and I might go further and say when you appeared before the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, of which I was then a member, I was not in sympathy with the demands

made by the publishers of fraternal publications—and you remember the time you appeared before that committee—to extend the advertising privilege to fraternal publications. I had good reasons for it, looking at it from the standpoint of the interests of the Government, and I notice, in examining the latest issue of the American Federationist, that it comprises some 65 pages of advertisements and 75 pages of reading matter. I had good reasons for believing that. On the eight-hour law, I voted in the House in favor of extending the eight-hour law to the Panama Canal, and I could cite other instances showing my attitude of sympathy for labor.

I also, in the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House, when I was a Member of the Sixty-first Congress, favored the locomotive-inspection bill. Now, would a candidate's opposition to the antipilotage bill, or refusal to extend the advertising privilege to these magazines—would that be a determining factor in the opposition of your organization to the candidate's candidacy?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think not. I do hope, of course, for more people to agree with us, but I am not under the impression that all people can agree in all things with us. But there are questions which are vital, and questions which we can afford to wait for, if necessary, and when we determine, in our judgment, as to what we believe to be the Representative's attitude of friendliness or hostility, it is upon vital questions, not upon those upon which we can afford to wait.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then, as I understand it, it is not necessary, in order to withhold your opposition, for your candidate to be in accord in everything for which you stand in your declaration of principles?

Mr. GOMPERS. I would like to see Congress enact the legislation which the American labor movement asks, because, as a matter of fact, it has never been on the wrong side of any question affecting the public welfare. It has always been on the right side, the constructive side. As a matter of fact, the American Federation of Labor has been from 10 to 20 years in advance of the Congress of the United States in enacting legislation, and that, of course, is not Congress's fault, or perhaps our own. I will say that of course we can not expect that the Congressmen will agree with everything we ask. We expect to make progress, as I have tried to indicate, in the physical, material improvement which we seek. We desire that Congress will enact some constructive, humane, vital legislation. For instance, I hope and expect, as do the working people of America, who have the intelligence to understand the conditions as they are—we expect that the Congress of the United States will, in its wisdom, in this Congress, pass the laws which the successful party declared for in its campaigns of 1908 and 1912, and upon which it won the country in 1912.

Mr. STAFFORD. Coming down to the question put to you at first, who determines the attitude of your organization toward a candidate by reason of his votes in Congress—the legislative committee, of which you say there are three members?

Mr. GOMPERS. The legislative committee report to us, to the labor representation committee, which is a committee created by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and by authority of the federation itself, a committee consisting of Vice President James O'Connell, Secretary Frank Morrison, and myself,

and on many occasions we invite representatives of the various departments of the American Federation of Labor, such as the Building Trades department, the Metals Trade department, and the Union Label Trades department.

Mr. STAFFORD. After the conference is held, who determines the final attitude of your organization toward the respective candidates?

Mr. GOMPERS. The conference.

Mr. STAFFORD. And the conference is composed not only of you three but of these others who may be called in?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. Their votes would not be determining, except that their wishes would be considered, their views considered; but the determining committee would be the labor representation committee.

Mr. STAFFORD. And then when you have determined it, do I understand that your attitude is published in the American Federationist—your attitude toward these respective candidates?

Mr. GOMPERS. Seldom; only when we are asked by anyone in a particular district. As a matter of fact, there have been no instances that I can now recall, even in the Littlefield district in the 1906 campaign. In the Littlefield campaign of 1906 neither the campaign against Mr. Littlefield nor against any of the others was initiated at the instance of the American Federation of Labor as such direct, but we have never hesitated to answer anyone who may ask in seriousness the record of a Representative in Congress. As a matter of fact, some Congressmen have asked us whether we would not write a letter, and the invariable answer is, "Do not expect that we are going to write a letter to you. If there is any labor man, union man, or otherwise, in your district who wants to know your record, let him write to us and we will give him your record." I think that in the six years of our activity in the political arena there is no one Representative who has had just cause for complaint that we have misrepresented his attitude upon any measure.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then when your committee determines to oppose a certain candidate because he is unfriendly to labor, you send an organizer to his district, as I understand, and have speeches made setting forth the grounds of your opposition?

Mr. RALSTON. I think Mr. Stafford misunderstands the testimony.

Mr. GOMPERS. As a matter of fact, it is not a question of determining as to what action we take for or against any candidate for Congress, but his attitude is shown by his speeches and his votes, and these are recorded in the Congressional Record, and these we have at our office, with the reports of our legislative committee. We answer questions of those who ask. If anyone in, say, your district, should ask us as to your record in Congress upon the legislation in which labor is interested, we would furnish him with your record in so far as we would have it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Would you include any comment on it, as to what your ideas would be as to whether I was friendly or unfriendly to labor?

Mr. GOMPERS. Unless you were pronouncedly either one or the other. If you were pronouncedly in favor, I should say we would think that the man who has stood by the working people so well and so ably and so faithfully, as in this case, should be returned, or is

deserving of the support of the working people of his district. If, on the other hand, he had been pronouncedly hostile, I would say that it is time that labor people and the general mass of the people of the district ought to be represented by some one who will more faithfully and earnestly perform his duties, with a better conception of the rights of the working people, and you are requested or urged to do all you can to bring about the defeat of this man.

Mr. RALSTON. I think Representative Stafford's questions involve the idea that the American Federation of Labor, of its own volition, and without invitation from the district, would send its organizers there to defeat the man.

Mr. STAFFORD. What I am seeking to ascertain, Mr. Gompers, is when and through what causes you take action looking to the defeat of any candidate for Congress?

Mr. GOMPERS. Usually at the request of the working people of the district.

Mr. WILLIS. Is it always at their request?

Mr. GOMPERS. It has been invariably, as I say, in the Littlefield campaign in 1906.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, no matter how unfriendly you might deem a candidate to be, unless there was some question raised by some one in the district, you would not, of your own motion, send organizers into that district to make a fight against that particular candidate?

Mr. GOMPERS. That has been the rule, sir. We have not done so.

Mr. WILLIS. There is one other question which Mr. Stafford asked, and your answer to which I did not clearly apprehend. Who are the people who are the final arbiters in this matter? In the illustration which Mr. Stafford gave you, in his own case, he had voted for measures in which you were interested, and he had opposed some measures in which you were interested, and I understood you to say that in your opinion that should not bring upon him the opposition of your organization. I want to know who it is that decides, in the last analysis, whether a Member's action is friendly or unfriendly? I understood you to say the labor——

Mr. GOMPERS (interposing). Representation committee.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you state how that is made up? Perhaps you have already stated it, but I did not get it.

Mr. GOMPERS. The committee is composed of three members of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, all three of whom are residents of the District of Columbia.

Mr. RALSTON. After all, is not the individual voter the final arbiter?

Mr. WILLIS. I wanted to get at who it was in the organization who decided that question finally.

Mr. GOMPERS. I ought to say that I could very easily furnish the committee with a few typical letters covering the activity of the American Federation of Labor in questions of this character, showing the vital or important pieces of legislation in which the workers are interested, and we will, upon the request of the voters in a particular district, give the record of the Representative upon those measures of vital importance. We will say, for instance, he voted "aye" upon this measure or the other measure, giving the number and title of the bill; and we will say he voted "no" upon another measure, or he was absent, or present and not voting, giving the exact record of the

Representative and leave, as a rule, the formation of judgment to the voters in the district.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers, has the American Federation of Labor any power at all, or does it pretend to exercise any power at all, to control the individual action of the individual voter?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir; it never undertook to do so, and it does not to-day. Speaking now as its president, I have always endeavored to make that clear. As a matter of fact, during the 1908 campaign it was studiously circulated and repeated time and time again by the spellbinders who were opposed to us that I had pledged the 2,000,000 votes of the workmen to the Democratic Party, that I carried the workman's vote around in my vest pocket, etc. And I took occasion to say that I could dictate the vote of not more than one citizen in the United States; that I have three sons, all of them voters, and I could not if I would, and would not if I could, dictate how they should vote; that the only one whose vote I could control was my own. I tried to emphasize that fact upon every occasion.

Mr. RALSTON. As a matter of fact, was not one member at least of your very executive council of nine, I believe, at variance with the others in voting differently without being subjected to any punishment or discipline whatsoever?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. As a correlative question, Mr. Gompers, to that which was originally put by me, What attitude does your organization take to the election of those pronouncedly in favor of labor legislation, those Representatives who announce themselves as labor's representatives?

Mr. GOMPERS. At the request of voters in the district who ask us for the record of these men, we give it to them officially, and add to it the statement that they are deserving of the continued confidence and support of the citizens of the district, and that in our judgment the workers would do well to give their support for the return of this Representative, and that in addition anything we can do to be helpful we shall be very glad to do, to the limit of our ability. Then would come in possibly requests for speakers, for literature.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Gompers, as I understand it, this matter simmers down to this proposition, that the question as to whether you would aid in the election or the defeat of a candidate is remitted then to the laboring element in the district?

Mr. GOMPERS. In the district.

Mr. CLINE. And that that laboring element decides whether the Federation shall take a hand in it or not.

Mr. GOMPERS. We have never entered into any Congressman's district when the expression of the workers, so far as we could ascertain, was against our entering it, and never did unless we were requested to.

Mr. CLINE. If I get your answers correctly, you have not entered in to assist in the election unless you had a request from the laborers of the district?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; that is an exact fact. I may say this, that by reason of the fundamental system of the organization of our federation, our advice is sought and is of considerable influence. We have tried to make our organization as fundamentally democratic as it is possible to organize any institution to-day. There is no

power vested in the officers of the federation. They can act in an advisory capacity; they can suggest; they can recommend. But they can not command one man in all America to do anything; they can not order him to do anything. Under no circumstances can they say, "You must do so and so," or, "You must desist from doing so and so." And this is true in the governmental affairs of the local organizations anywhere on the continent of America, industrially, politically, locally, in the State or in the Nation. And it is following in our political campaigns this line of thought, this demarcation, that in the locality is lodged the most essential factor to determine any course.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers, in whatever you say about a Member of Congress, I just want to ask you whether as a matter of policy in your position you could afford to be unjust to or make any false statements about any Member of Congress to his constituents?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have never been so charged. I would not make any false representation, and I would not make any false statement, knowing it to be false.

Mr. RALSTON. Purely as a matter of policy; I am putting it on the lowest ground.

Mr. GOMPERS. To make a false statement in regard to the record or attitude of a Congressman would be the undoing of the effort in that district, or in any other. The only value of a record of the character of those we furnish is its absolute accuracy.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers, there are one or two minor questions I want to ask you, and then perhaps one more important. I think, Mr. Chairman, all references to the I. W. W. were stricken out. I want to be sure of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that was stricken out.

Mr. RALSTON. If that is so, it is perhaps not necessary for me to ask him about the relations, or rather the want of relations, between the Federation of Labor and the I. W. W.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Gompers has already testified as to his position toward the Socialist Party. Naturally he would be more strongly opposed to the I. W. W.

Mr. RALSTON. I do not know but what the Socialists might repudiate the I. W. W.

Mr. GOMPERS. One of the 57 varieties.

Mr. RALSTON. Now, will you state, please, whether in the multifarious work the committees of the federation have had to do about the Capitol in the past six or eight years they have found it necessary to tip employees?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have never heard of any officer or employee or representative of the American Federation of Labor paying anybody or tipping anybody about the Capitol. I have never seen any accounting of that sort, and I have never heard of it.

Mr. RALSTON. You are able to get along without it?

Mr. GOMPERS. And we do, after a fashion.

Mr. RALSTON. State to the committee, please, whether Mr. Van Cleave has accepted the Antiboycott Association as part and parcel of the organizations represented by him.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. Will you point to the paragraph showing it?

Mr. GOMPERS. In American Industries of May 1, 1909, is a statement made by Mr. James W. Van Cleave, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, under the caption of "A parting salutation." This was on the occasion of his farewell message as president of the N. A. M. Speaking of the achievements of the N. A. M. under his administration, he says:

We transformed this diffusion and dissipation of strength into a systematic coordination of effort, and the concrete result is the great federation which we established in 1907. In this league 186 national, State, and local organizations of business and professional men are united with the National Association of Manufacturers in the National Council for Industrial Defense.

Each organization in the council has a specific field in which it can do its best work. For illustration, the American Antiboycott Association attacks the boycott through the courts and is doing splendid work. Other organizations have also their own special work. In this way the general field is covered more intelligently and effectively than it was in the past, all chances of friction between the various bodies are eliminated, and each is brought into fraternal relations with all the others.

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers, will you state to the committee, please, any knowledge that you may have had at any time in the past with relation to the Mulhall letters that brought about this investigation?

Mr. GOMPERS. In the winter of 1911–12 Representative McDermott, of Illinois, came to see me and said that there was something important that he wanted to know. He asked me whether I remembered Col. Mulhall, and I told him that I remembered him; I remembered him from some five or six years before in Philadelphia and in Baltimore, and the last time that I recalled seeing him was at the Republican national convention, in the committee on resolutions, etc. He said to me—he always called me either "President Gompers" or "Sam"; I do not remember exactly by which appellation he addressed me. He said, "I would like you to arrange to meet Mr. Mulhall. He is very anxious to see you. He has something important to say." I said I did not know that I cared to meet Mr. Mulhall; that there was not anything of importance that, as I regarded it, he had to say which I cared to hear. "But," Mr McDermott said, "this is out of consideration for the past. As a matter of fact," he said, "Mr. Mulhall is suffering; he is suffering from a revulsion of feeling and of conscience against the work he has been doing these past number of years for the National Association of Manufacturers and he wants to make a clean breast of it all."

I still was quite indifferent to the entire matter. Whatever I had theretofore known of Mr. Mullhall was not of such a character as to attract him toward me or me toward him. Mr. McDermott said: "Let me say this to you: Mr. Mulhall is on the outs with the National Association of Manufacturers. He is thoroughly sincere in his desire to expose the association and its machinations."

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me, Mr. Gompers, but there is a vote of some considerable importance on in the House, and I think we shall have to adjourn here until 1.30.

(Thereupon, at 11.30 o'clock a. m., a recess was taken until 1.30 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

(At the expiration of the recess the committee reassembled.)

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Gompers, you may proceed with your answer to the last question relative to the Mulhall letters.

Mr. GOMPERS. Just at recess, I think, I was trying to tell of the interview with Representative McDermott in my office in regard to having an interview with Mr. Mulhall for the purpose of Mr. Mulhall disclosing to me the work of the National Association of Manufacturers in Congress, before Congress, with Members of Congress, and in many other respects with regard to the antagonism and, as he described it, the crooked work of the National Association of Manufacturers in hostility to labor and with Members of Congress.

My impression from that, as well as from encountering Mr. Mulhall, was of such a character that I rather did not care to meet him, but Mr. McDermott was very urgent. He told me that Mr. Mulhall had come to him some year or so prior to that time and wanted to know his (McDermott's) attitude on labor matters pending before Congress, and that he had bluntly told him to get out of his room and rather brusquely insisted that he would stand for labor measures and did not want any interference from the National Association of Manufacturers or any of their representatives; that he had gone away and had come back two or three times and finally told him that he wanted to talk to him on matters affecting labor; that he was very sorry for the part he had taken as the agent or representative of the National Association of Manufacturers and he wanted to make amends for his past misdeeds.

I think Mr. McDermott came to see me twice or three times before I finally consented to meet Mr. Mulhall. I suggested that Mr. Mulhall come to my office in the Ouray Building at Washington, D. C., and at a later interview Mr. McDermott said that he did not think Mulhall would like to come to my office, for the reason that the National Association of Manufacturers had their spies and detectives, and that before anything could be made known to me they would have the knowledge that he was in my office, and probably do any injury to him, and possibly neutralize the effect of what he intended to expose.

Mr. McDermott was fairly well acquainted with my personal friend and family physician, Dr. Allen, of 2300 First Street NW. His office and home is just a little more than a block from where I live. I asked Dr. Allen whether he would consent to permit a conference to be held between myself and one or two other gentlemen in either his office, during the time he was out, or in any one of his dwelling rooms, and so did Mr. McDermott ask Dr. Allen. Mr. McDermott informed me that it was quite agreeable for Mr. Mulhall to meet me there.

Dr. Allen placed his parlor and the second floor—that is, the floor above the street—at my disposal, and at the appointed time—I think it was in the early part of December, 1911—Mr. Mulhall was there, and I came in and Mr. McDermott was there. We had merely a perfunctory or preliminary conversation, and Mr. Mulhall proceeded to tell me what he had in mind. He said substantially that he knew he had done wrong to labor; that he was sorry for it, more sorry than he could tell me, and one of the principal reasons that caused his revulsion of feeling and qualm of conscience was the fact that Mrs.

Mulhall was fully acquainted with the character of his work; that it had preyed upon her mind so much that she had almost or entirely lost her reason, and that she was then in an asylum, and he felt that he was, through his conduct, responsible and the cause of the weakening of her reason.

The explanation to me was very reasonable, and being——

Mr. RALSTON. You knew he had been engaged in disreputable work as far as labor organizations were concerned, did you?

Mr. GOMPERS. I knew that, yes, sir; in many instances.

I am naturally and generally very credulous, and I believed his story and was much interested in what he said. He took out two or three packages of letters from his pocket and read portions of them to me, and he said: "I would be willing, Mr. Gompers, to go anywhere you say, before any committee of Congress in session, wherever Mr. Emery or any other representative of the National Association of Manufacturers may appear, and expose the whole gang of them, their corruption, their methods. I will drive them out of the committee room, and if they have any sense of feeling at all they can not stand before any committee of Congress in the face of the exposure I am able to make by the documents I have here and by the large number of documents I have at home."

I was very seriously considering whether something of that sort might not be done before one of the committees of Congress, but I came to the conclusion that it was not advisable; that, after all, the measures in which we were interested pending before Congress would have to depend entirely upon their merits rather than upon any other issue; that whether the National Association of Manufacturers conducted crooked campaigns and campaigns of corruption was of less importance to the American Federation of Labor than was the success of our measures.

I did not say very much to him; I was more of a listener. He made the suggestion that I come to his home and make an examination of this correspondence that he had. He gave me his address in Baltimore and the way to get there from the railway station, and he gave me his telephone number, which at that time I wrote in my notebook. The understanding was that I would either call him up over the telephone or possibly might come to see him or suggest another interview, but I could not then definitely say which.

We parted, and several days intervened. I asked Mr. Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, to come to my room to confer with me. I said that I wanted to tell him, to relate to him, the circumstances as nearly as I could. The matter was then entirely fresh in my mind, substantially as I have related it here. Mr. Morrison was entirely incredulous and doubted the wisdom of a further conference with him at all, doubted the wisdom of my going to Baltimore to see Mr. Mulhall in his home.

Mr. McDermott came in to see me, and inquired again as to why I did not continue the conference. He said he was very much interested in seeing that this exposure was made, and that he believed entirely in Mr. Mulhall's sincerity and good faith.

Later I telephoned to Mr. Mulhall and asked him whether it might not be well for him again to come to Washington. In the meantime I had a conference with Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, our attorney, and laid the matter before him and asked his advice. He, too, was some-

what skeptical, but he said that he would go to Baltimore if Mr. Mulhall was agreeable, and make an examination of the documents and report to me as to their value, etc.

Mr. STAFFORD. I did not understand that part of your testimony where you said you telephoned to some one as to whether it would be advisable.

Mr. GOMPERS. I telephoned to Mr. Mulhall in Baltimore.

Mr. STAFFORD. You did?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. Representative McDermott came up to see me after that first interview with Mr. Mulhall at Dr. Allen's office.

Mr. STAFFORD. Were you able to reach Mr. Mulhall at that time?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will you state the conversation, Mr. Gompers, between you over the telephone?

Mr. GOMPERS. I am able to recall something. The first conversation over the telephone was with a lady in Baltimore who said that Mr. Mulhall was not in. I left word with her as to who I was, that I would be awaiting a call from Mr. Mulhall. She knew that Mr. Mulhall had been conferring with me because she seemed quite familiar with the fact of my having met him. As to what the conversation was with her I can not just now recall, except that it was in that direction.

A little while after—probably an hour or two—Mr. Mulhall called me up from Baltimore. He wanted to know what the status of affairs was, and I told him that I was not sure it would be advantageous to repeat the conference; that I had had a conference with Attorney Ralston, and that more than likely Mr. Ralston would come over to Baltimore in the course of a day or so—I think designating the day—and if it was agreeable to Mr. Mulhall that Mr. Ralston would go there and make an examination of the correspondence.

He said that that would be entirely agreeable to him, and I think the day was set. Mr. Ralston, at my request, went over to Baltimore and consulted——

Mr. RALSTON. Let me suggest here, Mr. Gompers, do you recall the fact that Mr. Mulhall and yourself came to my office?

Mr. GOMPERS. Oh, yes. I should say that a second interview did occur at Mr. Ralston's office, when the entire matter was gone over in substantially the same manner it was in Mr. Mulhall's and my conference in Dr. Allen's office.

Mr. STAFFORD. At whose instance was that interview had?

Mr. GOMPERS. At Mr. Mulhall's.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did he come voluntarily or by prearrangement.

Mr. GOMPERS. By telephone.

Mr. STAFFORD. You had telephoned him?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; because not only was he insistent that another conference should be held, but Mr. McDermott came to me on several occasions, after the first conference, for the purpose of inducing me, persuading me, or impressing upon my mind the importance of continuing the conferences in order that the exposé should be made. At the conference in Mr. Ralston's office the same matters were gone over——

Mr. RALSTON. Do you recall whether Mr. McDermott was present at that meeting?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think so; my memory does not serve me—yes; you are right; he was present. The entire matter was gone over, the same letters exhibited, parts of correspondence.

Mr. STAFFORD. The same identical letters as had been presented to you at the first conference?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; and a few others.

Mr. RALSTON. Are you not mistaken about that, Mr. Gompers?

Mr. GOMPERS. Well, the discussion was in regard to that correspondence and the desire of Mr. Mulhall to make the exposé. Mr. Ralston later reported to me that he did not go to make the call upon Mr. Mulhall. He deemed it inadvisable.

Mr. STAFFORD. What was said, if I may interpolate here, at this second conference as to when you would see Mr. Mulhall, if at all, again?

Mr. GOMPERS. Nothing, other than that Mr. Ralston would in all likelihood call upon him at a time mutually agreeable. Mr. Ralston reported to me that he did not deem it advisable to call upon Mr. Mulhall that day in accordance with our understanding.

I had no further interviews with Mr. Mulhall. Mr. McDermott visited me not less than half a dozen times, and at each interview he was urgent that I should take advantage of Mr. Mulhall's offer to expose what he had to expose in regard to the National Association of Manufacturers, and that I was rather remiss in not taking advantage of it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do I understand that he visited you half a dozen times after the second conference at Mr. Ralston's office?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Did he apprise you why he was so much interested in having this exposé brought about?

Mr. GOMPERS. Nothing more than the statement that he believed Mr. Mulhall was contrite, that he was suffering mentally from the burden of his wrongdoing at the instance of the National Association of Manufacturers. That was the only ground upon which he urged the matter at all.

Mr. Mulhall had mentioned the fact that there were several thousand letters and documents of various kinds that he could show me, but for the reason I have already mentioned, in addition to the fact that we had not the facilities and the opportunity for publicity of a matter so large as was involved in the proposition, the entire thing was dropped and no further attention paid to it at all by us.

Mr. CLINE. Was there anything said about receiving any price for the correspondence?

Mr. GOMPERS. Never; it was never mentioned.

Mr. RALSTON. Was any offer or inducement ever given or made to Mr. Mulhall for the production of those letters or any of them?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, not at all. As a matter of fact, the suggestion came from the lips of Mr. McDermott at the instance of Mr. Mulhall, which was later substantiated by Mr. Mulhall so stating. There was no consideration at all, either suggested or hinted by either side.

Mr. WILLIS. Did Mr. Mulhall state to you that he had requested Congressman McDermott to arrange an interview with you?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

So that when I saw the first publication of the statements made by Mr. Mulhall it was not news to me.

Mr. STAFFORD. What letters did he present, Mr. Gompers, to you?

Mr. GOMPERS. Numbers of letters from Mr. Van Cleave, from Mr. Schwedtman, from Mr. Bird, from Mr. Emery—probably 50 or 60—I do not remember. I did not read them all, but he just opened up one after another and asked me to read the letters as indicating the character of them.

Mr. STAFFORD. He had these letters with him on each occasion when the conferences took place at the doctor's home and at Mr. Ralston's office?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. He also showed me a letter where he tendered his resignation as an agent or representative of the National Association of Manufacturers, and a letter, I think, of Mr. Emery, urging that he continue in the service of the association.

Mr. CLINE. Did he—Mr. Mulhall—represent to you that the letters he had were merely a sample of the other four or five thousand, or whatever the number was?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And that was one of the reasons why you did not examine them any further?

Mr. GOMPERS. Hardly that. Mr. Morrison, and later Mr. Ralston, expressed the view that I ought not to go into Mr. Mulhall's home. The idea conveyed to me was that probably it was another effort of the National Association of Manufacturers to "get" me.

Mr. RALSTON. Had such efforts been made theretofore?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Who was present besides Attorney Ralston, at this second conference, yourself and Mr. McDermott?

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Mulhall.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Morrison was not there?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think not.

Mr. STAFFORD. How long did these respective conferences, in a general way, last?

Mr. GOMPERS. The first one in Dr. Allen's office lasted about an hour and three-quarters, or two hours. Much of the time was taken up with the reading of the letters or excerpts from the letters.

Mr. STAFFORD. And the second one?

Mr. GOMPERS. About three-quarters of an hour.

Mr. CLINE. I would like to ask you one other question, Mr. Gompers, whether you are certain Mr. Mulhall showed you a letter from Mr. Emery asking him to remain in the service, or was it written by Mr. Schwedtman?

Mr. GOMPERS. I am not sure as to which of the trinity of the National Association of Manufacturers wrote that letter, but it was from one of the representatives of the National Association.

Mr. STAFFORD. Were you, in response to a query put to you by Mr. Cline, speaking of some specific letter?

Mr. GOMPERS. The letter urging Mr. Mulhall to continue in the service of the association.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do I understand that was one of the letters that was presented to you at that time?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did Mr. Mulhall state what the purpose of showing that letter to you was?

Mr. GOMPERS. That he had the confidence of the representatives of that association.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall the year when that was written, Mr. Gompers?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think it was in 1911. I am not sure as to that date. I think he mentioned the fact that he was still a representative of the association because they had not accepted his resignation.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember about when those conferences were held? I think perhaps you have stated.

Mr. GOMPERS. The last of 1911, the last month, I think, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. Unless the committee wants to ask something further on this point, I will proceed.

Mr. Gompers, this morning you spoke of letters which you had sent out to congressional districts in response to inquiries made of you as to the attitude of different Members of Congress on matters which the Federation of Labor was concerned in. I wish you would illustrate by examples the sort of letters that were sent out.

Mr. GOMPERS. I have here duplicates of letters to correspondents.

Mr. RALSTON. Sent out under the caption of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. The caption, of course, does not show in the carbons?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not on those letters. But in the last year or so I have insisted in my office that when carbons now of letters are made, the first sheet of the carbon letter shall also be upon the official letter heading.

Mr. RALSTON. That was not true when these carbons were prepared?

Mr. GOMPERS. When these carbons were prepared the plain paper was used for carbon copies.

Mr. RALSTON. The first of these letters relates to the conduct of Representative, now Senator, Hughes, does it not?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. Just for the information of the committee, I desire to submit it. I would like to have it go in the record, because it illustrates exactly the position, together with the others to be sub mitted, of the Federation of Labor.

Mr. RALSTON. Have you some others there? It will be noted in that instance the letter relates to the record of a gentleman who was at least fairly uniformly friendly to the requests of organized labor. Now, I would like to take a letter of a different character.

Mr. GOMPERS. In the district from which Mr. John J. Gardner, of New Jersey, came, the district he represented in the House of Representatives, so many inquiries were made that I had a manifold of the record made, and sent to everyone who inquired, with a mere letter of transmittal.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gompers, I want to ask you a question about this letter before you pass to that. I notice this letter is written to Mr. John B. Colpoys, secretary of the Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C. How came that to be written to him?

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Colpoys is secretary of the Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union. There are quite a number of citizens, workingmen, union men, who are under the impression that the Washington Central Labor Union should be in a position to know; and instead of writing direct to the office of the American Federation of Labor they would write to the secretary of the Washington Central Labor Union, and he in turn would inquire from our office. So that information was conveyed to him, and by him then to his correspondent. I should say this in addition, that at one time or another the organized labor movement of the District of Columbia, under a misapprehension of its functions and its duties, undertook to be the body to dispense this information. Now, the American Federation of Labor, with its recognition of the rights of the central body in each locality, believed and so advised the District of Columbia Central Labor Union that it would be better if the central body would devote its duties and supervision to the facts and the measures and things that immediately affected the people of the District of Columbia; and that has since been the regular method employed.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter of course, I take it, was written in anticipation that it would be used in the campaign?

Mr. GOMPERS. Certainly; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And was written for that purpose, in fact?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection this letter will be inserted in the record.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Washington, D. C., August 1, 1912.

Mr. JOHN B. COLPOYS,
Secretary Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Replying to your inquiry of July 30, in regard to Hon. William Hughes, of New Jersey, I herewith give you the record of Mr. Hughes on measures of interest to labor that have come to a record vote since his membership in the House of Representatives.

1. April 6, 1908.—Employers' liability bill, affecting employees on railroads engaged in interstate commerce. This bill was favored by labor and it passed the House with but one dissenting vote.

Representative Hughes is recorded as voting "aye."

2. May 9, 1908.—The child-labor bill for the District of Columbia passed the House without a dissenting vote. It was strongly urged by labor.

Representative Hughes is recorded as "not voting."

3. December 12, 1908.—Compulsory investigation of labor disputes. This bill was opposed by labor because it was considered a step toward compulsory arbitration. It failed to pass the House.

Representative Hughes is recorded as voting nay.

4. On June 2, 1910, the House, while in Committee of the Whole, adopted the following amendment by Mr. Hughes, of New Jersey, in the section of the sundry civil appropriation bill making appropriation for the prosecution of violations of the antitrust law. This proviso was favored by labor:

"*Provided further*, That no part of this money shall be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, shortening of hours, or bettering the condition of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof not in itself unlawful."

On June 9, 1910, this proviso was stricken from the bill when it was reported to the Senate by the Appropriation Committee. On a record vote of 34 yeas, 16 nays, and 42 not voting, the Senate sustained the action of the Appropriation Committee.

On June 21, 1910, a motion was made in the House to instruct the conferees to insist upon disagreeing with the Senate. The motion carried by a vote of 154 yeas to 105 nays, 12 answering "present," and 119 not voting. This record vote in the

the House was an indorsement of its former action in favor of the Hughes amendment when it was added to the bill while the House was in Committee of the Whole.

Representative Hughes is recorded as voting aye, or in favor of retaining the proviso.

On June 23, 1910, the conferees reported to the House a disagreement on this proviso and recommended "that the House recede and concur," which meant that the House agree with the Senate and eliminate the Hughes proviso from the bill. The motion carried by a vote of 138 yeas to 130 nays, 16 answering "present," and 105 not voting. By this vote the House of Representatives repudiated its former actions taken on June 2 and June 21, when it adopted the Hughes amendment and instructed its conferees to retain it in the bill. This last vote was the determining factor in which the House of Representatives placed itself on record as being opposed to any organization or individual making an organized effort to increase wages, to reduce hours, or to better the condition of labor—organized or unorganized—without running the risk of criminal prosecution under the provisions of the antitrust law.

Representative Hughes is recorded as voting nay, or in favor of retaining it.

5. On March 28, 1912, the match bill came up before the House. This bill, which will stop the ravages of "phossy jaw" among match workers, was advocated by labor.

Representative Hughes is recorded as voting yea on this bill.

6. On May 13, 1912, popular election of United States Senators. Representative Hughes is recorded as voting yea, or in favor of this measure.

On May 14, 1912, the Clayton injunction bill, H. R. 23635, acceptable to the American Federation of Labor, limiting the issuance of injunctions came up in the House. On the special rule to have this bill taken up, Representative Hughes is recorded as voting yea, and on the final passage of the bill he is again recorded as voting yea, or in favor of the bill.

On July 17, 1912, the Clayton contempt bill, which has been urged by labor and which regulates the procedure of courts in direct and indirect contempts, came up in the House. This bill passed the House by a vote of 233 yeas, 18 nays, 11 answering "present," and 127 not voting; on which Representative Hughes is recorded as voting yea, or in favor of this bill.

The services of Representative Hughes have been remarkably efficient and valuable. Not only has he been recorded as voting favorably, but he has been exceptionally vigilant as a member of the Committee on Labor and upon the floor of the House during debates, guarding the interests of labor and the whole people. Mr. Hughes introduced the eight-hour amendment and pressed it to a successful passage in the bill authorizing the construction of revenue cutters, on March 2, 1910. He rendered valuable service on the eight-hour amendment to the naval bill on April 8, 1910, and on June 2, 1910, he introduced and succeeded in passing the amendment to the section of the sundry civil bill making appropriation for the prosecution of violations of the antitrust act. On June 21 and June 23 he rendered especially valuable and conspicuous service in behalf of labor—organized and unorganized—and in spite of the fact that he was most severely attacked by Mr. Tawney and other spokesmen of vested interests. Mr. Hughes replied to every attack in a logical, forceful, and scholarly style. No greater or better service has ever been given to the people than that of Representative William Hughes, of New Jersey. It has been faithful, vigilant, and intelligent.

As you know, it is not our right, neither is it our desire, to interfere or to even assume that we can control or direct the men of labor as to how they, as citizens, shall exercise their right of franchise and their duty in casting their votes for any candidates for office, but in view of existing industrial conditions, and particularly because of the declared purpose of the American workers to stand together and secure the rights to which the Constitution of our country justly entitles them—because of this emphatic declaration on the part of the workers, it becomes our imperative duty to advise, and we will urgently advise, all to take advantage of the opportunity presented during the coming congressional election.

It is earnestly desired that labor and the liberty-loving citizens secure the nomination of bona fide workmen and advocates of liberty and justice for all the people, both as candidates for Congress and members of the State legislatures. Should this be impossible, then they should see to it that candidates for nomination before the primaries are held shall emphatically declare themselves as to their position upon the measures in which labor is most vitally interested and that such prospective members of the State legislature should further pledge themselves not to vote for any candidate for the United States Senate unless he also emphatically declares himself in favor of these subjects that labor advocates. The numbers of the bills covering these subjects in this Congress are: H. R. 23189 and S. 6266, antitrust; H. R. 23635, injunction-limitation bill; and H. R. 5601, convict-labor bill.

All energies should be centered upon the measures and the candidates, so as to secure the legislation amending the antitrust law and to correct the evils arising from the injunction abuse—in these measures the rights and liberties of the workers are essentially involved.

There are many other bills of great importance before Congress, but these are the ones that are really the most important, and upon which it is most essential for candidates to declare themselves.

Fraternally, yours,

———— ————.

Secretary American Federation of Labor.

Mr. RALSTON. I have here, to offer to the committee, a résumé, which was sent out and called for, of the legislative activities respecting labor measures of Mr. John J. Gardner

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that will be inserted in the record.

(The paper referred to is as follows:)

LEGISLATIVE RECORD OF MR. JOHN J. GARDNER ON LABOR LEGISLATION SINCE THE FIFTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS UPON WHICH A YEA-AND-NAY VOTE HAS BEEN OBTAINED.

1. *January 27, 1906.*—Repeal of the Federal eight-hour law on the Isthmus of Panama. This bill was vigorously opposed by labor, but it passed the House on a vote of 120 yeas to 110 nays, 11 answering "present" and 105 not voting. Mr. Gardner is recorded as not voting upon the bill to repeal the eight-hour law at Panama.

2. *December 6, 1906.*—Anticompulsory pilotage bill by Littlefield of Maine. This measure was also opposed by labor. It failed to pass the House. Mr. Gardner is recorded as not voting upon this objectionable bill.

3. *February 18, 1907.*—Hours of service bill for railroad employees. The satisfactory La Follette bill passed by the Senate was ignored by the House Committee on Interstate Commerce, and a very objectionable substitute by Esch of Wisconsin was reported out of the committee and pressed to a vote, under suspension of the rules, which required a two-thirds majority in order to pass a bill. This Esch substitute was vigorously opposed by labor. The measure failed to get sufficient votes under the rules to pass it. Mr. Gardner is recorded as not voting upon this unsatisfactory substitute bill for reducing the hours of labor for railroad men.

4. *March 1, 1907.*—The ship subsidy bill. This bill as passed by the House included a very objectionable conscription provision injuriously affecting seamen. This measure, and the conscription feature particularly, has always been vigorously opposed by labor. Mr. Gardner is recorded as voting aye, or in favor of this very objectionable bill, with its odious conscription feature attached.

5. *April 6, 1908.*—Employers' liability bill, affecting employees on railroads engaged in interstate commerce. This bill was favored by labor and it passed the House with but one dissenting vote. Representative Gardner was the only Representative in New Jersey who is recorded as not voting upon this very meritorious measure.

6. *May 9, 1908.*—The child-labor bill for the District of Columbia passed the House without a dissenting vote. It was strongly urged by labor. Representative Gardner is again recorded as not voting, showing that he had no interest whatever in child-labor legislation.

7. *December 12, 1908.*—Compulsory investigation of labor disputes. This bill was opposed by labor because it was considered a step toward compulsory arbitration. It failed to pass the House. Representative Gardner is recorded as not voting, again betraying his absolute indifference to the interests of labor.

8. On June 2, 1910, the House, while in Committee of the Whole, adopted the following amendment, by Hughes, of New Jersey, in the section of the sundry civil appropriation bill making appropriation for the prosecution of violations of the antitrust law. This proviso was favored by labor:

"*Provided further*, That no part of this money shall be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, shortening of hours, or bettering the condition of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof *not in itself unlawful.*"

On June 9 this proviso was stricken from the bill when it was reported to the Senate by the Appropriation Committee. On a record vote of 34 yeas, 16 nays, and 42 not voting, the Senate sustained the action of the Appropriation Committee. Senator Kean is recorded as voting aye, or in favor of striking the proviso from the bill. Senator Briggs is recorded as not voting.

On June 21 a motion was made in the House to instruct the conferees to insist upon disagreeing with the Senate. The motion carried by a vote of 154 yeas to 105

nays, 12 answering "present," and 119 not voting. This record vote in the House was an indorsement of its former action in favor of the Hughes amendment when it was added to the bill while the House was in committee of the whole. Representative Gardner is recorded as not voting upon this important measure.

On June 23 the conferees reported to the House a disagreement on this proviso and recommended "that the House recede and concur," which meant that the House agree with the Senate and eliminate the Hughes proviso from the bill. The motion carried by a vote of 138 yeas to 130 nays, 16 answering "present," and 105 not voting. By this vote the House of Representatives repudiated its former actions taken on June 2 and June 21, when it adopted the Hughes amendment and instructed its conferees to retain it in the bill. This last vote was the determining factor in which the House of Representatives placed itself on record as being opposed to any organization or individual making an organized effort to increase wages, to reduce hours, or to better the condition of labor—organized or unorganized—without running the risk of criminal prosecution under the provisions of the antitrust law. Upon this final and most important vote Representative Gardner is recorded as voting aye, or in favor of agreeing with the Senate and striking the Hughes proviso from the bill.

It will be observed that during the Fifty-ninth, Sixtieth, and Sixty-first Congresses nine opportunities presented themselves for Mr. Gardner to show his real attitude toward labor, and the above record discloses the fact that out of *nine* opportunities afforded him he *twice* voted against the interests of labor and *seven* times he neglected to be recorded either for or against.

Representative Gardner failed to call the Committee on Labor in session until February 10, 1910, long after other committees had met and transacted considerable public business. He then had an excellent opportunity to report out his eight-hour bill, H. R. 15441, but he flagrantly adjourned the meeting. On February 15 he had another opportunity, but again he refused and allowed the bill to be sidetracked to a hostile subcommittee that is holding it under a presumed inquiry as to its constitutionality—this is the last subterfuge when plausible excuses are wanted for delay.

A statement has been publicly and positively made by a very reliable Representative from Wisconsin (Mr. John M. Nelson) that Mr. Gardner has boasted that "*he was sitting on the lid and preventing labor measures from being reported to Congress.*"

As you know, it is not our right neither is it our desire to interfere or to even assume that we can control or direct the men of labor as to how they as citizens shall exercise their right of franchise and their duty in casting their votes for any candidate for office, but in view of existing industrial conditions, and particularly because of the declared purpose of the American workers to stand together and secure the rights to which the Constitution of our country justly entitles them—because of this emphatic declaration on the part of the worker, it becomes our imperative duty to advise, and we will urgently advise all to take advantage of the opportunity presented during the coming congressional election.

It is earnestly desirable that labor and the liberty-loving citizens of your district and your State will secure the nomination of bona fide workmen and advocates of liberty and justice for all the people, both as candidates for Congress and members of the State legislature. Should this be impossible, then you should see to it that candidates for nomination, before the primaries are held, shall emphatically declare themselves as to their position upon the measures in which labor is most vitally interested and that such prospective members of the State legislature should further pledge themselves not to vote for any candidate for the United States Senate, unless he also emphatically declares himself in favor of these subjects that labor advocates. The numbers of the bills covering these subjects in this Congress are:

H. R. 25188, relief from injunction abuse and amendment to the Sherman Antitrust Act.

H. R. 15441 and S. 5578, eight-hour bills.

H. R. 12000, convict-labor bill.

All energies should be centered upon the measures and the candidates, so as to secure the legislation amending the antitrust law and to correct the evils arising from the injunction abuse—in these measures the rights and liberties of the workers are essentially involved. There are many other bills of great importance before the Congress, but these are the ones that are really the most important and upon which it is most essential for candidates to declare themselves.

With kind regards and hoping this may be of service to the cause of labor and the whole people, I am,

Fraternally, yours,

_____ _____,

President American Federation of Labor.

Mr. STAFFORD. When was this résumé of Mr. Gardner's record sent to the voters of this district?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think it was in 1912, and always in response to a request for it; never at any other time.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Colpoys write requesting this letter?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you understood he desired it for the purpose of sending to Mr. Hughes's district, I presume?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or to the State of New Jersey, in fact?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He was then engaged in a contest for the Senate?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I notice here, Mr. Gompers—I just chanced to have my eye attracted to it—some underscored words in a paragraph which reads as follows:

A statement has been publicly and positively made by a very reliable Representative from Wisconsin (Mr. John M. Nelson) that Mr. Gardner has boasted that "*he was sitting on the lid and preventing labor measures from being reported to Congress.*"

I understand this letter was signed by you?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. It was sent to those of the second New Jersey district who wished to ascertain Mr. Gardner's position. Can you state how you obtained that conversation—that statement of Mr. Nelson's?

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Nelson was present at a meeting——

Mr. STAFFORD. In all other particulars the record is that as shown by the Congressional Record.

Mr. GOMPERS. I will say that Mr. Nelson made that statement in the presence of about 60 other Members of the House of Representatives at a meeting held by them and at which I was present, stating that he heard Mr. Gardner make that statement.

Mr. STAFFORD. What was the purpose of that meeting of Representatives?

Mr. GOMPERS. To confer regarding legislation in the interests of the working people of the country.

Mr. STAFFORD. Which Congress was that; do you recall?

Mr. GOMPERS. The sixty-first, I think.

Mr. STAFFORD. Where was the conference held?

Mr. GOMPERS. At the Arlington Hotel.

Mr. STAFFORD. That was a public declaration of Mr. Nelson's at that conference?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gompers, when these requests would come to you for the record would there be anything more in the request than just one for a bare statement of the record? Would there be a request for an expression of opinion or attitude?

Mr. GOMPERS. Usually, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Not only a request for his record, as shown by the Congressional Record as you might have it, but also a request for an expression of opinion as to the fitness of the one inquired about for the position which he sought?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Gompers, were such meetings as you referred to a moment ago, where 60 gentlemen met, frequently held?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir. It was held because there were a number of Congressmen who felt that they would like to make the changes in the laws as declared for in the Democratic platform of 1908, and they did not have the information fully, technically, upon which the claim was based, labor's claim was based, and they arranged a meeting—a number of them arranged, several of them were invited—and representatives of labor were invited, and among them myself. I was asked to address the assemblage, and I did, and I was questioned—or quizzed, I think I should better style it—and then a number of the Representatives of their own volition arose or were called upon, some of them, to express their views on the situation, and among the statements made was the one by Representative Nelson, that this conversation occurred. I think he happened to sit between Mr. Gardner and Mr. Littlefield, and Mr. Littlefield recounted the sort of the encounter he had had with labor men, and then Mr. Gardner made the statement he did.

Mr. WILLIS. Who arranged these conferences, Mr. Gompers?

Mr. GOMPERS. Members of Congress.

Mr. RALSTON. A single conference.

Mr. WILLIS. This single conference, then?

Mr. GOMPERS. A few Members of Congress.

Mr. WILLIS. And they sent out invitations to other Members of Congress?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. What other members of the federation besides yourself attended this meeting?

Mr. GOMPERS. Secretary Morrison, Mr. Arthur E. Holder, Mr. Thomas F. Tracy, and I think one or two members of the officers of the Washington Central Labor Union; probably altogether half a dozen labor men.

Mr. WILLIS. Have any other meetings of that character been held, or had any others been held up to that time, or was that the first one you recall?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think that was the first one.

Mr. WILLIS. Have meetings like that been held subsequently?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir; there have been Members of the House of Representatives, who are members in good standing in trade-unions or labor unions, who have held meetings with the representatives of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. WILLIS. Recently?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not for more than a year and a half or two years.

Mr. WILLIS. Where were those meetings held?

Mr. GOMPERS. At the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, and at the Arlington Hotel, at a luncheon—about three of four of them have been held.

Mr. WILLIS. And thereat you discussed the matters of legislation which you were interested in?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Was any discussion had about the make-up of the Labor Committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not then, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Was there any discussion of that matter elsewhere?

Mr. GOMPERS. Among the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you relate what that discussion was? What action was taken, if any, relative to the appointment of the Labor Committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. May I relate the story in my own way?

Mr. WILLIS. Certainly. That is what I desire you to do.

Mr. GOMPERS. I want to present it as comprehensively and as succinctly as I can. The Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives was created at the request and the urging of organized labor.

Mr. WILLIS. When was that; do you recall?

Mr. GOMPERS. About 20 years ago. The thought we had was that inasmuch as the various committees of the House had so much legislation to which to give their attention, they could not or did not give attention to measures directly affecting the working people of the country, as would be afforded if a special committee of the House or an additional committee of the House was created—a committee on labor, which would give the questions and measures of labor sympathetic consideration. So that, as a matter of fact, in those days, as well as for some years after, and in recent years, the Committee on Labor was supposed to be made up of men sympathetically inclined toward labor. When Mr. Reed was slated to be Speaker of the House of Representatives, that summer he went to Europe, was in France, I think, and I addressed a letter to him, suggesting the name of, I think, Mr. Phillips as chairman of the Committee on Labor. I received an acknowledgment of the letter and was told that the suggestion would receive consideration. Mr. Phillips, of Pennsylvania, was made chairman of that committee, appointed by Mr. Reed.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt there a moment. Do you remember what Mr. Phillips's rank was on the committee? Was he on the committee at that time and in line for the chairmanship, or was he taken from off a committee outside the Committee on Labor and made chairman?

Mr. GOMPERS. I can not tell you, sir. I do not know. I say that the reason that suggested Mr. Phillips to my mind, and to the approval of my associates, was the fact that Mr. Phillips was very deeply interested in the bill for the creation of the industrial commission to inquire into the cause of depression, the cause of industrial ills, and weigh it.

Mr. STAFFORD. May I just inquire there whether this was at the time of the organization of the Committee on Labor for the first time?

Mr. GOMPERS. The Committee on Labor?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir. Several Congresses before the Committee on Labor was in existence, and I think Mr. McGann, of Illinois, was at one time chairman of the Committee on Labor. When Mr. Phillips became chairman of the Committee on Labor he was very insistent, active, and energetic, particularly in the passage of the bill creating the industrial commission, and it was created and a large amount of testimony eliciting valuable information ascertained. There may have been some recommendations, but only one bill was drafted by the commission, and that bill has not yet been enacted into law.

It was the bill giving the States the authority to make regulations in regard to convict labor coming from other States.

And in the following Congress Mr. Phillips retired, or, rather, during that same Congress, I should say, and at its close Mr. Gardner criticized our amendments to the eight-hour bill then pending and made the suggestion of the contract feature in the eight-hour law which would hold as a constitutional proposition. As I say, the Committee on Labor reported the bill favorably, but the bill died. The next Congress, Mr. Gardner, who was a Member, whether the ranking member of the Committee on Labor, I do not know, but a Member of the House, presumably by reason of Mr. Phillips's retirement would either go up or be appointed to some other important committee; and by reason of the fact that Mr. Gardner had suggested a line upon which an eight-hour law could be constitutionally drafted and enacted, and he had declared that he would aid in the drafting of such a bill, at the request of my associates I wrote to Speaker Reed, I think it was, suggesting that Mr. John J. Gardner be named as chairman of the Committee on Labor. Mr. Gardner was so named.

Mr. CLINE. Was he in line for succession then?

Mr. GOMPERS. I could not tell you, sir. I do not know whether he would have cared for it—that is, I know he did care, because I asked him about it, and he said he would have been pleased to have been appointed as chairman of the committee; but there was nothing further than the suggestion and the request.

The CHAIRMAN. Those letters, of course, were written in your official capacity?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. When the change in the political complexion of the House of Representatives was brought about, the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor were requested to have an interview with either the chairman or some member of the committee on committees of the House, with the purpose of suggesting the name of Representative Wilson, William B. Wilson, as chairman of the Committee on Labor. The committee recommended and the House elected Mr. Wilson as chairman of that committee.

Mr. WILLIS. Did your committee, as a matter of fact, confer with the committee on committees of the House of Representatives, or any member of it?

Mr. GOMPERS. With the chairman, or a member or members, I feel confident, but I do not know whether I conferred with the committee as a committee.

Mr. WILLIS. Were you personally present at any such conference?

Mr. GOMPERS. I was not.

Mr. CLINE. Did you make selections or recommendations or suggestions of any other names except the name of the chairman of the committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think not.

Mr. CLINE. Do you remember whether your legislative committee ever made out a list of names that the organization would like to see appointed on the Labor Committee, and handed to the chairman the list of those names?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know, sir. I know that we did in regard to the chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Was there any discussion of that matter elsewhere?

Mr. GOMPERS. Among the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you relate what that discussion was? What action was taken, if any, relative to the appointment of the Labor Committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. May I relate the story in my own way?

Mr. WILLIS. Certainly. That is what I desire you to do.

Mr. GOMPERS. I want to present it as comprehensively and as succinctly as I can. The Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives was created at the request and the urging of organized labor.

Mr. WILLIS. When was that; do you recall?

Mr. GOMPERS. About 20 years ago. The thought we had was that inasmuch as the various committees of the House had so much legislation to which to give their attention, they could not or did not give attention to measures directly affecting the working people of the country, as would be afforded if a special committee of the House or an additional committee of the House was created—a committee on labor, which would give the questions and measures of labor sympathetic consideration. So that, as a matter of fact, in those days, as well as for some years after, and in recent years, the Committee on Labor was supposed to be made up of men sympathetically inclined toward labor. When Mr. Reed was slated to be Speaker of the House of Representatives, that summer he went to Europe, was in France, I think, and I addressed a letter to him, suggesting the name of, I think, Mr. Phillips as chairman of the Committee on Labor. I received an acknowledgment of the letter and was told that the suggestion would receive consideration. Mr. Phillips, of Pennsylvania, was made chairman of that committee, appointed by Mr. Reed.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt there a moment. Do you remember what Mr. Phillips's rank was on the committee? Was he on the committee at that time and in line for the chairmanship, or was he taken from off a committee outside the Committee on Labor and made chairman?

Mr. GOMPERS. I can not tell you, sir. I do not know. I say that the reason that suggested Mr. Phillips to my mind, and to the approval of my associates, was the fact that Mr. Phillips was very deeply interested in the bill for the creation of the industrial commission to inquire into the cause of depression, the cause of industrial ills, and weigh it.

Mr. STAFFORD. May I just inquire there whether this was at the time of the organization of the Committee on Labor for the first time?

Mr. GOMPERS. The Committee on Labor?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir. Several Congresses before the Committee on Labor was in existence, and I think Mr. McGann, of Illinois, was at one time chairman of the Committee on Labor. When Mr. Phillips became chairman of the Committee on Labor he was very insistent, active, and energetic, particularly in the passage of the bill creating the industrial commission, and it was created and a large amount of testimony eliciting valuable information ascertained. There may have been some recommendations, but only one bill was drafted by the commission, and that bill has not yet been enacted into law.

It was the bill giving the States the authority to make regulations in regard to convict labor coming from other States.

And in the following Congress Mr. Phillips retired, or, rather, during that same Congress, I should say, and at its close Mr. Gardner criticized our amendments to the eight-hour bill then pending and made the suggestion of the contract feature in the eight-hour law which would hold as a constitutional proposition. As I say, the Committee on Labor reported the bill favorably, but the bill died. The next Congress, Mr. Gardner, who was a Member, whether the ranking member of the Committee on Labor, I do not know, but a Member of the House, presumably by reason of Mr. Phillips's retirement would either go up or be appointed to some other important committee; and by reason of the fact that Mr. Gardner had suggested a line upon which an eight-hour law could be constitutionally drafted and enacted, and he had declared that he would aid in the drafting of such a bill, at the request of my associates I wrote to Speaker Reed, I think it was, suggesting that Mr. John J. Gardner be named as chairman of the Committee on Labor. Mr. Gardner was so named.

Mr. CLINE. Was he in line for succession then?

Mr. GOMPERS. I could not tell you, sir. I do not know whether he would have cared for it—that is, I know he did care, because I asked him about it, and he said he would have been pleased to have been appointed as chairman of the committee; but there was nothing further than the suggestion and the request.

The CHAIRMAN. Those letters, of course, were written in your official capacity?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. When the change in the political complexion of the House of Representatives was brought about, the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor were requested to have an interview with either the chairman or some member of the committee on committees of the House, with the purpose of suggesting the name of Representative Wilson, William B. Wilson, as chairman of the Committee on Labor. The committee recommended and the House elected Mr. Wilson as chairman of that committee.

Mr. WILLIS. Did your committee, as a matter of fact, confer with the committee on committees of the House of Representatives, or any member of it?

Mr. GOMPERS. With the chairman, or a member or members, I feel confident, but I do not know whether I conferred with the committee as a committee.

Mr. WILLIS. Were you personally present at any such conference?

Mr. GOMPERS. I was not.

Mr. CLINE. Did you make selections or recommendations or suggestions of any other names except the name of the chairman of the committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think not.

Mr. CLINE. Do you remember whether your legislative committee ever made out a list of names that the organization would like to see appointed on the Labor Committee, and handed to the chairman the list of those names?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know, sir. I know that we did in regard to the chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you recollect whether or not the make-up of the committee was ever discussed informally by you and your associates as to who ought to be on the committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir; we never did.

Mr. WILLIS. Never did discuss that?

Mr. GOMPERS. We never did. We had often said to each other that we would like to see a committee created, as I have already said, at the request of labor, which was supposed to be sympathetically made up, with a number of our labor men, union men, on it—whether with the majority or minority it mattered little to us—and who would be members of the committee before which the subjects in which we were interested would come; we hoped that such men might be appointed. But what we wanted primarily, if we could succeed in doing it in an honorable way, was to have the chairman of the committee, and I think we all understand—you gentlemen in Congress and I, who have had many years of contact with Congressmen—that the chairman usually wields considerable influence. The fact that, unless the committee decides otherwise, the chairman calls meetings, or he does not, or he may do as Mr. Gardner did, not only oppose legislation which he himself suggested, helped to draft, but at one time, when it was suggested, when he had stated he could not get action by the committee, one of our legislative committee men said to him then, "Why don't you hold executive sessions?" I saw a change in his countenance occur. This was stated by Mr. Holder, our legislative committee man, in the presence of Mr. Johnson, then a legislative committee man for the International Association of Machinists and now the president of that association, and in my presence; and when we came out of that room I said to Mr. Holder, "You have made an awful mistake in making that suggestion. Depend upon it, we will not get into that room again so long as Mr. Gardner is chairman"; and we did not get into that room after that incident until after Mr. Gardner was no longer chairman of the Committee on Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever withdraw your support from Mr. Gardner? Did you ever make any effort to have him removed? He was chairman during a great many Congresses.

Mr. GOMPERS. I think he was.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever make any effort to have him withdrawn from that committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. The suggestion was made to Speaker Cannon to have the committees more fairly made up, so that the legislation sought, not only by the working people, but by the growing demand of the people of the country—that the committees might be made up with a fairer degree of impartiality and sympathy. When the colloquy occurred in that room next to the Speaker's room, when the bill of grievances was presented on that one day, first to the President, then to the President pro tempore of the Senate, and then to Speaker Cannon; and, by the way, quite a large number of Members came in from the House in that room and stood in groups while the colloquy occurred, and I called Mr. Cannon's attention to the fact that labor legislation was being suppressed, was being set upon, and the make-up of the committees was not fair and impartial, and he said, "You are not the whole thing; you are not the only pebbles on the beach." I said, "No, we are not the only pebbles on the beach,

but we are just a few pebbles whom you ought to consider, and whether we are small or large, influential or impotent, at least our earnest request ought to be given favorable consideration." He said, "I am only one man. I am the representative of the House," and in some of the language, not quite as lurid as was contained in the description given by Mr. Emery, the interview was ended. But we did make an effort to change the make-up of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Gardner's name specifically mentioned at any time to Mr. Cannon when you made an effort to have him removed from the chairmanship of the Committee on Labor?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir. As a matter of fact, Mr. Gardner was primarily changed from a man favorable, toward us to use his great ability to antagonize us, or to suppress what we aimed to accomplish, through the castigation given to him by Speaker Cannon.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. GOMPERS. From Mr. Gardner. At one time, for instance, the Committee on Labor, with a majority of Republicans—there were three Republicans in the committee room and four Democrats. It was a majority of the committee, and the four voted to report the eight-hour bill to the House with favorable recommendation that it pass, and because Mr. Gardner permitted that thing to occur he was castigated by Mr. Speaker Cannon.

Mr. EMERY. May I inquire, through the chairman, what year that was?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember when it was?

Mr. GOMPERS. My memory does not aid me in designating the year.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gompers I will ask you—you have made statements in regard to the attitude of Mr. Gardner relative to the legislation which you were interested in, saying that his attitude changed. When was that changed? Was it during his last term, or was it prior to last term?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think it was prior to his last term.

The CHAIRMAN. His attitude had changed then before the Sixty-first——

Mr. GOMPERS. I think it was in the Sixty-first Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the last term he was chairman of the committee, was it not? Of course he was a Member of the last Congress, the Sixty-second Congress, but he was not chairman of the committee during that time?

Mr. GOMPERS. It was in the Sixtieth Congress, then, when this incident occurred. I may cite this as an incident. We were satisfied that there were enough Congressmen in both the Senate and House at any time who were convinced of the necessity and possibility of the adoption of the eight-hour bill, if the bill would only come before the respective bodies, and the National Association of Manufacturers and the other interests opposed to this bill always played for time, always were wanting to bring in new evidence, when there was no new evidence to be submitted; when, as a last resort, when they were unable to present anything new, one of the representatives of the opposition, one of the attorneys, Judge Payson, sat down and read the printed hearings before the Committee on Labor of two, three, or four Congresses before on that same bill, simply to kill time.

Mr. RALSTON. How long did that reading last?

Mr. GOMPERS. For weeks.

Mr. RALSTON. I mean the reading.

Mr. GOMPERS. For weeks.

Mr. WILLIS. Before you leave this particularly interesting subject, I want to ask another question or two. First, will you go on and state what action was taken by your organization, if any, relative to the appointment of the Committee on Labor in the present Congress? You came up to that point, I believe.

Mr. GOMPERS. The legislative committee consulted, at our request, with the chairman or a member or members of the committee on committees of this House and suggested the names of either Mr. Lewis, of Maryland, or Mr. Buchanan, of Illinois, with the preference, if any, in the order named.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know whether that committee suggested the names of other Members that they desired on the Committee on Labor?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think they did not.

Mr. WILLIS. Who were the members of this legislative committee that conferred with a member or members of the committee on committees?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think Mr. Arthur E. Holder.

Mr. WILLIS. Who else?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know that there was any other one.

Mr. WILLIS. Did they report to you, Mr. Gompers, the result of their interview?

Mr. GOMPERS. Only recently; for, as a matter of fact, I was very critically ill for quite a considerable period of time about that time and I could do very little in connection with the movement and with legislation.

Mr. WILLIS. But you do know that they conferred with the committee on committees, or some member of the committee on committees, relative to that matter?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Now, there has been considerable testimony here from various quarters about the breaking of quorums in the Committee on Labor. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. GOMPERS. It was reported to me that the Committee on Labor, when a quorum was present, and no further evidence to be taken, no further argument to be made, and they were about to come to a vote, and were voting, when a member of the committee forced himself through the door, breaking a quorum.

Mr. WILLIS. Who was that member?

Mr. GOMPERS. I can not give you his name now. My memory does not serve me, but I can furnish you with the name.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know whether any efforts were made by any persons to keep members from going to the committee room to attend meetings of the committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. The legislative committee and representatives of labor who were interested in legislation in Congress informed me that members were deterred from coming into the committee room, or were called out when in.

I might say that Mr. Bartholdt, of Missouri, was at one time a printer in a German newspaper office, and a member of the German-

American Typographia. When he first came here, and for several years, he manifested earnest sympathy with a number of measures pending in Congress in the interest of labor. I know that his course has changed, regardless of whether he himself has changed in his judgment. I want to say that in addition to Mr. Gardner's change on the eight-hour bill, which he suggested and helped to draft, and introduce it, he voted in the House on several measures which came up directly opposite to that which he had declared to us time and again he was in entire sympathy with.

Mr. WILLIS. You are now speaking of Mr. Gardner or Mr. Bartholdt?

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Gardner, just now, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Gompers, have you any definite information about how Mr. Gardner came to change his position on these matters?

Mr. GOMPERS. He once told me that his advocacy of the eight-hour bill cost him the United States Senatorship from New Jersey, made and brought about by reason of the activity of the interests.

Mr. RALSTON. That is Mr. Gardner you are speaking of?

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Gardner, yes. He also said that he had been browbeaten and castigated by the Speaker and other leaders in the House of Representatives, and that he, under the practice, was entitled to promotion in the appointments to committees in the House, and that he had been punished because of his advocacy of the eight-hour bill, and because he stood up and spoke for labor.

Mr. CLINE. Did he claim to you that any definite class of people or interests had fought his ambition to be Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think not, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Just a general statement?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Did he name anybody else in the House of Representatives, besides the Speaker, that had browbeaten him and coerced him into the position he was occupying?

Mr. GOMPERS. He did not mention any other names. He mentioned this rather to attest to us what he had confronting him, and what he had lost, and he said, without apparent regret, it was a matter of conviction, that he was going on his way, despite what anyone would do.

Mr. CLINE. You say that your memory does not serve you well now as to the name of the Member who forced himself out of the committee when they had a majority? Do you remember what motive he had in leaving—I mean who caused him to leave, if anybody, or how did he come to leave the committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. I can not say, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. There has been some testimony here, Mr. Gompers——

Mr. STAFFORD (interposing). When was this conversation had with Mr. Gardner that you have just spoken about?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think it was some time during the Fifty-ninth Congress. I think so. I can not specify more closely.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did I understand you to say that he then stated he was going to adhere to his position, notwithstanding what influences might be brought to bear upon him?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. What Congress was it, if you remember, Mr. Gompers, when this man forced himself out of the committee for the purpose of breaking up a quorum?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think this was in the Sixtieth Congress.

Mr. CLINE. Have you known of anything since the Sixtieth Congress of that character to have happened?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You stated, I believe, that Mr. Bartholdt seemed to have undergone a change in his attitude toward measures desired by your organization?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever have any conversation with him in which he undertook to explain his change in attitude?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You do not know what his reasons were?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know, but I have an awful conspicuous suspicion.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you think it was through the influence of the National Association of Manufacturers, or people that they represented in Mr. Bartholdt's district?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have not the slightest hesitancy in believing that, and the close association existing then between the National Association of Manufacturers and the brewery interests. I should say that a number of brewery proprietors were asked not very long ago to associate themselves with the National Association of Manufacturers, and they expressed themselves as not caring to follow in the lines which the National Association of Manufacturers have followed.

Mr. RUSSELL. I believe, immediately after your statement of the circumstance of one member of the committee on one occasion forcing himself out of the door and thus breaking a quorum, you, in the same connection, or soon after, mentioned the name of Mr. Bartholdt. You do not mean to say that he was the man who did that, do you?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not remember. I think not.

Mr. RUSSELL. You think not?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Are you in a position to furnish the name of that party?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think so, sir; and I will if you desire it.

Mr. CLINE. The committee would like to have it.

Mr. WILLIS. On the question of this breaking of quorums, there has been some testimony here relative to the activity of Mr. Covington, of Maryland. Do you know anything about Mr. Covington's activity in that behalf?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not.

Mr. WILLIS. You just now spoke of the association between the National Association of Manufacturers and the brewers. You spoke of that to explain another matter. What was that connection or association, Mr. Gompers?

Mr. GOMPERS. It is generally recognized that Mr. Bartholdt represents the breweries of St. Louis. The proprietors of breweries generally are in accord with organized labor in the economic relations of employers and employees, but they are not with labor in their general propositions.

Mr. WILLIS. That is hardly a response to the question I asked you. What I wanted to get at was this: You spoke of an association or

connection between the National Association of Manufacturers and the brewers. I wanted to get at the nature of that association. Were the brewers members of the National Association of Manufacturers or anything of that sort?

Mr. GOMPERS. They were not and are not.

Mr. WILLIS. You think there was simply some understanding between them?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think so.

Mr. WILLIS. You have not any personal knowledge of that?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have not.

Mr. WILLIS. You have no personal knowledge?

Mr. GOMPERS. No.

Mr. WILLIS. Now, prior to the organization of the present Congress, was there any discussion among you and your associates, or between you and your associates on the one hand and the Members of the incoming Congress on the other, relative to the make-up of the committees of the Sixty-third Congress?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir; only after the Sixty-first Congress convened.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, that is perfectly in line with my question. What discussions took place after the Congress convened? The committees were not appointed until some time thereafter. What discussions took place after the Congress convened?

Mr. GOMPERS. Only as I have indicated—the request for the appointment of either Mr. Lewis or Mr. Buchanan as chairman of the Committee on Labor.

Mr. WILLIS. That request was presented to this committee on committees by Mr. Holder?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think so, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. You made no other recommendation as you recall?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think not.

Mr. WILLIS. And you did not discuss the advisability of any Members being on the Committee on Labor?

Mr. GOMPERS. I did not. As a matter of fact, I was incapable of discussing any important event. I was in the hospital for several months.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you ever at any time, in this Congress or in any other, seek to suggest to the appointing power the name or names of any person or persons that you desired to have on the Judiciary Committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. I did not.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Gompers, you do know, as a matter of observation, that it is the policy, unless there is some serious objection, to advance members on committees? When the chairman retires, to move the members on the committee up?

Mr. GOMPERS. I know that is the practice.

Mr. CLINE. Did you know that after the retirement of Mr. Wilson as chairman of the Committee on Labor, Mr. Hensley, of Missouri, was in line for the chairmanship.

Mr. GOMPERS. I did not; no.

Mr. CLINE. You never investigated that proposition?

Mr. GOMPERS. I did not.

Mr. CLINE. Did you ever investigate Mr. Hensley's competency to occupy the position of chairman of the Labor Committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. I did not, other than I know he was favorably inclined to labor legislation.

Mr. CLINE. Do you know whether the legislative committee did or not?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know. I think they were favorably disposed—very much impressed with Mr. Hensley. I know we all were.

Mr. CLINE. Regardless of Mr. Hensley's rights, by practice or in theory, to be moved up to the chairmanship, the committee concluded to recommend Mr. Lewis——

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Or Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Do you have in mind now the reason why you preferred Mr. Lewis, inasmuch as Mr. Hensley was acceptable to you?

Mr. GOMPERS. None other than the fact that Mr. Lewis had been a miner, worked in the mines, and knew from his own knowledge and experience the conditions under which workmen toil, and that no man, no matter how broad his sympathies or how wide his intelligence, can have a real conception of the worker's condition unless he has worked as a wage earner.

Mr. CLINE. I understand that theory, Mr. Gompers. If you follow out that philosophy that you annouce, is it not possible you might get a man, because of that very fact, that would be so prejudiced that he could not or would not give the legislation that fair and careful consideration that he ought to give in a committee because of a bias he might have because of being a strong labor man of that character?

Mr. GOMPERS. The fact of the matter is that in all our experience we have had so much of bias against us that there could be no wrong and no injury to anyone to have some one who has the knowledge and a leaning toward us.

Mr. CLINE. I take it you want a man that has such consideration for any matter that comes before him that whatever bias he may have would not prejudice his judgment with reference to the desirability of having such limitations thrown around the legislation as would be fair to everybody.

Mr. GOMPERS. The experience we have had is that we have a large-minded man, a careful man, a man of experience, and with sympathies pronounced for labor in the person, say, of Mr. Wilson as chairman of the Committee on Labor of the House. He has exercised care to have bills so drafted or changed or amended as to come within the description you have just given. The man who is a labor man, notwithstanding the fact that his strong sympathies are with labor, is none the less careful that legislation shall be properly safeguarded.

Mr. CLINE. I am not disputing that that is possible. I was just reverting to the possibility of following out your doctrine.

Mr. GOMPERS. Of course, everything is possible, but I am speaking now of the experience we have had.

Mr. CLINE. I take it, Mr. Gompers, that you would not want a chairman absolutely in the extreme on either proposition?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not being an extremist myself, I would not want a chairman to be extreme in anything. I would want him to be true

to himself and not turn a somersault upon his own measure and prove apostate to it.

Mr. CLINE. You want a man of fixed convictions, I take it?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; I would rather meet a man who is an out-and-out opponent than the man whom you can not fix anywhere—that is, I mean—the word "fix" has been so abused that I want to change it if I may and say you can not place him anywhere; you do not know how to place him. He is not fixed; he is not stable; he is not reliable in anything.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Hensley is from my State, and I want a little better to understand your attitude and the attitude of your association as to him. If I understand you, you regard Mr. Hensley as entirely friendly to the things that your association desired?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. He was entirely satisfactory to you as a member of the committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. It was not because of any opposition to him or his position or his work in Congress that you recommended some one else as chairman of that committee?

Mr. GOMPERS. You have stated it exactly. There was no feeling at all against Mr. Hensley. On the contrary, we had every respect for him and every confidence in him. We did desire that, in appointing a Member of the House chairman of the Committee on Labor—created as I have already said and for the purpose I have already stated—the chairman being the most influential member of all committees, whether of the Congress or of legislatures, should be a member of an organization of labor.

Mr. RUSSELL And for these reasons alone you asked for the appointment of Mr. Lewis or Buchanan because they had come up from among laboring men?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; and because of their ability.

Mr. RUSSELL. I understand. Did you in the canvassing of that matter in the committee on committees obtain any promise from any member of that committee that your wishes would be carried out?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir; the committee, as I was informed by the reports made, were cordially received and heard, and told that the matter would be brought before the committee and be given consideration by the committee on committees.

Mr. RUSSELL. Your request then was simply submitted to the committee on committees and left to their judgment?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand it, Mr. Gompers, every person whom your organization has indorsed, through you, for the chairmanship of the Committee on Labor, under whatever administration, has been appointed?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Phillips was indorsed by your organization, and was appointed. Whether because of that indorsement or not I do not know, but he was appointed. Mr. Gardner was indorsed, and was appointed. Mr. Wilson was indorsed in the Sixty-second Congress and was appointed. And Mr. Lewis in the present Congress was indorsed and was appointed.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have made no specific effort at any time to have anyone removed as chairman?

Mr. GOMPERS. Never, either directly or indirectly, except that in the case of Mr. John J. Gardner considerable feeling was aroused in his district because of his change of attitude, and on the request for information as to his attitude, officially given, we sought the election of another and his defeat.

May I say here that for more than a year the members of the legislative committee reported to me that Mr. Gardner had changed his entire attitude toward them and toward the things for which we stood. As I said, I am credulous, strange as that may sound, and very credulous. I could not bring myself to believe that Mr. Gardner had changed his course until the evidence was so clear that I would have been a fool had I not seen it, and, as I stated awhile ago, at the interview with Mr. Holder, our legislative committeeman, Mr. Johnson, the new president of the International Association of Machinists, and myself, Mr. Gardner seemed in such a peculiar manner to deprecate the fact that he could not get action in the Committee on Labor upon our bill. Mr. Holder, I think, inadvertently said to him, "Then, why do you not hold executive sessions?" The expression on that man's face changed so remarkably that when I left the room I said to both of them, "Depend upon it, we will never get into that room again so long as Mr. Gardner is chairman of that committee."

The CHAIRMAN. In what year did you first undertake to bring about the defeat of Mr. Gardner in his district?

Mr. GOMPERS. In 1910.

The CHAIRMAN. In prior campaigns had you aided him?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. In what way?

Mr. GOMPERS. In response to inquiries from citizens in his district asking for aid. They asked for assistance and we gave it in the manner of sending letters as to his record and as to his course. In that district they organized—whether it was an anti-Gardner movement or whether it was for the other candidate I can not say, but I am inclined to believe it was an anti-Gardner movement. And some of our organizers, upon request, were sent there to deliver addresses at public meetings.

Mr. STAFFORD. That was the 1910 campaign?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. The 1910 campaign was when you were attempting to defeat him?

Mr. GOMPERS. And in 1912.

The CHAIRMAN. You fought him in those two years?

Mr. WILLIS. In 1908 it was you sent the organizers into the district in his behalf?

The CHAIRMAN. And did you send men into his district in 1910 to organize against him?

Mr. GOMPERS. To speak against him.

The CHAIRMAN. And for that only? You did not send organizers there to organize against him?

Mr. GOMPERS. Organizers as a rule are fairly good speakers.

The CHAIRMAN. And they do both?

Mr. GOMPERS. When they organize they organize unions—not for political purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean organizing a campaign against him?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir. Their organizing is organizing unions and not organizing political clubs for a campaign, or for any other purpose other than unions. The organizers go into a district for the purpose of delivering public addresses.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you stated you used no money other than the money used in the payment of these speakers whom you sent into the district?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; and, if I may be permitted, I should like right here to say that during the recess I went up to the offices of the American Federation of Labor, and in looking over a financial statement that I submitted here on the 1906 campaign in the Littlefield district and all the campaigns of that year throughout the country—there is not more than about $1,500 that was expended in the Littlefield campaign.

Mr. CLINE. Did you not have some difficulty in showing the labor unions up there the reason for reversing yourself in your support of Mr. Gardner?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; but there were others—unionists and labor men—who had kept themselves fully informed of his course. And I think it was the Central Labor Union of Atlantic City, which is in Mr. Gardner's district, that wrote us in regard to the information.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you fight him for election or nomination in 1910?

Mr. GOMPERS. Both.

The CHAIRMAN. You fought him in both instances?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And in 1912 did he have opposition for the nomination?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not recall, but we aided the citizens of Mr. Gardner's district, at their request, to encompass his defeat.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you said this morning that in 1912 you had no political fund, and there was no report such as was made in 1910 and 1908 and 1906 as to expenditures for political purposes. I think you stated that this morning.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any expenditures for political purposes in the Gardner district in 1912?

Mr. GOMPERS. There were none.

The CHAIRMAN. You paid for the expenses of speakers there in 1912?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir; we bore no expenses in that campaign. Our campaign was conducted through two methods—one, the American Federationist, and second, our Weekly News Letter, which contained records of Members of Congress and the reports of the legislative committee and the reports of the executive officers.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gompers, it has been stated here, or at least it was stated in a letter which has been placed in evidence here, that when the sundry civil bill was before the House in June, 1910, and the Hughes amendment was offered, providing that certain funds should not be used for the prosecution of members of the labor

unions, and also an eight-hour amendment, you were in the room of Representative Cary, and had your aides and assistants here when the fight was hot, pressing on that matter.

What are the facts about that?

Mr. GOMPERS. One fact is that there is no truth in it. I never have been in Representative Cary's room, either at that time or at any other time.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you about the Capitol at that time?

Mr. GOMPERS. I was not; that is, the Capitol Building. I was in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I mean. Were you about the House Office Building or the Capitol anywhere, taking any part——

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; I did take part, but not in either House of Congress or in any of the offices of Members of Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a letter addressed by Mr. Emery—as proven in the record here—to Mr. John Kirby, jr., under date of June 24, 1910, in which he says in part:

I had the pleasure of wiring you last night the news of victory on the Hughes amendment after the closest and hardest struggle of the session.

Returning here Wednesday morning from our New York meeting, an interview with the Colonel, Mr. Dwight, and Senator Heyburn showed the Senate to be determined, the House exceedingly weak. Mr. Gompers made his headquarters in the office of Representative Cary, of Wisconsin, in the House Office Building, and had something in the neighborhood of 100 aids about him, making a persistent office canvass, petitions and memorials being piled in from every union source.

That is the statement to which I referred.

Mr. GOMPERS. In so far as that statement refers to me or any number of men with me or aiding me in Mr. Cary's office or in the Capitol Building or in any office in the Government of the United States, it is absolutely untrue.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you did take an interest in that legislation, did you?

Mr. GOMPERS. In my office, the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on G Street. I directed the legislative committeemen, Mr. Holder, Mr. John A. Moffitt, Mr. M. Grant Hamilton, to go to the Capitol and, by such assistance as they possibly could, to aid in having the Hughes amendment retained in the sundry civil appropriation bill. I am sure I am correct in saying that I did not go to the Capitol any time for the purpose of interviewing any Member of Congress in regard to that Hughes amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gompers, have you ever visited the Capitol here and the offices for the purpose of personal interviews with Members of Congress with regard to legislation?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Frequently?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir. I have not come to the Capitol frequently, but I have done it on occasions.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you if you came upon those occasions for the purpose of appealing to or arguing with men who were thought to be adverse to the legislation for which you stood?

Mr. GOMPERS. Sometimes; more generally to those men I thought, or who I was informed, were either favorably inclined or had an open mind. I might say, for instance, that when Senator Kyle first came to Washington as Senator from his State, elected by a

combination of, I think, Republicans and Populists, I formed the idea that he would be a good man to ask to father our eight-hour bill, the eight-hour bill which Mr. Gardner had helped in drafting. Mr. Morrison accompanied me to Senator Kyle's home. We introduced ourselves to him, and had a very pleasant interview, and we discussed the matter rather briefly. We asked him whether he would not only introduce the eight-hour bill, but father it and try to help in its enactment. He very gladly consented to introduce the bill.

There is one instance. Another instance was when the eight-hour bill had not been enacted, and I asked our legislative committee whether they could see Senator Borah and talk with him, and ask whether he would arrange for a conference at any time suitable to him, where he could meet two or three of us and discuss a labor measure. It was arranged, I think, at the Senator's home. We discussed the eight-hour bill very, very fully. He took the bill under advisement, and said he could not give us an answer for several days or a week. In the course of a week or less he informed us that he would introduce the bill and do his level best in order to secure its enactment.

Interviews with Senators and Representatives of that character have occurred many times.

The CHAIRMAN. Has there ever been anything secret about these processes?

Mr. GOMPERS. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. No effort at concealment?

Mr. GOMPERS. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. Just state as succinctly as you can what the duties of the legislative committee are.

Mr. GOMPERS. The American Federation of Labor at its conventions, apart from resolutions of an economic character, resolutions for legislative enactment were adopted and have been referred either to the executive council or the officers of the federation at Washington and by them referred to the legislative committee for the purpose of interviewing some Congressman to introduce the measure in the form of bills; when bills are introduced, to wait upon the chairman of the committee to which the bills are referred with a view to arranging the time when the committee could hear the advocates of the legislation; to interview Members of Congress, urging speedy consideration of these bills and prepare data and statistics, to make investigations and present the matter for consideration in the executive council of the resident members at Washington of the executive council, and in the approved form present it to committees for consideration, and they themselves—the committee—make arguments before the committees whenever necessary.

I might say that I have here a list of the names of the legislative committeemen representing the American Federation of Labor from and including 1898, and I should be very glad to submit this to the committee for incorporation in the record, if you please. It also gives the dates and years in which they have made reports, which have been published in the American Federationist, so that it would be a ready index for either the committee, a Member of Congress, or anyone else to see in the Library of Congress or in the public library

or in the offices of the American Federation of Labor and consult the American Federationist, for either of these dates of the Federationist would be easily available.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the report will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The paper referred to is as follows:)

Legislative committee reports.

Date.	Volumes.	Issue of magazine.	Members of committee.
Jan. 24, 1898	3-4	February, 1898	Andrew Furuseth.
Feb. 28, 1898	5-6	March, 1898	Do.
Mar. 30, 1898	5-6	April, 1898	Do.
July 12, 1898	5-6	August, 1898	Andrew Furuseth, George Chance.
Dec. 27, 1898	5-6	January, 1899	Andrew Furuseth.
February, 1899	5-6	February, 1899	Andrew Furuseth, George Chance.
Feb. 27, 1900	7	March, 1900	Do.
June 11, 1900	7	July, 1900	Andrew Furuseth, George Chance, T. F. Tracy.
Mar. 9, 1901	8	April, 1901	Andrew Furuseth, Thomas F. Tracy.
National legislative report	9	March, 1902	Andrew Furuseth, T. F. Tracy, Ed. L. Tucker, H. Gutstadt.
Mar. 15, 1902	9	April, 1902	Andrew Furuseth, Thomas F. Tracy, Edward L. Tucker.
Apr. 17, 1902	9	May, 1902	Do.
June, 1902 (report on Chinese exclusion).	9	June, 1902	Andrew Furuseth, Thomas F. Tracy.
June 17, 1902	9	July, 1902	Do.
Mar. 14, 1903	10	April, 1903	Thomas F. Tracy.
Mar. 14, 1904	11	April, 1904	James F. Grimes, Charles L. Nelson.
Apr. 16, 1904	11	May, 1904	Do.
How labor fared in the Fifty-ninth Congress.	14	April, 1907	Thomas F. Tracy, Arthur E. Holder.
Jan. 18, 1908	15	February, 1908	Do.
Feb. 19, 1908	15	March, 1908	Do.
May 15, 1908	15	June, 1908	Thomas F. Tracy, Arthur E. Holder, Grant Hamilton, J. D. Pierce, J. Tazelaar, J. Roach, E. Nockels.
August, 1908	15	August, 1908	Thomas F. Tracy, Arthur E. Holder, James E. Roach, J. D. Pierce, Jacob Tazelaar, Grant Hamilton, E. N. Nockels.
Mar. 13, 1909	16	April, 1909	Thomas F. Tracy, Arthur E. Holder.
Feb. 10, 1910	17	March, 1910	Arthur E. Holder.
Feb. 15, 1910	17	ay, 1910	Do.
June 18, 1910	17	July, 1910	Do.
July 7, 1910	17	August, 1910	Do.
Mar. 14, 1911	18	April, 1911	Do.
Jan. 18, 1912	19	February, 1912	Arthur E. Holder, John A. Moffitt.
Apr. 18, 1912	19	May, 1912	Arthur E. Holder, John A. Moffitt, J. D. Pierce, Grant Hamilton.
Mar. 7, 1913	20	April, 1913	Arthur E. Holder, John A. Moffitt, Grant Hamilton.

Mr. GOMPERS. I should say, in addition, that in 1881, when the federation was effected, the executive officers of the federation were known as the legislative committee, but in 1882 we prevailed upon the Senate Committee on Education and Labor to have the authorization of the Senate, and which the committee secured, for the purpose of conducting an investigation of the cause of industrial adversity and investigating the conditions of labor and of employment. At that time Senator Henry W. Blair, of New Hampshire, was chairman. In 1895 a legislative committee was created by the American Federation of Labor, consisting of Mr. Adolph Strasser and Mr. Andrew Furuseth, for general legislative purposes, and instructed to devote their entire time to endeavor to secure the passage of the seamen's bill or the bill to secure better conditions among the seamen then engaged in the coastwise trade and in the trade with near-by foreign countries. It would involve too much time to detail and describe

all of the activities through the years of the legislative committee, both then and since. It has always been for legislation of an ameliorative, or an uplifting character, of a character to bring a greater degree of justice among the citizens of our country for the protection and conservation of life and limb. As a matter of fact, when President Roosevelt called the meeting of the governors in the White House to discuss the question of the conservation of the natural resources of the country, Mr. Mitchell, vice president of the American Federation of Labor, and I were invited to participate in that conference, and I think it was left to Mr. Mitchell and to me to touch upon the conservation of the life and the health of our people. We were the only two who directly, and no one else, either directly or indirectly, referred to conservation of human life as one of the great assets of the American Republic.

Mr. WILLIS. May I interrupt you just there: Is Mr. Furuseth connected with your organization now in the capacity of legislative agent or anything?

Mr. GOMPERS. He is the representative of the Seamen's National Union of America, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. He was selected for that organization to attend Congress for the purpose of securing relief for the seamen and to secure legislation in their behalf and for their protection and for the protection of the traveling public. The American Federation of Labor, as I said, in 1895, not only indorsed those bills and selected Mr. Furuseth and Mr. Strasser to act especially for the seamen, for the seamen's bills before Congress, and to secure some relief for the seamen in the coastwise and near-by foreign countries' trade, but the Federation of Labor has indorsed the seamen's bills and we are giving every assistance we possibly can to Mr. Furuseth and to the seamen generally in furtherance of the passage of that bill.

Mr. WILLIS. But he was at one time one of your legislative representatives?

Mr. GOMPERS. For several years.

Mr. WILLIS. Where are his headquarters now?

Mr. GOMPERS. His home headquarters?

Mr. WILLIS. What is his home, or where is his office?

Mr. GOMPERS. His home is in San Francisco. He has been in Washington for several months, and he was here during the last part of or, I think, during the life of the entire Sixty-second Congress and for some time in the Sixty-first. He was in this committee room last evening and I think this morning. If the committee desires to have him appear I am sure——

Mr. WILLIS. It is not important. I just wanted to discover his relationship to your organization, that is all.

Mr. GOMPERS. He represented the American Federation of Labor as a member of the legislative committee for many years and now through one of our affiliated organizations, the seamen's.

The CHAIRMAN. I have one or two other questions, since the committee has rather taken Mr. Gompers away from you, Mr. Ralston, but I presume you had better go ahead and finish with him.

Mr. RALSTON. It will not take me very long.

Mr. Gompers, have you had anything to do with the appointment of subcommittees of the House of Representatives?

Mr. GOMPERS. Never.

Mr. RALSTON. Have you ever brought any influence to bear, except as you have already stated, to secure the appointment of any Members of Congress to any particular committees?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir; other than what I have stated.

Mr. RALSTON. Have you ever sought to procure the reference of particular bills to particular subcommittees?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir. On the contrary, we have frequently opposed their reference.

Mr. RALSTON. Desiring that the full committee should give them their attention?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. With regard to the general unity between the National Association of Manufacturers, the Industrial Council, and the Antiboycott Association, do you know whether they have put out circulars and reports under their joint names with regard to labor legislation? Do you recall them?

The CHAIRMAN. While he is looking for that, since you have mentioned that Antiboycott Association, I have examined this constitution and I see no objection to that going into the record. It may go into the record at this point.

(The paper referred to, marked "Davenport Exhibit No. 1," September 10, 1913, is as follows:)

DAVENPORT EXHIBIT 1, SEPTEMBER 10, 1913.

CONSTITUTION AA-BA.

[As revised and adopted May, 1912.]

ARTICLE I.

The name of the association is The American Anti-Boycott Association.

ARTICLE II.

The objects of the association are:

SECTION 1. To protect its members and their employees and promote the public welfare by proper and legal resistance to boycotting, picketing, unlawful strikes, and other labor conspiracies and by cooperating with the public authorities in the suppression thereof.

SEC. 2. To oppose Federal and State legislation injurious to the public good, which would impair the rights and remedies of members in the employment of labor or destroy industrial freedom.

SEC. 3. To educate the public to a better understanding of the questions relating to the employment of labor.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. No membership shall be made public without the consent of the member.

SEC. 2. Membership shall include all corporations, firms, or persons that have been approved by the chairman and secretary and have not been expelled or suspended.

SEC. 3. Resignations shall take effect three months after notice in writing to the chairman of the general executive board, provided that all assessments to the date when such resignation shall take effect are paid.

SEC. 4. Each member shall be entitled to legal advice from the counsel of the association on matters within the scope of the work of the association, and any member desiring legal action for protection against labor conspiracies may present his case to the executive board for approval. If the application is approved, the case may be conducted at the expense of the association.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. The initial membership fee for each person, firm, or corporation shall be $25.

SEC. 2. The executive board may authorize the treasurer to issue a call of assessment to the members as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 3. Such assessment shall be at the rate of $1 on each $1,000 of pay roll for the month previous to the issue of the call.

SEC. 4. No member shall be assessed on pay roll or salaries of office force or officers, or on such portion of the remaining monthly pay roll as may be in excess of $500,000.

SEC. 5. Not more than six assessments may be called in any one year.

SEC. 6. No assessment may be called when the fund in the treasury exceeds $100,000.

SEC. 7. The assessment shall be due and payable within 10 days after receipt of notice.

ARTICLE V.

SECTION 1. The management of the association shall be vested in a general executive board, which shall exercise all the powers and functions of the association except as otherwise expressly provided herein or by law.

SEC. 2. At its first meeting in each year, said board shall elect from their own number a chairman, a vice chairman, and a treasurer, and the duties of these officers shall be those usually pertaining to such officers, respectively, unless otherwise provided by the board.

SEC. 3. The board shall have power to elect from its own number an executive committee of not less than five members, including the chairman, vice chairman, and treasurer, to which it may delegate all or any part of its duties or functions except the election of officers. The board shall also have power to appoint other subcommittees from among its own members in its discretion.

SEC. 4. The board shall have power to employ and remunerate a secretary and such counsel or other agents and assistants as it may deem for the best interests of the association, and to pay the expenses of its members for attendance at meetings.

SEC. 5. It shall be the duty of the board to classify the members of the association into such groups as will give a reasonable representation on the board to different classes of industries.

SEC. 6. One-third of the members of the general executive board shall constitute a quorum and a majority of the members of any subcommittee shall constitute a quorum.

SEC. 7. The general executive board may in its discretion furnish counsel and bear any or all expense in connection with any litigation instituted with its consent for the protection of the rights of any of the members.

SEC. 8. No obligation shall be incurred unless funds to the amount thereof are in the treasury. All orders on the treasurer must be signed by the chairman or the vice chairman, and countersigned by the secretary.

SEC. 9. The general executive board shall arrange for a surety bond to be given by the treasurer at the expense of the association.

SEC. 10. The general executive board may at any time call a meeting of the members of the association.

SEC. 11. The board may suspend or expel any member for nonpayment of dues and for any other just cause.

ARTICLE VI.

SECTION 1. Each group or division of the association created by the general executive board under section 5 of Article V of this constitution shall be entitled to one representative on the general executive board.

SEC. 2. By December 1 of each year the chairman of the general executive board shall submit a list of members in each industrial group to each member enrolled in that group and the members receiving said list shall mark thereon the name of the member for whom he votes and return same to the chairman of the general executive board on or before January 1st following. The chairman shall then declare elected that member in each group who has received the largest vote and shall duly notify the members of that group of such choice.

SEC. 3. Each member of the general executive board shall serve for one year from the date of his election or until his successor is chosen.

SEC. 4. In the event of a vacancy in the general executive board, the member of the same group who received the next largest number of votes shall be elected to fill the vacancy.

SEC. 5. The chairman shall call a meeting of the general executive board as soon after election as practicable, and not later than April 1 of each year.

ARTICLE VII.

SECTION 1. On the application, in writing, of one-fifth of the total membership, a general meeting of the association shall be called by the chairman of the general executive board at such time and place as may be indicated by a majority of the signers of such call.

SEC. 2. A majority of the total membership shall constitute a quorum at any meeting.

SEC. 3. Should a meeting be unable to transact business for want of a quorum, a majority of the signers of the call, or the general executive board, may determine to submit any proposed action, amendments or business to a vote, by mail, of all of the members of the association in the manner provided for in Article VIII, sections 1 and 2, of this constitution.

ARTICLE VIII.

SECTION 1. Should the general executive board, by a two thirds-vote of all its members, desire to amend this constitution, the proposed amendments shall be submitted to all the members of the association for a vote by mail, to be sent to the chairman of the general executive board, to be counted and announced 60 days from the date of mailing the notice.

SEC. 2. If a majority of those voting approve the amendments, they shall immediately go into effect.

ARTICLE IX.

SECTION 1. At the written request of the majority of the membership presented to the chairman of the general executive board, a vote shall be taken by mail as to the discontinuance of this organization, and in the event of two-thirds of its members so voting the same shall be discontinued.

SEC. 2. In the event of discontinuance, the general executive board shall pay all indebtedness and divide the residue of the association funds among the members not in arrears, in proportion to the aggregate amount that has been paid in by each.

The CHAIRMAN. That I understand is the last?

Mr. DAVENPORT. Yes. We have only had one circular put in the record by Mr. Gompers in the Danbury Hatters' case.

Mr. RALSTON. I would say there are several circulars referred to in my question to Mr. Gompers, and I have not noticed but one of them here.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not very important is it, Mr. Ralston?

Mr. RALSTON. No, it is not very important.

Mr. EMERY. This is the one that is already in the record, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That has been inserted in the record?

Mr. EMERY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is my impression.

Mr. GOMPERS. I have not them at hand.

Mr. RALSTON. Well, we will pass from it, Mr. Gompers.

Mr. DAVENPORT. There is one issued by the National Association of Manufacturers and another by our association, the purpose being to show the whole world the conditions between the three.

Mr. RALSTON. I think Mr. Davenport will agree with me that the three organizations got out a large circular report reviewing the so-called Hepburn Act and their activities as opposing jointly the attempt to exempt labor organizations from the Sherman Act, as implied in the Hepburn Act.

Mr. DAVENPORT. I do not remember any such circular. If there is such, I would like to see it. We did labor in that field together at that time.

Mr. RALSTON. And issued joint circulars about it.

Mr. EMERY. What the gentleman has no doubt in mind is a circular issued by me in which I quoted a portion of the opinion rendered by Mr. Davenport.

Mr. RALSTON. No, sir; it was signed with the signatures of the three organizations.

Mr. EMERY. Let the gentleman produce it.

Mr. RALSTON. He can. Now, Mr. Gompers, I want to ask you a closing question. Is there anything else you have in mind particularly that, in connection with this general subject matter, ought to be laid before the committee? It is rather a sweeping question.

Mr. GOMPERS. I should say that one of the particular features differentiating the act of August 1, 1892, and the one of June 8, 1912, known as the eight-hour law, is that the former act applied to the Government works and the latter to Government work, with the contract feature in the law of 1912.

Mr. RALSTON. I asked you a question yesterday relative to Mr. Emery; I did that because Mr. Emery has testified that he did all his work for the association from an honest conviction. Can you answer that question more fully than you did last night?

Mr. GOMPERS. Last evening I saw a letter which came——

The CHAIRMAN. Was that the question you asked, whether Mr. Emery offered to take a position as editor of some paper out there?

Mr. RALSTON. Yes, sir; a paper published by some labor organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Really, Mr. Ralston, I do not see where that has any bearing upon our inquiry.

Mr. RALSTON. I submit the question, of course, to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not see where it has any bearing, whether he did or did not.

Mr. RALSTON. Except that the committee put the question to Mr. Emery.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a few questions of Mr. Gompers.

Mr. RALSTON. I object to that.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think, Judge Davenport, we will permit that.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Of course, I recognize that——

Mr. RALSTON. I would have the same right to ask the opportunity of questioning Mr. Kirby, and I did not ask that.

Mr. DAVENPORT. I thought perhaps it might assist the committee a little.

Mr. RALSTON. If that was to be allowed I should have asked the opportunity to question Mr. Kirby.

Mr. DAVENPORT. I think Congressman Stafford asked who appeared on the scene up in Mr. Littlefield's district first, and of course Mr. Gompers has given his best recollection. If Mr. Gompers has the American Federationists and has the proceedings of the Federation of Labor conventions from the inception down, as I know very well he has, and would submit them to the committee, why, the committee itself can from those ascertain the facts. I was going to call his attention to his own statement made at the time, but I perceive it would be interminable, and I recognize the proprieties. If I want to

testify to anything, of course possibly the committee would give me an opportunity to testify myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I suppose so, Mr. Davenport; anything that comes within the line of our inquiry, and that only.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. But I do not think the question of who got to the Maine district first is of very much importance, so far as our resolution is concerned. The question is whether they went.

Mr. RALSTON. They both seem to have gotten there.

The CHAIRMAN. They both seem to have gotten there; I think that is right.

Mr. GOMPERS. And Mr. Littlefield did not come back.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all, Mr. Ralston?

Mr. RALSTON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. There were one or two other questions I have noted, Mr. Gompers. In connection with Representative McDermott it was stated in one of the Mulhall letters in the World article prepared by Mr. Mulhall that he was given access by Mr. McDermott to your confidential letters—that, is letters received by Mr. McDermott, as I understood, from you. I wanted to ask if you wrote Mr. McDermott, or any other Members of Congress, as to that, confidential letters about legislative matters?

Mr. GOMPERS. I know that I have never written a letter marked "confidential" to any Member of Congress. I do not believe that I ever wrote Representative McDermott a confidential letter. I do not think that I ever wrote him a confidential letter before he was a Member of Congress, and, let me say, if I might add, that any letter that I have ever written, whether marked "confidential," or otherwise, I have not the slightest hesitancy that it be made public. I never write anything that I won't say in public. If ever a letter has been marked "confidential" by me, it has simply meant confidential for the time being, because it might be impracticable for its publicity at that time. There is not anything I have ever written the publication of which I should feel would cause me to blush or cast any reflection upon anyone.

Mr. WILLIS. Is the chairman sure the testimony was it was the confidential letters? Did not Mr. Mulhall say it was the weekly letters?

The CHAIRMAN. I got the impression in some way. Perhaps the word "confidential" was not used in the testimony or in the article, but I may have gotten the impression from the testimony that was given about it generally. You will remember that Mr. Easby-Smith examined several witnesses on that at some length.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you write Mr. McDermott letters of any sort?

Mr. GOMPERS I think I have.

Mr. STAFFORD. About legislation?

Mr. GOMPERS. I doubt it. I think not. I think I have written Mr. McDermott letters in regard to his campaign, and what I could do and what I could not do. I know I have. When in Chicago at one time and during the campaign, I think it was in 1910, a meeting was arranged by citizens in his district, and he urged me to come there to speak for him, the officers in charge of the meeting did, and I did speak in his district for him.

Mr. STAFFORD. For the primary campaign or for his election?

Mr. GOMPERS. That was in 1910, for his election. I was helpful to him in the 1912 campaign for renomination. There was a very capable upright workingman who had been approached in that district to make the race for the nomination. I was under the impression that Mr. McDermott had been fairly faithful to the pledges he made to his constituents in the previous Congress, and I doubted the wisdom and so expressed it to some of my friends in a letter to Chicago—I expressed the doubtful wisdom of his being a candidate against Mr. McDermott for nomination. The man to whom I refer is Mr John J. Fitzpatrick, of Chicago, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is the man to whom you referred?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you ever any cause, Mr. Gompers, to suspect the loyalty of Mr. McDermott to the principles he professed to advocate with respect to this labor legislation? I mean prior to the appearance of this article in the New York World. Of course, I do not know what impressions that may have made upon your mind. I mean prior to that time.

Mr. GOMPERS. In the Sixty-first Congress, when the effort was made to revise the rules of the House, Mr. McDermott voted for the rules which were adopted rather than for the rules which were proposed in the House, and he voted for the rules which, I believe, were designated as the Fitzgerald rules, or the Fitzgerald amendment to the rules. I thought it was not good faith in Mr. McDermott to vote that way, and I saw him occasionally, and when I saw him I called his attention to that, to the fact that I thought it was not quite the right thing for him to do. He said that it was rather more an inadvertence or a mistake than anything else; that he really was not very proud of his vote, and for the moment I doubted him, but after he had given me that assurance, and it was given in his brusque and apparently open manner, that dissipated any doubt as to him from my mind.

I say that report, which I published in the American Federationist for August, 1910, is the legislation committee report under date of Washington, D. C., July 7, 1910, signed by Arthur E. Holder, legislative committeeman of the American Federation of Labor, and he concludes his report by saying:

> I can not conclude this report without paying tribute to Representatives Anderson, Cary, Jamison, Martin, McDermott, Murphy, Nichols, Sherwood, Wilson, and Hughes, all of whom worked cheerfully, persistently, and loyally for the best interests of their constituents and all the people.

Mr. DAVENPORT. That was right at the time of the Hughes amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Subsequent to that—you have explained, now, just the matter you thought that entered your mind after the rules fight of March, 1910. That was when it occurred. Subsequent to that, subsequent to the time of the appearance of the article from which you have just read an excerpt, in August, 1910, did anything occur that caused you to doubt the loyalty of Mr. McDermott to the principles he professed?

Mr. GOMPERS. His vote upon the immigration bill, sustaining the veto of the President, caused me rather considerable disappointment.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gompers, is not his district of a character that would lead you to think that perhaps his constituents would be very much in favor of the vote he cast on that bill? I do not know anything about his district.

Mr. GOMPERS. So he said; but my knowledge of the working people and from coming in contact with them warrants me in saying that some of the greatest advocates for the restriction of immigration are our foreign-born citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, was there anything else except that vote on the immigration question?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not any other vote that he has cast of which I have any knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any conduct of his?

Mr. GOMPERS. Or any conduct of his; no, sir. As a matter of fact, he would visit me quite frequently and give me the assurance and impression of his whole-heartedness and concurrence with everything for which the American Federation of Labor stood.

The CHAIRMAN. I take it that you know nothing of the relations that existed between him and McMichael?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know McMichael?

Mr. GOMPERS. I am told that I have seen him, but I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. You never had any communication with him in any way, I suppose?

Mr. GOMPERS. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time that these papers were submitted to you by Mulhall and you examined them was McDermott discussed in any way at that conference?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not in any way, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose Mulhall—he was not discussed in any way, you say. That is a complete answer to the next question I was just going to put to you, which was, whether or not Mulhall said anything about McDermott being involved in any way.

Mr. GOMPERS. No reference to McDermott was made in any way, involving him in any questionable transaction. In fact, I think my answer is better covered the way I first made it to you, that McDermott was never discussed in any way.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the American Federation of Labor, as such, take any interest whatever in this loan-shark legislation for the District of Columbia which was before Congress a year or so ago?

Mr. GOMPERS. It did not.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, of course, as distinct from any local unions, or anything of that sort.

Mr. GOMPERS. The American Federation of Labor, its officers, its representatives, its legislative committee, in no wise attempted to interfere with that legislation.

Mr. RUSSELL. I believe you stated that Mr. McDermott arranged this meeting between you and Mulhall?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. And he saw you as many as two or three times before he finally arranged the meeting?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. And he was rather insistent about attending that conference?

Mr. GOMPERS. Urgent.

Mr. RUSSELL. He was present when you met with Mulhall at the doctor's residence?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. And you talked to McDermott several times after that conference about the matter?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You knew that Mulhall had been antagonistic to the things you represented?

Mr. GOMPERS. I did.

Mr. RUSSELL. Now, did Mr. McDermott's insistence about that meeting, before and after it was held, excite your suspicion in any way?

Mr. GOMPERS. It did not. The impression made upon me was that McDermott had become fully persuaded that Mulhall was conscience stricken and that he wanted to make a clean breast of all his activities, and all the machinations of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. RUSSELL. You thought he was interceding there simply as a friend of Mulhall's?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir; as a friend to the American workers, as exposing before the public the wrongdoings and the corrupt methods of the National Association of Manufacturers.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gompers, during the time of your connection with the American Federation of Labor, I believe you have already stated the matters of legislation in which you took an interest—I mean the specific matters in which the American Federation of Labor took an interest?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have not enumerated them all by any means. We have been quite helpful in first creating a demand for the establishment of a Federal Bureau of Labor, of which Col. Wright was made commissioner, and then for its extension to a Department of Labor, an independent department, and then for the creation of a Department of Labor, and our efforts were perverted by the Congress so as to really minimize the then Department of Labor, making it a bureau again, under the Department of Commerce and Labor. Then we were very active in furtherance of the bill introduced by the then Representative Sulzer in the House, and by Senator Borah in the Senate, for the creation of a Department of Labor, with the Secretary as a member of the President's Cabinet, which finally culminated in the last days of the Sixty-second Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. You took an interest in immigration legislation; that is, in restriction?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; the limitation of Chinese immigration, and finally the exclusion.

The CHAIRMAN. And also the recent efforts at immigration restriction, generally?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you took an interest in the labor legislation which you have testified about, in the injunction legislation which you have testified about. Is there anything else important, of a legislative character, that you wish to mention, which you have not already mentioned in which you took an interest?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not of a vital character. May I say this?

The CHAIRMAN. Go on.

Mr. GOMPERS. At the present time the status of the associated effort of the workers exists by sufferance, sufferance at the hands of any administration. Under the Sherman antitrust law, as it has been interpreted by the courts, there are any number of men or women who may be summarily proceeded against by the Department of Justice or by any district attorney in the district courts and their dissolution moved; any number of men can be criminally prosecuted and imprisoned for a year and fined the sum of $5,000. They can be proceeded against in that way, by any employer or business man who can show that he has suffered loss in his business through the normal activities of working people, either in association, whether temporarily formed or permanently established, and threefold damages may be claimed and obtained. And for that withholding, the man exercising no more than every man in his own individual capacity exercises almost every day in his life; that is, the withholding his patronage and bestowing it upon another, as if there were a property right that any employer or any business man has in the patronage of his fellow citizens.

Let me call attention to the fact that the hatters of Danbury, Conn., have been sued in the sum of $80,000, claiming threefold damages, and the worst that could be shown against them was that they struck work to enforce the conditions generally prevailing in the trade; the wage conditions, the conditions of hours, conditions of employment, and the regulation of the number of apprentices. Men in California have associated themselves together, so it was alleged, and went to a storekeeper and informed him that "If you continue the sale of the hats of D. E. Lowe & Co., of Danbury, Conn., we will not patronize you."

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me, Mr. Gompers. Of course, that is very interesting, but after all, it is an argument upon a question of legislation. I understand you are in favor of legislation that will prevent that condition which you have described?

Mr. GOMPERS. Of which I have only just made mention of an incident?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. GOMPERS. May I be permitted to continue just for a moment?

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. GOMPERS. Men have been indicted in New Orleans for refusing to work on a ship, loading a ship, because the owner refused to pay the prevailing rate of wages to some of his men. Men have been indicted, convicted, and sentenced; farmers in Kentucky, because they have associated themselves together for the purpose of protecting the prices of their own product, and that under the Sherman antitrust law.

We have been sued by a minority stockholder of the Buck Stove & Range Co. for $750,000 damages under the Sherman antitrust law because after a dispute between that company and the American organized workers we came to an agreement with the company, and because we came to an agreement this minority stockholder sued us and involved us in great legal expense and loss of time. Finally we were nonsuited, but that suit was brought. A number of women engaged in an effort to improve the condition of the wageworkers in the city of Philadelphia were sued for $50,000 because they sought

to improve the condition of the shirt-waist makers—the girls and women and children. I said we are subject to sufferance. We exist by the sufferance of the Government. One organization of labor, the Window Glass Workers, was dissolved. If we are not proceeded against it is simply because, I take it, that the officers in the department believe that that ought not to be done, and that the law is a bit askew, otherwise it would not exist that would permit such a thing. The workers who own nothing and control nothing but just their power to work are now under the same classification of a trust, formed by men who control the material things, the inanimate things, the production of labor, and human beings in their activities are classified under the same category as the material things, the products of labor, subjects of merchandise.

We hold that it is neither fair nor right to have that conception of the activities of human beings. Anything that is done by any man or set of men, whether they be workmen or otherwise, that is criminal in character, prosecute them, as they deserve to be prosecuted and punished, but we do protest against being characterized in the same category as a ton of coal or tons of coal, or sides of beef, or hogs, the ownership of men.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you, at any time, or has anyone connected with your association, to your knowledge, used any money or any other thing of value for political or legislative purposes in any way other than you have heretofore described?

Mr. GOMPERS. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Gompers, what did you know about the rules fight of March, 1909, that caused you to be suspicious of Representative McDermott's loyalty to his principles from the mere fact that he voted for the Fitzgerald amendment to the rules?

Mr. GOMPERS. For a number of years there was a growing feeling among the people, reflected by quite a number of Representatives, that the Speaker of the House of Representatives exercised powers which should not belong to a presiding officer of a deliberative body, particularly of the House of Representatives of the United States. That the power of appointing men upon committees, men who controlled legislation through their committees, and that the Speaker could control these appointments or who were in entire accord with his policy in the control of legislation; that that was too much power vested in the Speaker, the power to promote and the power to punish those who, in the first instance, were faithful or those who would not be always at the beck and call of the Speaker. That consciousness began to grow. I think it was probably first manifested in the Congress over which Speaker Reed presided, and then, I think, as a protest, when Representative Kilgore, of Texas, kicked in the door of one of the passageways from the House to the cloakroom, I think as a protest against the Speaker's ruling. It called attention—I think it was that kick which changed the political complexion of the next House.

At any rate, the feeling among the people grew against the exercise of that power. Then, with Mr. Cannon and his wonderful ability and his readily recognized congeniality, the power exercised by the Speaker grew, and the feeling against that power grew in proportion to the exercise of the power by Speaker Cannon. There were a

number of insurgent Members of the House who were then engaged in the effort to make changes in the rules and who would have been glad of the opportunity of voting against some other Member of the majority than Mr. Cannon for Speaker. When the opportunity came, when insurgency on the Republican side grew to such proportions and with such evident determination, making common cause with the Democrats to bring about a change in the rules and curb the power of the Speaker, it seemed to have been not a very proper thing for Mr. McDermott, with others, to vote against the best modification of the powers of the Speaker.

Mr. MACDONALD. Within your knowledge, were there any influences at work in the direction of getting Members to vote in favor of the Fitzgerald amendment, as Mr. McDermott did vote?

Mr. GOMPERS. I only learned later, but not then.

Mr. MACDONALD. Do you know now?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know.

Mr. MACDONALD. Do you know of any?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know of any.

Mr. MACDONALD. What was that you said about learning later?

Mr. GOMPERS. In this recent exposé, which you and the Senate committee are now investigating.

Mr. MACDONALD. But you had no knowledge previous to that?

Mr. GOMPERS. I had not.

Mr. FERRIS. Mr. Gompers, by reason of Mr. McDermott's association with the American Federation of Labor, you, of course, watched his political record and voting record very carefully I assume?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. I wanted to inquire if you watched his personal and private life and knew of it as intimately as his voting record?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. You do not know anything much about that?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir. I am too busy doing what I can for my fellows to be engaged in any espionage upon anyone's private life.

Mr. FERRIS. I think perhaps that is very proper, but at the same time this record is strewn with facts, Mr. Gompers, showing that while Mr. Mulhall was an active agent and representative of the N. A. M. and Mr. McDermott ostensibly a faithful member of the American Federation of Labor there were some very peculiar transactions going on between them constantly. I wondered whether you were aware of those.

Mr. GOMPERS. I was not aware of them, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. You knew nothing of that at all?

Mr. GOMPERS. I knew nothing. I said earlier in my testimony, and the repetition of it may be a confession of folly or have the appearance of vanity, but it is true that I am exceedingly credulous. It is one of my many faults.

Mr. FERRIS. That is perhaps to be admired also.

Mr. GOMPERS. I usually take a man at his word; I am inclined to believe what he says. Of course, after he has betrayed my confidence he would have to present an affidavit with everything that he said and produce another affidavit of some one who saw the affidavit made.

Mr. FERRIS. But that betrayal never occurred in your association with Mr. McDermott?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not so far as I knew.

Mr. FERRIS. And your confidence was only jarred on one or two occasions when amends were made by explanations that he made to you?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. The only votes that you recall, which you would personally criticize as being perhaps a little out of line with the Federation, were the one on the immigration bill and the one on the rules?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. In scanning over his other votes and being intimately acquainted with him, you would say the others were fairly satisfactory?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. And in harmony with his membership in the association.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes.

Mr. FERRIS. And with the card that he still carries?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. Your association with him was sufficiently close to enable you to know pretty well about his voting record and political activities, was it not?

Mr. GOMPERS. Based more upon the reports made to me by our legislative committee. I suppose it would be difficult to conceive or describe the manifold duties which devolve upon me. Whatever anyone else may have said about me derogatory, no one has ever accused me of being lazy. I have been a hard worker for many years, and I have endeavored to give the best that is in me, the best advice that I can give, the best suggestions that I can make, the best efforts that I can put forth, whether it be as a citizen, as a union man, or as president of the American Federation of Labor; I have never dodged, I have never evaded anything. I realize the responsibility that is carried with the work, which is not yet accepted by the world as the best work, for the protection and the uplift of the people of this country.

I happen not to have had the good fortune to have been born in the United States. I came here when I was a mere boy of 13, but strongly imbued wth the sense of injustice—I was a factory boy when I came here with my parents. I became impressed with the possibilities of human endeavor in the United States, the possibilities of working out the best conception of human justice and human liberty. And a coterie of men—only a small one—in my early young manhood with me made up our minds that under no circumstances should we be diverted from the work of devoting our efforts for the accomplishment of the best that can be accomplished in our time. No allurement of office or emolument or business or speculation of any sort in which one solitary dollar more or less was involved, but devotion to the human uplift and that alone and the best conception of American ideals.

That may explain why there are a number of men who in the labor movement have been——

Mr. FERRIS. I do not like to divert you from the lofty and commendable zone in which you were traveling, but I feel it my duty as a member of the committee to drop from that to a matter of detail.

I have not been here during all your testimony, but I believe you did testify that during the activities of Mr. McDermott there was a meeting between you and Mr. Mulhall at one time at some doctor's residence?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. Have you met more than once?

Mr. GOMPERS. Twice.

Mr. FERRIS. It was your understanding and belief that Mr. McDermott was bringing about an honest endeavor to let Mr. Mulhall come in with his protestations of faith in the American Federation of Labor. Was that about it?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. Were those expectations fully gratified on your meeting with Mr. Mulhall and, in short, did you believe it was a sincere change of view and change of front and change of activities——

Mr. GOMPERS. I was rather favorably impressed.

Mr. FERRIS. Of both men?

Mr. GOMPERS. Of both men.

Mr. FERRIS. Has your belief been confirmed from time to time clear on up to the present?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have not had the opportunity of either confirming or changing my impression.

Mr. FERRIS. You have not had a chance to go into these hearings, I take it?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have not.

Mr. FERRIS. You have probably seen something in the papers?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; nothing else. I saw one publication from the Printing Office, being the first meeting of this committee in which the resolution is quoted—about three pages. That is all. I have not had the opportunity to read over the testimony.

Mr. FERRIS. You may have answered this question during my absence. Was Mr. Mulhall seeking employment with your organization when he came to you?

Mr. GOMPERS. If he was, he did not mention it, nor did McDermott.

Mr. FERRIS. And Mr. McDermott did not mention it in any of his preliminary talks.

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. And neither did Mr. Mulhall?

Mr. GOMPERS. Neither did Mr. Mulhall.

Mr. FERRIS. It was a kind of repentance meeting on his part, was it?

Mr. GOMPERS. The statement was so made, and that was the impression, that he was conscience stricken; that because of his wife being acquainted with the questionable character of the work in which Mr. Mulhall was engaged it had affected her mind, and he became conscience stricken by reason of that. I had no information to the contrary, and I was impressed with the truth of his statement.

Mr. FERRIS. Subsequent to those two meetings you have not had time to make such investigations as would permit you either to confirm or to deny his good faith in the matter?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have not. After Mr. Ralston made a statement to me—following his return from Baltimore, where he went for the purpose of meeting Mr. Mulhall at his home and making an examination of his correspondence, but did not do so—I lost interest in the entire matter until the appearance of the articles in the newspapers.

Mr. FERRIS. Did he tell you at that time that he was going to sell these letters?

Mr. GOMPERS. He did not, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. I believe you have stated here that the total receipts and the total expenditures of your association are at this time approximately $200,000 a year?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. How much of that is expended here in Washington city, if you can tell?

Mr. GOMPERS. All of it.

Mr. RUSSELL. It is all expended here?

Mr. GOMPERS. That is, the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor are located here. The moneys are received by our secretary, Mr. Morrison, and expended through his office.

Mr. RUSSELL. What I had reference to was what part of it was expended for services rendered here, and what part of it is expended in political work in other States—in other districts.

Mr. RALSTON. There is none of that, if you will pardon me. None of that is expended for political work.

Mr. RUSSELL. I understood there were men sent to Mr. Littlefield's district.

Mr. RALSTON. That came out of a special fund raised in each of three different years, which amounted only to a few thousand dollars, from two or three up to eight at the outside.

Mr. GOMPERS. I have already testified and read in evidence the financial report of the Littlefield campaign, and stated this afternoon that after an investigation of the accounts and a conference with Mr. Morrison I learned that the expenditure in the Littlefield campaign in 1906 was approximately $1,500. The expenditures in Washington are the salaries for our office help, clerk hire, rent, printing the American Federationist, printing the Weekly News Letter, assistance in both these publications, the payment of the legislative committee—we had three last year, Mr. Arthur E. Holder, Mr. John A. Moffitt, and Mr. M. Grant Hamilton, Mr. Hamilton devoting most of his time to the Weekly News Letter, and incidentally acting as legislative committeeman. Mr. Moffitt resigned about five months ago, and Mr. Holder is now the only active legislative committeeman we have. We expect to add one or two more when the regular session of Congress begins.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is the monthly pay roll here of the officers and employees? Can you state from memory, approximately, what the monthly or annual pay roll is?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think I can give it to you accurately, and that would be better than approximately, I take it. In each issue of the American Federationist is published the income and expenditures for the second month immediately preceding, because we could not publish the accounts of one month immediately in the next issue, so it is always one month behind.

I hold in my hand a copy of the September, 1913, issue, in which the income and expenditures are given in detail. Shall I give the items?

Mr. RUSSELL. I asked for the salaries, but I do not care if you include rent.

Mr. GOMPERS. For the week ending July 5, 1913, the salaries were:

Salary, office employees, week ending July 5, 1913: J. Kelly, $30; R. L. Guard, $30; D. F. Manning, $25; L. A. Sterne, $25; J. E. Giles, $22——

Mr. STAFFORD. Can you give the total amount paid without the items?

Mr. GOMPERS. $697.26 for that week. That consists of bookkeepers, stenographers, typewriters, shipping clerks——

Mr. RUSSELL. Is that about an average?

Mr. GOMPERS. That is about an average.

Mr. RUSSELL. Then it is something like $2,500 a month. That does not include the officers of the association, does it?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. What salaries do the officers get?

Mr. GOMPERS. Monthly or annually?

Mr. RUSSELL. Annually will do.

Mr. GOMPERS. The president receives a salary of $5,000 a year.

Mr. RUSSELL. And expenses?

Mr. GOMPERS. And expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. That full statement was placed in evidence last night, was it not?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. I will not ask for it, then.

Mr. GOMPERS. That is actual expenses for which an itemized account is given monthly. The legislative committee is paid the same rate as is paid to any member of the executive council for loss of time—that is, at the rate of $6 per day.

Mr. RUSSELL. I am told that has all been put in the record, and I happened to be absent, so I shall not ask you about it now.

Mr. STAFFORD. What was Mulhall's attitude at these two conferences with regard to your taking charge of this correspondence?

Mr. GOMPERS. Very earnest and appealing.

Mr. STAFFORD. What did he propose for you to do as to the correspondence?

Mr. GOMPERS. To publish it, or to present it to Congress—to some Member of Congress. I think either he or Mr. McDermott made an effort to have Representative William B. Wilson take hold of it, but Mr. Wilson, in the first place, did not want to be bothered with it, and secondly, he was so busy as chairman of the Committee on Labor and as a member of the special commission to investigate the Taylor system of so-called industrial efficiency, and as a member of another committee which I do not now recall, that he was pretty well tied up and could not bother with the matter, and, I believe, did not feel inclined.

Mr. STAFFORD. Were you acquainted at that time with Mulhall having seen Mr. Wilson about this correspondence?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think it was the effort to see Mr. Wilson——

Mr. STAFFORD. Did Mr. Mulhall at either of those interviews make any statement to you that he would need the protection of the American Federation of Labor if they would take hold of it and publish this correspondence?

Mr. GOMPERS. No; but he did say that he knew the caliber of the men in that association sufficiently well to apprehend any injury to him—anything of any kind happening to him.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did he suggest that he would need any protection because of that fear?

Mr. GOMPERS. No. He did say that he felt sure he was being spied upon, and that that was one of the reasons why he did not want to meet me first in my office.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall whether it was only this correspondence of Mulhall's that he submitted to you on these two occasions, or was there any other kind of papers?

Mr. GOMPERS. He said he had taken these from numbers of papers, and that they were only an indication perhaps of the more important things that he could not bring over with him or would nor trust himself to bring over.

Mr. STAFFORD. Were there any copies of any affidavits claiming to refer to his connection with some Pittsburgh labor difficulty in opposition to Detective Burns presented to you at either of those conferences?

Mr. GOMPERS. In regard to Philadelphia?

Mr. STAFFORD. I believe they referred to an incident when he was connected with some employment at Pittsburgh.

The CHAIRMAN. Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. STAFFORD. Cleveland, Ohio, the chairman says, some 20 years ago.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Who had possession of those documents?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think Mr. McDermott had.

Mr. STAFFORD. Were they presented to you for inspection or consideration?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. At which conference were they presented, Mr. Gompers?

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. McDermott showed them to me and left them with me.

Mr. STAFFORD. When? Before any conference had taken place?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think it was after the first conference; after the first or second conference. I think that the reason urged for my inspection of those affidavits was to show the character of the attempts made by detective agencies.

Mr. STAFFORD. What was done as to those affidavits?

Mr. GOMPERS. I returned them to him.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you examine them?

Mr. GOMPERS. I examined them; yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. And returned them to whom?

Mr. GOMPERS. To Mr. McDermott.

Mr. STAFFORD. When?

Mr. GOMPERS. Within a few days after he left them with me.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you make any comment to Mr. McDermott as to those in any particular?

Mr. GOMPERS. Simply that Mr. Mulhall must have had a hard time of it, and that he was evidently beset by a tough gang, who were trying to do him injury, but as to whether he was innocent or guilty of the charges made against him at that time I was not clear. It was a matter in which I could not interest myself; I was too thoroughly engaged in my work and duties.

Mr. STAFFORD. You did not investigate the truthfulness of the facts contained in those papers?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not at all. I dismissed the matter entirely from my mind.

Mr. STAFFORD. How often would Mr. McDermott call upon you at your office during a session of Congress?

Mr. GOMPERS. Oh, of course, that depends upon the length of the session.

Mr. STAFFORD. During the month, how often would he call upon you?

Mr. GOMPERS. He would call upon me perhaps twice in one month and perhaps not again in two or three months; and during that period, from his first visit to me to bring about the interview with Mr. Mulhall and myself, until his final fruitless effort to have me take hold of the matter, I think that the visits were not less than 10.

Mr. STAFFORD. Other than that special occasion, I was trying to ascertain how frequently Mr. McDermott would call upon you.

Mr. GOMPERS. As I say, sometimes I would, not often, meet him on the street. Then, I never——

Mr. STAFFORD. No, I mean calling at the office.

Mr. GOMPERS. Of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes, the American Federation of Labor, to see you?

Mr. GOMPERS. Probably once in two months. There was never any regularity.

Mr. STAFFORD. Were they voluntary calls, or as the result of a letter sent to him to call?

Mr. GOMPERS. Always voluntary on his part.

Mr. STAFFORD. You testified as to the sending out of a letter in Mr. McDermott's behalf in the last campaign for the nomination in 1912.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall any other instance where you enlisted or where you gave your support in behalf of any other candidate for Congress?

Mr. GOMPERS. A great many of them; many, sir, for the nomination as well as for election; and at each instance it was upon the request of some one or more of the constituents.

Mr. STAFFORD. In taking that position for the retention of Mr. McDermott, in the case instanced, there was another candidate in opposition to him, against whom, I believe, you said you had no grounds for opposing?

Mr. GOMPERS. On the contrary, I had reason to have confidence in him.

Mr. STAFFORD. And you sent out this letter because you thought Mr. McDermott was a good representative for the principles and policies advocated by your organization?

Mr. GOMPERS. He had so declared himself and so voted and so acted, and I had no reason to doubt it.

Mr. STAFFORD. How many conferences of Representatives in Congress to consider legislation pending in Congress have you attended, Mr. Gompers?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not catch the full purport of the question, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Perhaps you will if the reporter will read the question.

The STENOGRAPHER (reading):

How many conferences of Representatives in Congress to consider legislation pending in Congress have you attended, Mr. Gompers?

Mr. GOMPERS. With one Congressman?

Mr. STAFFORD. No; more than one.

Mr. GOMPERS. More than one at a time?

Mr. STAFFORD. At a meeting of Congressmen. I believe you testified to a meeting of some 60 at the Arlington Hotel, at which you were present?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; that was one.

Mr. STAFFORD. I am trying to ascertain whether there were other conferences.

Mr. GOMPERS. There were two or three conferences in the office of the American Federation of Labor with the Congressmen who were members of organized labor, and at the close of the Sixty-first Congress, just after the defeat of the Hughes amendment, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor was in session in Washington at that time, and we had a final lunch and invited about 15 or 20 Members of Congress to break bread with us.

Mr. STAFFORD. That was a social meeting?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; there was no conference of any sort other than it was one of an interchange of courtesies and expressions of good will.

Mr. STAFFORD. What I am trying to ascertain is whether you or any other officers attended any regular meetings or any meetings of labor representatives?

Mr. GOMPERS. None other than what I have enumerated.

Mr. STAFFORD. There has not been, as I understand you, any meetings of labor representatives in the House Office Building or at your headquarters here, so far as you know of?

Mr. GOMPERS. I know there was not.

Mr. STAFFORD. There is some testimony in the record here of meetings of the so-called labor group.

Mr. GOMPERS. I have enumerated them. There were about two or three meetings of the labor group.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will you kindly repeat which they were, the different occasions, as you now recall them, and what the subjects were?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think they were in the Sixty-first Congress. There were one or two meetings and I think there was one in the Sixty-second Congress.

Mr. WILLIS. None in the Sixty-third, you are sure?

Mr. GOMPERS. None.

Mr. STAFFORD. To consider legislation that was then pending in Congress?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; which was affecting us.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think yesterday there was read into the record an excerpt from the Federationist, and I have before me a copy of the Federationist of January, 1912. That was what I had in mind when I put the question to you. It reads as follows, and it may refresh your memory, or you may be able to explain it, so I read:

"President Gompers's report" is the heading.

Continued from last issue.

Labor group in Congress.

The 15 Members of the House of Representatives holding trade-union cards of membership recently held conferences at the offices of the American Federation of Labor, counseling with us as to the best methods by which they could be of service to the cause of labor and to the people generally. At the meetings no resolution was either adopted or proposed. The measures before Congress or its committees were freely discussed. The general consensus of opinion expressed impressed itself upon the minds of these Representatives. While no conclusion of a binding char-

acter was reached, yet the labor group in the House of Representatives, regardless of political party affiliation, acted in unison and with advantageous results.

For convenience, as well as the record, I give the names of the labor group who are Members of the House of Representatives in Congress and the names of the organizations of which they are members and the parties to which they are attached.

And then follows the names of some 15 or 16 Members.

Then there is the following:

The good this group of labor men has already accomplished, the good they can and will no doubt do in Congress, should imbue the men of labor and all liberty-loving citizens with the duty, the responsibility, and the advantage of not only securing the reelection of the members of this group, but also increasing the number and the possibilities of their influence and power for just and humane legislation.

That ends that part of your report headed "Labor group in Congress." I wish to ask you specifically—and that was the purpose of my former inquiry—as to how frequently, as you say, these conferences were held with officers of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think there were not more than two or three.

Mr. STAFFORD. As you have described them?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. And narrated them?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. As I stated in that report, there was not anything that was binding upon any Representative. It was a question of going over these bills, of going over these measures—of the urgency and the need of them—and after adjournment, why, each man, each Representative, I suppose, was impressed and influenced by the discussion. As a matter of fact, they themselves were very much in accord with us. It does not require any argument to persuade them to believe in these measures; it was as to the possibility of their enactment.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall having met Mr. D. M. Parry, former president of the National Association of Manufacturers, some time in the Capitol, at which was considered some legislation in which you were vitally interested, and to which he was opposed, and the conversation had at that time? It was back about 10 years ago, or 8 years ago.

Mr. GOMPERS. I remember seeing him under some such circumstance.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall the conversation or the incident?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not.

Mr. STAFFORD. He testified to such a meeting here and I did not know whether you had a recollection of that incident or not.

Mr. GOMPERS. Not other than the fact that I met him. I recall also having met him one day in Indianapolis, his home city, on the street, and he did me the courtesy of speaking to me and passing the time of day.

Mr. STAFFORD. Only one other question, Mr. Gompers, as far as I am concerned, or one other topic: I assume that you send out large quantities of literature from your office?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. The Federationist and these other matters of your private publication?

Mr. GOMPERS. A weekly news letter and the pamphlets.

Mr. STAFFORD. Have you ever sent out any speeches contained in the Congressional Record?

Mr. GOMPERS. Did I?

Mr. STAFFORD. Has your organization ever sent out any speeches contained in the Congressional Record?

Mr. GOMPERS. Well, the Congressmen have who delivered speeches.

Mr. STAFFORD. Speeches relating to those subjects in which you are directly interested?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. How would those come to be sent out?

Mr. GOMPERS. Through the mails, of course.

Mr. STAFFORD. I mean at the expense of your association?

Mr. GOMPERS. At times, and very frequently by the Members themselves. Generally by the Members themselves.

Mr. STAFFORD. You have distributed, then, as I understand, some speeches direct from your office that had been furnished you by Members of Congress?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Under the franks of those Members?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you know how generally that has been, or how generally you have done that?

Mr. GOMPERS. No; it has occurred.

Mr. STAFFORD. Sent into different parts of the country?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall any instance now where that happened?

Mr. GOMPERS. The speech of Representative Sulzer on the creation of the Department of Labor, his speech in which he quoted an editorial from the American Federationist, and a document on industrial education and vocational training, which the American Federation of Labor had prepared by an expert and which at the instance of Senator Page was made a Senate document. I do not now recall any other.

Mr. STAFFORD. And those you distributed to whom? The members of the association?

Mr. GOMPERS. The press, the labor press, the reformed press, libraries, colleges, universities, and schools, and particularly schools having undertaken the discussion or the administration of industrial education. I think that covers it.

Mr. STAFFORD. They went out under the franks as they were furnished you from the Senator or the Representative?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; and for the purpose of disseminating the views of the Senator or Representative as they desired to have them made public and better generally known.

Mr. STAFFORD. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman, as far as I am concerned.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Gompers, will you state very briefly the character of this weekly news letter to which you have referred? What was the character of the information which it contained? In what form was it sent out?

Mr. GOMPERS. Generally a page of, I think, 16 by 24, of seven columns, printed on one side, and containing the latest news in the industrial, economic, sociological, and political field of all America, and, in some instances, from foreign countries. We receive at our offices the reports of the labor movement of the entire civilized world and from these reports and bulletins as well and sometimes from the

consular reports published by the Federal Government, a line or more or an item of about a printer's stickfull is sent to the labor press of America and of Europe. In it there are frequently published the reports of the legislative committee, "The progress of legislation," both in the Federal Government and in the States—the status reported and any achievements.

Mr. WILLIS. Then this letter was in no sense a confidential communication at all? There was no secrecy about it?

Mr. GOMPERS. No more of a secret than any other newspaper.

Mr. WILLIS In fact, you wanted to give the widest possible publicity to it, and anyone who wanted to get a copy could get it?

Mr. GOMPERS. If anyone, I do not care who he is, would write in a postal card to the office of the American Federation of Labor, we will put him on the mailing list and he will receive it free every week.

Mr. WILLIS. You have testified here concerning the activities of the legislative agents of the American Federation of Labor. Do you know whether in their personal calls upon Members they ever threatened them with political displeasure in case they did not favor the legislation that the legislative agents were advocating? In other words, did they make any threats?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, not threats; except as possibly Mr. Emery said before the Judiciary Subcommittee of the Senate last June a year ago. He said that he never heard Mr. Gompers make a speech unless he accompanied it with a threat.

Mr. EMERY. You are referring to Mr. Drew, are you not?

Mr. GOMPERS. Really, you are so identical I imagined you are one. [Laughter.]

Mr. EMERY. The threats have been heard by both, so I assume you thought either might have said it. [Laughter.]

Mr. WILLIS I was just going to ask about that, but since you have referred to it I will ask if, in your statements before committees, or conversation with Members, you ever threatened them with political extermination?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have not. I will say this, I have appeared before many committees of Congress, for more than 30 years, and I think that it is fair to assume the committees would not care to hear me if I did not conduct myself at least as a reasonable human being. No man who engages or indulges in threats is likely to receive the respectful consideration or the favorable consideration of a committee, and I am very anxious to receive favorable consideration of committees for the legislation which I seek. It is a fact that in the bill of grievances we did say to the President of the United States and to the President pro tempore of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

> We appeal to you, because you are the representatives of those who are responsible for legislation or for the failure of legislation [I am quoting from memory, and I have not a good verbal memory]; and if you shall disappoint us, if you shall fail to do the things which we, as citizens, ask and are convinced should be enacted, we shall appeal from you to the citizens of the country, to the conscience and to the support and sympathy of our fellow citizens of the United States.

Now that was, if you please, a threat, if you construe that into a threat. And, as I am corrected by Mr. Emery, Mr. Drew made the statement—I did not think he ever heard me more than once or twice before any committee—he said, "I never heard Mr. Gompers make

a speech to any Member or a committee unless he accompanied it with a threat." I took up the gauntlet at that time and I denied it and repudiated it and then said even if at any time I made a threat, what was it? The threat that I had the right to make, the threat that unless I can persuade you, as a Member of Congress, to enact into law the legislation which I think is just, I shall appeal to my fellow citizens to elect some one else in your stead who conforms his course, his thoughts, and his actions more nearly in accord with those I believe to be right. And that is the exercise of citizenship, of sovereignty, and the franchise, and that is what political parties do; that is what men having interests do; that is what I have done and what I think we have all done, and that is what I think we shall continue to do.

Mr. WILLIS. A little while ago you read, I think, from the Federationist a part of a statement by Mr. Holder, in which he enumerated a number of Members of the House, commending them for their movement in behalf of measures in which you are interested. That leads me to make one more inquiry, whether you have issued a blacklist of Members you think ought to be defeated, either by circular or by publication in your monthly journal or any other way?

Mr. GOMPERS. No, we never published nor have a blacklist. We did publish the votes of Members of both Houses upon measures—we published the record.

Mr. WILLIS. But you have never made up any list and said, "Here is so-and-so, and so-and-so, who ought to be defeated?"

Mr. GOMPERS. Never.

Mr. WILLIS. You never published any such list?

Mr. GOMPERS. No.

Mr. WILLIS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You may be excused, Mr. Gompers.

Mr. GOMPERS. May I just be permitted to say a word, before I leave the stand? I wish to say, Mr. Chairman, a word in regard to two of our matters. One is the work in which the American labor movement is engaged. I shall not attempt to make any speech; I am admonished that I ought not, anyway; but I want to present to your consideration this fact, that in our country there is not any legend nor is there any tradition by which the employers of labor have any interest in the welfare of the workers, as such, except as they are workers and wealth producers. In other countries which have been in existence a thousand and more years, and which have emerged from a system of slavery and serfdom and peonage and the ownership of workers, there has been some continuous interest which the owner of the slave or the master or the baron of the serf—there has been some continued interest of the patron, the father, the owner, in the well-being of his workers; and notwithstanding countries have broken through the shell of that condition, yet there is a manifest feeling in the conduct on the part of employers in Europe and in other countries to-day. In the United States we have just burst into a nation with conglomerate elements, no responsibility, no care for the workers, or of the workers, for their welfare, and in no country on the face of the globe is there such a relentless disregard of the human race by employers, of the workers of the country, than that which exists in our Nation. There is more regard for the horse owned by a man, more regard for the mule, more regard for any animal,

for the loss of an animal would have to be replaced by purchase. It is costly.

Human life in our country has been so totally disregarded in relations of employers and employee that there must step in some power, some factor, which shall mitigate such a condition of affairs.

Mr. STAFFORD. May I just break in on you there for a moment. Take the State of Wisconsin, as to the legislation that our legislature has passed to protect the workingmen in their industrial employment. I would like to ask you, Mr. Gompers, if European nations are much further advanced in the protection of the life and the security of the workingmen than the legislation which we find in Wisconsin, and the resultant security that that legislation gives to the workingmen in the State of Wisconsin?

Mr. GOMPERS. We are, in the United States, not less than two decades behind many of the European countries in the protection of the life, health, and limb of the workers.

Here and there considerable improvement has been made, and even in Wisconsin the improvements have been made within the past 10 years.

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. GOMPERS. And to what without want of recognition and appreciation of the service rendered by public-spirited men, to what is attributable the protection which has come to the workers even in Wisconsin, except the agitation and the organization of the workers who have created the public sentiment and demand for the enactment of these laws? Without the associations of labor, without their activity before the legislatures and before the Congress they would be still working their 12 or more hours a day, and there would be no protection to life and limb and health in their work.

Workingmen's compensation—much progress has been made in the last two or three years in the United States upon that subject, but we are behind England 10 years; we are behind Germany 20 years.

Now, look how there still exists in our States, in some of the jurisdictions, the employer's defenses, the negligence of fellow employees, contributory negligence, the assumption of risks, or as the courts of the State of New York decided in the case of a woman who lost her arm in her work, that it was an assumption of risk when she took employment, and she was nonsuited, but she lost her arm. Railroad accident cases might be cited. A man at a telegraph office at a way station fails to give the proper signal at the proper time. The railway engineer is killed by reason of it. Instead of compensation the plea is put forth that it was the fellow employee's negligence.

I mean to say this, that if there were not some power, some factor, to check this mad greed of employers, there would be no telling where the people of our country would drift industrially and commercially and politically, and particularly humanely.

The labor movement of America, crude as it is, poorly organized as it is, poorly officered as it is, is the only movement of a practical character which takes into consideration these conditions, and protests, and protests, and protests against the wrong and the slaughter of the humans, insists upon a better recognition and the safeguarding of the men and women who give their services that society may proceed and progress.

And that brings me to the second thought, and that is what I wanted particularly to emphasize, and it is this investigation by the House and the investigation by the Senate. I think that any man or association of men that use money corruptly, or corrupt means, or corrupt methods, ought to be hailed to the bar of the courts or the Congress and dealt with as they deserve. But to make a hue and cry about what is termed "lobbying."

Those who are in antagonism to our labor movement and who call themselves interested in the cause of labor—there are some who stigmatize us not only as labor conservatives, but who say that our movement is the barrier to their social revolution—it is they who charge us with begging and lobbying in Congress, and as one man has said, "He has worn out his knee pads in begging Congress to do justice to his fellow workers." We have never called our representatives who have asked for legislation a lobby. We have given them the dignified name of a legislative committee, a committee seeking the furtherance of legislation in the interest of the common people of our country. There is not a piece of legislation that any man can charge us with advocating which is not in the interest of every man, woman, and child of the United States. It is not confined to men of organized labor. It is the men of the organized-labor movement who stand sponsor for it and bear the brunt and expense of it, or who go down into their pockets in order to do it, or who give their efforts, many of them voluntary, many of them without payment and without hope of reward, many of them who devote their time and attention and talent to the work, and who, if they devoted the same time and attention and talent to business, might be made wealthy or might possibly figure in public office.

Why should we not have our labor representatives here as our legislative committee? Why should we not have representation in Congress? Why should we not have a representative in the Cabinet of the United States? In not less than eight countries in Europe, and in several countries in America, there is a department of labor, with a distinctively labor man, growing out of the ranks, or rather still in the ranks until selected for high office, at the head of the department. It is a recognition of the transition of society. It is an acknowledgment of the extending of this transition of society from the merely and purely political to the industrial and social. The men of labor were those who made the protest for the children; not me, not any of us who are living, but the men who have gone before. They made the first protest against the slaughter of innocents in industry, and we have simply taken up the work they did, and we are appearing here, appearing before Congress, appearing before the legislatures, purely as men and women who have this vital interest at heart, with the one dominating thought to make the life of the people better worth living; the exercise of our rights as men and citizens, our vote, our franchise, our judgment, our conscience, our power of speech, our power of thought, our power of association, in order to accomplish the best that can be accomplished in the interest of the entire American people.

I thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

(Thereupon, at 6.10 o'clock p. m., the committee took a recess until 8.15 p. m.)

EVENING SESSION.

The committee reassembled, pursuant to the taking of recess, at 8.15 p. m.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you proceed, Mr. Ralston, I want to make a suggestion with a view to shortening the testimony, and that is that the members of the committee permit Mr. Ralston to get entirely through with his examination before members of the committee ask any questions, and then when the committee reaches the questioning that we observe the rules that we have adopted. I believe that will expedite the proceedings. I simply make that suggestion in that interest.

Mr. RALSTON. I shall only ask Mr. Morrison two or three questions, Mr. Chairman. I think the federation has said practically all it desires to say on its own behalf through Mr. Gompers, who, as you know, has been very thoroughly examined. I simply want to ask Mr. Morrison a few formal questions, and then I will turn him over to the committee.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK MORRISON, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. RALSTON. Mr. Morrison, what is your occupation, please?

Mr. MORRISON. I am secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. RALSTON. How long have you filled that position?

Mr. MORRISON. Since the 1st of January, 1897.

Mr. RALSTON. Fifteen years?

Mr. MORRISON. Sixteen years, going on seventeen.

Mr. RALSTON. And you have served continuously during that time?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. And during how much of that time has the federation been located in Washington; that is, had its headquarters in Washington?

Mr. MORRISON. During the whole of that time, with the exception of about two weeks in the first part of January, 1897.

Mr. RALSTON. What, in a general way, are your duties as secretary?

Mr. MORRISON. My duties as secretary are to receive the moneys and draw warrants and pay out all moneys on regular warrants drawn through the treasurer.

Mr. RALSTON. I will ask you one or two more questions. Do you account at regular intervals for all the money coming into your hands as secretary?

Mr. MORRISON. I account for all the moneys to the convention, except any money that may be raised for any special purpose; and then that is accounted for to the executive council.

Mr. RALSTON. Is there any other officer authorized to receive money on behalf of the federation except yourself?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. And is there any other officer entitled to pay out money except yourself?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. How frequently are your accounts published?

Mr. MORRISON. Monthly in the Federationist and yearly in the proceedings.

Mr. RALSTON. Do you take vouchers for all moneys paid out by you as secretary?

Mr. MORRISON. Receipts and bills.

Mr. RALSTON. And are your accounts regularly audited?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes.

Mr. RALSTON. How often?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, always before each convention by an auditing committee that is appointed in this way: In accordance with the constitution, President Gompers writes to the presidents of three affiliated organizations and requests them to select one of their delegates to that convention to act on an auditing committee and a credential committee. Now, they meet at the headquarters prior to a convention and audit the books and report to the convention.

Mr. RALSTON. Have you kept all the vouchers for expenditures made by you since you became secretary of the federation?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir; I have all vouchers belonging to the federation, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. RALSTON. You also performed the ordinary duties as secretary, I presume?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir; attend to the correspondence, and I am secretary of the executive council and secretary of the convention.

Mr. RALSTON. You are, by virtue of your office, a member of the executive council, are you not?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RALSTON. I think that is all I desire to ask, Mr. Chairman, by way of introduction.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Russell, will you examine Mr. Morrison?

Mr. RUSSELL. You are the secretary of the federation?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. What other business have you to perform in addition to your business for the federation?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, to assist in any way, under the direction of the president, in any of the work in connection with the federation. I also take care of the organizing work and direct the organizers.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is all of your work here at the Capital, or do you go out into the States?

Mr. MORRSION. If there is a matter or a proposition that is serious, and one that we are familiar with at headquarters, and Mr. Gompers is unable to go, or perhaps some of the members of the council can not go, I am often instructed by Mr. Gompers to go and adjust such matters. Once in a while, not very often, I have occasion to go sometimes before some of the committees of the State legislatures, although there is only one committee I have ever appeared before, and that was in New Jersey, the judiciary committee.

Mr. RUSSELL. That was a committee of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You went before them to argue some bill in which you were interested?

Mr. MORRSION. And to clear up a false impression that had been made by the representative of the manufacturers' association.

Mr. RUSSELL. The greater part of your work is here in Washington?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir; I am the office man and am in the office nearly all the time, although I am sent out sometimes. I go to different cities and run out for a day or two.

Mr. RUSSELL. You mostly direct the work that is done here at the Capital through the office of which you have charge?

Mr. MORRISON. President Gompers is the directing force in everything pertaining to the office; but the federation has grown since my time. When I came into office, there were only 265,000 members, and the membership has grown to over 2,000,000, and with that great growth has come an increased amount of work, and I assist in every way I can in the general work of the federation; assist President Gompers.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, as secretary, you are ex officio a member of the legislative committee, are you?

Mr. MORRISON. Since—well, no and yes. Since 1906, when the labor representation committee, consisting of President Gompers, Vice President O'Connell, and myself, was organized, it has been our duty, to a certain extent, to look out for legislation, and there are occasions where we have taken an active interest in legislation. I might say that up until about 1905 I took very little interest in the endeavor to secure legislation from the Congress of the United States. I believed it was in some manner a waste of effort. That is my personal belief. I was of the opinion that labor people were given very little consideration; that while we went to a Congressman in a respectful way and talked to him, he would of course treat us kindly and tell us that he would look into it. That is about all we got out of it.

Mr. RUSSELL Since that time have you given more time and attention——

Mr. MORRISON (interposing). In 1905, when the manufacturers started in a campaign to destroy the labor unions, and when the result of their work appeared to reach considerable proportions, and when I realized that they seemed to have great influence in preventing legislation, I said to President Gompers that the wageworkers of this country should bestir themselves to secure recognition, and secure the election of labor men to Congress, men who knew what they wanted, and after that we started the campaign of 1906. Since that time I have taken an active interest in trying to secure results along the policy adopted by the federation of nonpartisan political action, as some term it. We are partisan to a principle, but not to a party. That is, where we had a Republican who was favorable to legislation, and indicated a desire to be what we termed fair, we supported him; and a Democrat likewise We believed that there are many million wageworkers, and that it was necessary, if we desired to do away with the unrest in this country, that the wageworkers should receive some consideration It appeared to me that all the consideration was given to great industries—railroads, the Steel Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Packing House Trust, if you please. I am not blaming the Congressmen. This is a condition which came in, and gradually these great corporations became so powerful that everything had to give way, and it appeared to me that even the Representatives in Congress feared to offend them.

Mr. RUSSELL Since that time, then, you have been more active in political matters than you were before?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes; in accordance with the instructions which we received from the convention.

Mr. RUSSELL. Now, as an officer of the federation, and a member of the legislative committee, as I understand, what have you done here toward trying to control legislation?

Mr. MORRISON. To secure legislation?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; to secure it or defeat it, either?

Mr. MORRISON. That is, to prevent legislation from being adopted?

Mr. RUSSELL. You opposed some bills as well as supported some?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes. We opposed any bill that we felt would make conditions more irksome to the wageworkers.

Mr. RUSSELL. In what way have you sought to control legislation, either for or against it?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, the first proposition that we had in mind was to secure the election of men who knew something about what labor wanted; who understood it on account of the fact that they were laborers themselves. We started in the first campaign in 1906, and we elected 4 men. In 1908 we elected 10, in 1910 there were 15 which we termed "the labor group," and in 1912 we felt that we had 18 or 19. One of the things that I have advocated in every speech that I have made on Labor Day was the fact that we would never be satisfied until we had a Department of Labor, with a Secretary who was a member of some trade or calling, who would sit in the Cabinet of the President. The result of our six years' agitation has brought that about.

Mr. RUSSELL. Now, I want to ask you a question right there. You say you elected in one year 4 men, and in another year 10, and so on up to 18 or 19. Do you mean that these men whom you say you elected are members of the organization?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes; or had been members of the organization, and had worked at some trade or calling that was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; or even if it was not it would not have made any difference so long as the man had the experience.

Mr. RUSSELL. You stated you elected these men.

Mr. MORRISON. Perhaps you will allow me to qualify that rather than dwell on it, and say that we assisted in his election to the best of our ability.

Mr. RUSSELL. I was going to ask how you know they would not have been elected had it not been for your assistance?

Mr. MORRISON. Of course, we do not know anything about that.

Mr. RUSSELL. You did not take any part in causing these men to become candidates?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, we suggested to labor men in the various districts that they should secure labor men, secure their nomination on the various tickets.

Mr. RUSSELL. You did not select the men who should run?

Mr. MORRISON. Let me describe, as I understand it, the mode of procedure which the federation has adopted. The federation officials selected no one. We have a legislative committee here and we watch the legislation, and then we say to the different central bodies, of which there are some 600 or 700, and the State bodies, "It is your

duty to see that fair men are nominated and fair men elected in your district." We furnished them with the records and we said to our local people, "Now, this is the record; you judge for yourself whether or not this man is the man that you want to represent you or whether some other candidate will be more satisfactory."

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, when a man is nominated upon your suggestion and by your assistance you feel called upon to try to make his election sure, do you?

Mr. MORRISON. No; we allow the local people to work it out the best way they can; that is, the local organization of labor people in that district. Sometimes they ask for the assistance of an organizer, but that is the exception.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you not render any assistance in the districts unless it is called for?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Unless it is called for by the local people of the district?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir. If they call for assistance, if we can give it to them, we will; but we have very little funds, and we feel that the local people are best qualified to look after the election of Representatives to Congress and members of the legislature.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you not gone into districts yourself in the interest of candidates for Congress?

Mr. MORRISON. No; I have not. I did make a trip into New York and Rhode Island, where I spoke against the election of President Taft.

Mr. RUSSELL. But you have not gone into any congressional district?

Mr. MORRISON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that in 1908 or 1912?

Mr. MORRISON. That was in 1912—no, in 1908. I did not go out at all in 1912.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, have you sent anyone else from Washington, except as Mr. Gompers stated, he has gone out; have you sent anyone else from headquarters here into any other congressional district?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, we have—there were men sent into the Maine district, which Mr. Gompers spoke about. Their names appear on record here. They were Mr. Taezlaer, Mr. Stuart Reid, Mr. M. Grant Hamilton, and Mr. Samuel De Nedrey, and Mr. Flood.

Mr. RUSSELL. Were they authorized to spend anything except their own personal expenses, traveling expenses and hotel bills?

Mr. MORRISON. They just got their railroad fare, their hotel bill, and their salaries paid, and they were not authorized to spend anything else. They may possibly have had some expenses for some printing, but very little.

Mr. RUSSELL. Has anyone you have ever sent into that district or any other congressional district had authority to expend money for the employment of local politicians to work among the voters?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Has there ever been anything of that sort done?

Mr. MORRISON. Not by the officers of the federation. They have had no authority that I know of. That was not conferred upon them except for their own salaries and expenses.

Mr. RUSSELL. So far as you know, then, there has never been anyone employed in the different districts to work among the voters on election day, for instance, to try to secure votes at the polls?

Mr. MORRISON. No; our organizers simply attended meetings and addressed meetings in that way. I can not say now what the local organizations may have done.

Mr. RUSSELL. You state, then, so far as you know, as secretary of the American Federation of Labor here at headquarters, that no money had been expended except for pay for speakers, their salaries, and their personal expenses and printing?

Mr. MORRISON. There may have been something for printing. It is possible there may have been something for hall, and conveyance for travel; just for those necessary expenses for locomotion on the part of our organizers.

Mr. RUSSELL. What you say with reference to the Littlefield district applies, I suppose, to the Hughes district, and the different districts to which your federation has sent help?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Now, after the election is over and Congress is here, what is the manner of your working to try to control legislation?

Mr. MORRISON. I do not know. Controlling legislation—do you mean by "controlling" to secure legislation?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes, that is what I mean.

Mr. MORRISON. Well, the word "control" creates a different meaning in my mind, but perhaps it means the same thing.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, to secure legislation or to defeat legislation?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, we aim usually to secure legislation, and if there is a bill comes up that we believe is detrimental some representative of the federation will go before a committee to oppose it.

Mr. RUSSELL. By argument before the committee?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes; or, if necessary, they may go to some of the Representatives and call their attention to the bill and ask their influence to prevent its enactment as being detrimental to the common good. That would be our manner of working.

Mr. RUSSELL. And is that the only capacity in which you have tried to secure or defeat legislation yourself, personally?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes; just a matter of going before a committee or going to see a Congressman or Senator and ask his good offices, or ask his advice, perhaps.

Mr. RUSSELL. When you approach Members of the House or Senate in that way, where have you seen them—at their offices or about the lobby of the Capitol?

Mr. MORRISON. We would go to their offices. If we could not get them at their offices we might go to the Capitol when Congress is in session and ask to see them at the Capitol.

Mr. RUSSELL. How many men has your federation had here who had the same authority and made the same efforts that you did to influence legislation?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, we have three men here now. As a matter of fact, I very seldom come up to Congress, and very rarely go to see any of the Representatives.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who were these three men?

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Holder, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Moffett were the last three.

Mr. RUSSELL. How long have they been in the service of the federation?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, Mr. Holder—I am not quite sure—six or seven years, I believe. President Gompers introduced here a tabulated statement showing the length of service.

Mr. RUSSELL. What is the business of these three men; what efforts do they make to secure legislation?

Mr. MORRISON. My understanding of the legislative committee, of the duties of the legislative committee, is that they take a bill which we are favorable to and see a Representative and explain to that Representative what we want, explain what the bill means, and ask his assistance to have that bill passed if possible.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are you describing your appearance now before committees, or do you mean the individual Member outside?

Mr. MORRISON. Either before a committee or seeing the Representative personally.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do these three men have any other business except trying to influence legislation? Is that their only business?

Mr. MORRISON. In a way, yes. Mr. Holder assists in some of the matters at the office. Mr. Moffett devoted all his time to the matter of looking after bills and what bills were introduced, and finding out whether there was any bill introduced that had in it some clause that may be detrimental to organized labor. In other words, they watched the bills introduced in Congress.

Mr. RUSSELL. What salaries do these three men get?

Mr. MORRISON. The same salaries we pay organizers. At the present time, $6 a day and their hotel bills.

Mr. RUSSELL. Any other expenses?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are they allowed to spend money outside of their personal expenses, such as hotel bills, traveling expenses, etc.?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir. If there was a matter of a small expenditure—that is, an item of a few dollars—there would be no question about that whatever. Their bills are confined to their salaries and to Mr. Holder $2 a day for expenses. Mr. Holder lives here, and the other men get $6 a day and their hotel bills, $3 a day. I might say that Mr. Moffitt is not here now. He resigned some time ago.

Mr. RUSSELL. He is out at the present time?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir. Just Mr. Holder is here, and Mr. Hamilton, who, most of the time, devotes a great deal of his time to getting out the news letter.

Mr. RUSSELL. These men, then, have no authority to spend anything other than for their own personal expenses, such as hotel bills?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir; they have no authority.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have they never brought in expense bills for money paid to other people to assist in lobbying?

Mr. MORRISON. None.

Mr. RUSSELL. No such bills have ever come to headquarters?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. And the men that you mention are the only ones for the last seven years that have had such duties as you mention, of trying to influence legislation in behalf of the association?

Mr. MORRISON. Those three; yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know Col. Mulhall?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, I do not say that I know him. I have seen him in committee and I have met him.

Mr. RUSSELL. You have had no intimate acquaintance with him?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know anything about this meeting between Mr. Mulhall and Mr. Gompers?

Mr. MORRISON. All I know about that was that Mr. Gompers called me in one day and said Mr. Mulhall had had a change of heart, which was brought about through the illness of his wife, and he was sick of doing the work for the manufacturers which he was called upon to do, and that he had some documents which he wanted to turn over to Mr. Gompers.

Mr. RUSSELL. And what you got you got from Mr. Gompers himself?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes. I, of course, looked with suspicion on any representative of the National Association of Manufacturers. I could not conceive of any one of them having a change of conscience. I told Mr. Gompers that he had better leave them alone and have nothing to do with them at all, or anyone connected with them. I said, even if he did this, the public knew that there was a fight between the manufacturers and the labor people, and if he did publish it, it would not receive the splendid attention that has been accomplished through his failure to take advantage of Mr. Mulhall's offer. I mean the exposé that has come through Congress and the two committees looking after it. In this way it has received the attention of the public.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know at that time that the suggestion that Col. Mulhall have this meeting with Mr. Gompers came from Representative McDermott?

Mr. MORRISON. I did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know Mr. McDermott?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes; I have met him quite often.

Mr. RUSSELL. How frequently did he visit the headquarters?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, once in a while I met him—not so very often to my knowledge. I am on the floor below, and he did not call to see me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you have occasion to talk to him about legislative matters?

Mr. MORRISON. I think I have on some occasions but not very often, just in a general way.

Mr. RUSSELL. He had come to Congress as a labor union man, hadn't he?

Mr. MORRISON. As a member of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you always have perfect confidence in his loyalty to the labor cause?

Mr. MORRISON. I had no reason to doubt it until he told me that he voted to practically sustain Speaker Cannon, or what is called the Fitzgerald rule.

Mr. RUSSELL. But you did not think that was consistent with his professions as a labor man?

Mr. MORRISON. No; particularly when labor felt it was necessary to change the conditions or powers of the Speaker of the House if we ever hoped to get any of our bills even reported from the committees. We realized that if we got a report either favorably or unfavorably on many bills there was very little question but that they would be adopted, because the majority of the Members of the House have declared in favor of them, the political parties have declared in favor of them also.

Mr. RUSSELL. That did shock your confidence somewhat in his loyalty to the labor cause then, did it?

Mr. MORRISON. Very much.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever talk to him about it?

Mr. MORRISON. I did not. I understood from Mr. Gompers that he had made some kind of an explanation to him. The impression I got was that it was a mistake on his part.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you think that a question as important as that, and one that was as much agitated as that was, one that created as much excitement and interest in the House as that did—that a man could very well be mistaken about voting on it?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir; I am not very credulous.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are not as credulous as Mr. Gompers?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir; I am not. Constitutionally I am not.

Mr. RUSSELL. So that your faith in Mr. McDermott's loyalty was really shaken at that time, was it?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Has it ever been entirely restored?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir; it has been intensified by his action in sustaining the veto of President Taft on the immigration bill.

Mr. RUSSELL. Are there any other circumstances in connection with him that intensified your suspicions as to his disloyalty?

Mr. MORRISON. That was all.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know anything about the intimacy for months between him and Col. Mulhall?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, if you had known that, would that have further intensified your suspicions?

Mr. MORRISON. You mean the intimacy occasioned by the effort to get President Gompers——

Mr. RUSSELL (interposing). I mean that or any other circumstances showing intimacy between Mr. McDermott and Mr. Mulhall

Mr. MORRISON. Oh, I think if there is any man, a labor man, that was intimate with Mr. Mulhall or any of the representatives of the manufacturers' association, I would have lost confidence in him.

Mr. RUSSELL. But you say you personally did not know of the intimacy that existed between them?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir; I did not know anything about it until it came up in this investigation.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you read the testimony in this investigation?

Mr. MORRISON. I have read a good deal of it, but not all of it. I have read a good deal of the Senate investigation.

Mr. RUSSELL. You think it would be entirely inconsistent, do you, that a man belonging to a labor union, being a Member of Congress, and supposed to be here in the interest of the legislation represented

by that association, to be intimately associated with Col. Mulhall at the time?

Mr. MORRISON. I would not think it would be consistent. I could not understand any reason for it except it might be social. There are times when men of different political faith might meet—if a man differs from me on legislation, even those things which we consider vital, there is no reason why I should not be friendly with that man if I am satisfied that he is honest in his convictions. I do not bear any ill will to a man simply because he differs from me on any question.

Mr. RUSSELL. You knew, did you not, that Col. Mulhall was what is commonly called a lobbyist against the very legislation that your association was favorable to?

Mr. MORRISON. I knew he was working against our interests, against labor and against its measures.

Mr. RUSSELL. Don't you think that was pretty generally known by everybody that knew Col. Mulhall, especially the men connected with Congress?

Mr. MORRISON. I could not say just what information the different Congressmen had in regard to Mr. Mulhall. I know we had that information.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know anything about his methods of trying to influence legislation at that time?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know Mr. McMichael?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir; I do not know that I ever met him. I never even to my knowledge saw him until after the printing of the exposé in the World.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever find it necessary to pay anything for assistance to any of the employees about the House for documents or for courtesies or anything of that sort?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir. We always got anything we wanted without any pay at all; anything that we were entitled to.

Mr. RUSSELL. You did not even pay tips to employees about the House?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know of any of the other men that represented your association who did so?

Mr. MORRISON. No; not to my knowledge.

Mr. RUSSELL. I believe it was stated by Mr. Gompers that the total receipts of your association at this time are something like $200,000 a year?

Mr. MORRISON. Somewhere about that. Have you got that book there?

Mr. RUSSELL. I don't care for the figures here.

Mr. WILLIS. $207,000 last year.

Mr. MORRISON. That is about right. It is probably a little more this year.

Mr. RUSSELL. And you have expended about the same amount?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. And most of that money is expended here at the Capitol or from the Capitol in the service that is sent out from here?

Mr. MORRISON. In organization work and carrying on the activities of the federation.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is that money all required for the purpose of paying the officers and employees of the association, rent, postage, printing, and so on, in legitimate expenses?

Mr. MORRISON. All legitimate expenses, and just to get this squared in your mind, as I recollect you asked this question before, I will give you a recapitulation. It will not take any time to cover the matter of this $277,000.

Mr. RUSSELL. Hasn't that all been printed in the record?

Mr. MORRISON. I do not know whether it is printed in the record or not. The recapitulation has not.

Mr. WILLIS. If that page has not been printed in the record I think it ought to be.

Mr. CLINE. It was offered, but it was not ordered printed

Mr. RUSSELL. Just read it, then.

Mr. MORRISON (reading):

Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, $500.

I may say this is to help get legislation over there.

National Women's Trade Union League of America, $600.

That is for organization work. That was sent to the National Women's Trade Union League of America, which is an auxiliary of women and not confined necessarily to trade-union people.

Mr. RUSSELL. It has nothing to do with woman suffrage?

Mr. MORRISON. No, not a thing, although the Federation is favorable.

Union label trades department	$70.80
Rent	5,008.66
Refunds of premiums on bonds and supplies returned	85.36
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions	2,068.01
Treasurer's bond	125.00
Secretary's bond	20.00
Fire insurance	15.00
Committee on industrial education	928.28

That is the book we get out. We get out something in regard to industrial education.

Expressage, freight, and drayage	$1,373.65
International secretary, per capita tax for 12 months on 1,800,000 members	645.47
Legislative expenses	8,038.34

That includes salaries of legislative men and whatever printing we get out.

Newspapers, magazines, and books	$169.02
Office fixtures	381.00
Postage stamps	4,549.60
Printing and binding bound proceedings of Atlanta convention	1,867.50
Stamped envelopes	1,017.24
Supplies and printing	18,238.20
Telegrams	1,145.65
Expenses American Federation of Labor delegates to Atlanta convention of the union label trades department	98.50
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada	339.61
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	1,313.80
Atlanta convention:	
Committee rooms	159.00
Expenses secretary attending Atlanta convention	154.60
Messenger, sergeant at arms, and assistant secretary	290.00

Atlanta convention—Continucd.	
Printing and supplies	$99.79
Printing daily proceedings	1,100.20
Stenographers	1,045.52
Telegrams, telephones, stamps, porters, baggage, stationery, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters, photographs	295.44
Salary:	
President	5,000.00
Secretary	4,000.00
Treasurer	250.00

That is $250 here, but it should have been $500. He didn't draw the full amount in that year.

Office employees	$29,752.61
Addressing, folding, and inclosing circulars in envelopes	1,407.84
Janitor service	26.50
Expenses:	
Auditing and credentials committee	237.00
Executive council meetings	6,175.26
President	2,115.79
Secretary	361.22
Defense fund:	
Strike benefits	67,455.33

Now we have in addition to our 112 international unions 600 local unions affiliated direct which are not international, and they pay 10 cents per capita per month, and that is set aside for defense fund which we pay in the case of a strike or lockout. Last year the fund was reduced considerably through a number of strikes.

Assessment for United Hatters of America (2-cent), $5,841.45.

That was a special assessment to assist the hatters in this litigation of the Danbury case, where these men were being victimized by the decision of the Supreme Court bringing labor organizations under the antitrust law.

Appeal: Legal defense fund	$12,702.61

That is in the contempt case, the Buck Stove and Range case.

Organizing expenses	$71,060.95
Printing and publishing American Federationist	18,731.77

Mr. STAFFORD. Is that expense above the subscription price?

Mr. MORRISON. No; we received from the Federationist $17,240.19, and we expended $18,731.77, so that it nearly pays for itself.

Securing trade-mark for American Federation of Labor	$25.00
Expenses entertaining Carl Legien and A. Baumeister	194.11
Claim against International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees before its charter was revoked by American Federation of Labor	301.55
Total	277,479.23

That is the recapitulation of expenditures.

Mr. RUSSELL. That represents the total amount of expenditures of the association from headquarters last year?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, for the year ending September 30, 1912.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, have you ever in your work here tried to prevent a committee meeting by keeping a quorum away?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir; we had more trouble in getting them to attend a meeting; to get a quorum.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know of anybody making an effort, either your coworkers or anyone else, to prevent a quorum?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know anything about the time mentioned by Mr. Gompers when there was a bare quorum present and some man suddenly broke away in order to break the quorum?

Mr. MORRISON. I have a recollection of some comment made by some one that there was a suspicion that somebody broke away from a meeting to prevent a quorum acting on some bill, but it is not definitely fixed in my mind.

Mr. RUSSELL. You were not present at the time?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You don't know what Member of Congress that was?

Mr. MORRISON. I do not.

Mr. RUSSELL. You do not have in your mind any Member of Congress that has ever purposely been persuaded to stay away to prevent a quorum?

Mr. MORRISON. I have not; no, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did I understand you, Mr. Morrison, that in 1905 you became aware of an effort on the part of the manufacturers, an organized effort, to defeat legislation?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, it was published in the papers that after Mr. Parry got hold of the organization, as he proposed to run it, he was simply going to destroy organized labor and prevent it from making any progress at all.

Mr. STAFFORD. That was in the industrial field, was it not?

Mr. MORRISON. The industrial field; yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. When was it that your organization, so far as you know, first took an active part in the politics of the country, so far as congressional candidates were concerned?

Mr. MORRISON. I think in 1906. I think the case of Maine was about the first effort that was made.

Mr. STAFFORD. You confined your efforts that year to the second Maine district, represented by Mr. Charles E. Littlefield?

Mr. MORRISON. No; the effort was general in the matter of asking the different organizations—well, probably it was confined to a certain extent. We had started out to secure the election of as many Representatives as we could, and I will say that there were four elected.

Mr. STAFFORD. Now, then, state generally how you started out to secure the election. I was in Congress at that time, and I am perfectly oblivious of any movements that were made toward your securing the election of labor men.

Mr. MORRISON. That was simply by the effort of our people in the various districts to see if they could not get one of their members nominated on either of the party tickets.

Mr. STAFFORD. Now, how would you attempt to secure that?

Mr. MORRISON. Through our local men and through the men themselves that desired to be nominated.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you send a letter to the various local bodies, or how did you proceed?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, I do not recollect just what communications were sent out in 1906, but in 1908 was, of course, when the greater effort was made. I think it was in 1908 that we had the meeting of the conference, after the manifestation through the hostile forces of the attack on labor organizations through the Antiboycott Associ-

ation, of which Mr. Davenport is attorney. We wanted to secure some labor men in the House who really understood what labor desired.

Mr. STAFFORD. What course did you follow in order to bring that about in the campaigns of 1906?

Mr. MORRISON. We issued circulars with the bill of grievances that was presented to the President and to Speaker Cannon and to the President pro tempore of the Senate, Mr. Frye.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will you kindly describe how you brought about the bringing of labor candidates into the field?

Mr. MORRISON. We called upon our labor representatives through the State bodies and local unions to use their efforts to have nominated and elected labor men. They were circulated and went out to the unions and to the State bodies, and they themselves in some places became active, in others they did not, and as the result of that combined effort we have made progress.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did they report to you what action they had taken?

Mr. MORRISON. Sometimes, and sometimes they did not.

Mr. STAFFORD. When they did, did you take any further action toward the nomination or election of those whom they brought out in the field?

Mr. MORRISON. We allowed the local people to carry that into effect the best way they could.

Mr. STAFFORD. You did not send any organizers from the headquarters here to these respective districts in 1908?

Mr. MORRISON. There may have been some organizers sent into the different districts, but there was only a limited number of organizers and a great field to cover.

Mr. STAFFORD. What was done in 1910 toward securing labor representatives in Congress?

Mr. MORRISON. The same efforts were made by circularization and correspondence and urging our people through the Federationist, which was copied by some of the labor press that were favorable to the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. STAFFORD. When did you first begin to publish the roll call in your Federationist, giving the attitude of Members of Congress toward legislation which your association was directly interested in?

Mr. MORRISON. I do not know, but the Hughes roll call was perhaps the first one that was given any great amount of publicity.

Mr. STAFFORD. That was by the printing of a little 4-page pamphlet?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes. There were a great number of calls for "How did our Representative vote on these measures?" and it occurred to me that if we could get that up in shape so that it would be arranged by States, so that a man could recognize readily his Representative, it would be an easy way to answer the question.

Mr. STAFFORD. That was in the campaign of 1910, as I recall?

Mr. MORRISON. I think it was. We published quite a number of those, and they were reprinted.

Mr. STAFFORD. Have you ever published anything else similar to that on other questions?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes; we put roll calls on a number of questions, particularly on that amendment to the sundry civil bill.

Mr. STAFFORD. Well, now, of course a great number of men voted in favor of the Hughes amendment, and were sincere in their support of it, who were not included in this labor group?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you make any effort to have them supplanted by labor's representatives who would be identified completely with the labor program?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir. We have published those records so that our people could read them. There were a number of Republicans who voted for those measures, and their record was there.

Mr. STAFFORD. You have taken an active part in the support of the nomination and election of some of the labor candidates. Mr. Gompers testified as to being very active for the nomination of Mr. McDermott, even though a friendable man was seeking the nomination in his place.

Mr. MORRISON. That opposition was aroused in Chicago on account of his support of the Fitzgerald rules and practically supporting Mr. Cannon's position as against the hope of having the rules modified so that there was a possibility of the Congressman being recognized for some measure that was favorable to the labor organization.

Mr. STAFFORD. Who was back of that movement, if you know?

Mr. MORRISON. Which?

Mr. STAFFORD. Who was in back of the candidacy in opposing Mr. McDermott?

Mr. MORRISON. Some of the labor men out there that did not seem to think—did not seem to have the same confidence in Mr. McDermott that we did.

Mr. STAFFORD. His opponent was a labor man also?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. And announced his position in favor of labor legislation?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Has your association ever taken an active part in supporting any candidate by sending organizers in the field other than those in the labor group?

Mr. MORRISON. I think that on candidates who were not members of organized labor, that it was simply the record that was sent in and published.

Mr. STAFFORD. These little folders you spoke of?

Mr. MORRISON. The communication that was sent—they very likely had it printed. I might say this, that the policy of the federation is nonpartisan and that the officers of the federation and the federation itself believe that to secure legislation that is the best way to do it. There are some people who believe it is better to have a labor party, the same as they have in England.

Mr. STAFFORD. I was wondering whether this labor group that has just been evolved here was another party.

Mr. MORRISON. I was going to state that I recognize in this labor group almost an equivalent to a labor party; that there are men who are anxious to know what we want, who declare themselves to be labor men, run as labor men under a different party, and elected as labor men.

Mr. STAFFORD. No man can be included in that labor group unless he has a card?

Mr. MORRISON. That is the proposition, because we know he has been a member of organized labor and has had the training and the knowledge that we think a man should possess.

Mr. STAFFORD. I do not think it would be a very difficult task to find many of the men in the other parties who were not in the labor group, who in the early days had been laborers and workers in the toils just as assiduously as those other men who happened to be telegraphers or men who have a card?

Mr. MORRISON. That may be. We have some magnificent men both in the Republican and Democratic Parties not members of organized labor, and men that we depend on.

Mr. STAFFORD. And just as sympathetic to labor's cause as these men who have followed in later years their profession or vocation and then have gone to you?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, we feel of course that a man who has been in the union and understands its principles—it is safer to take a chance on him than a man who informs us he used to work, because I have been before committees where I have seen one of the judges that represent the Steel Trust, the Bethlehem Works, point out the fact that he had worked in his early days, and held out his hands and told about the callouses, etc. Notwithstanding that fact, I would not be favorable to him to be elected with the idea he would serve our party.

Mr. STAFFORD. No; but of course you would not put Members of Congress in the same class like the counsel of a great corporation like the American Steel Works, with the income he represents.

Mr. MORRISON. I mean the representative of the Bethlehem Steel Works—I am speaking of the attorney.

Mr. STAFFORD. The attorney; yes.

Mr. MORRISON. I think it was Judge Peyson who made that remark many years ago, and I guess he has changed his mind.

Mr. STAFFORD. I feel called upon, Mr. Morrison, as I brought this to the attention of the representatives of the N. A. M., when they first appeared on the stand, about using the franking privilege in sending out documents, to call your attention or ask you whether you were acquainted with that provision of law which forbids a Representative or Member of Congress from delegating the use of his frank in sending out congressional documents?

Mr. MORRISON. I know that documents are franked by Representatives.

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh, yes; but I mean as forbidding the delegation of it to a private individual.

Mr. MORRISON. When did that take effect?

Mr. STAFFORD. The reason why I called that to the attention of Mr. Emery was because I happened to be a party in drafting it some years ago, when the abuse to a great extent was called to the attention of the House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, and we learned that the N. A. M. had sent out large quantities of congressional speeches. I cite the law, and it took effect in 1907. I suppose you are not acquainted with it:

Mr. MORRISON. No; I did not—the only thing I supposed that it could be used to send out anything that was taken from the Congressional Record.

Mr. STAFFORD. No; it was intended to prevent a Representative from delegating the use of his frank to any private individual or organization. You will find it, if you have copies of the proceedings, on page 62 of the law. That is about all I care to ask.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Morrison, I want to be sure I understand——

Mr. STAFFORD. Oh; just a moment. Have you anything to add to the testimony given by Mr. Gompers this afternoon, concerning that last conference at which you were a party and Mr. Mulhall attended?

Mr. MORRISON. I never was in a conference with Mr. Mulhall at all.

Mr. STAFFORD. You did not attend that meeting there at the headquarters of the A. F. of L.?

Mr. MORRISON. No. I advised Mr. Gompers against having anything further to do with Mr. Mulhall, and I certainly would follow my own advice in that respect.

Mr. STAFFORD. I may have been under a misapprehension.

Mr. MORRISON. No. I said he called me in and I advised him against having anything to do with Mr. Mulhall.

Mr. STAFFORD. You were not present——

Mr. MORRISON (interposing). Not at any of those conferences.

Mr. STAFFORD (continuing). When Mr. Mulhall and Mr. McDermott were there?

Mr. MORRISON. No.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Gompers never told you anything about this correspondence?

Mr. MORRISON. No; he never did.

Mr. STAFFORD. He never told you Mr. Mulhall was pressing him to have this published?

Mr. MORRISON. No; not a word.

Mr. WILLIS. I want to be sure, Mr. Morrison, I understand your statement relative to the activity of the American Federation of Labor in matters of election. I understood you to say it was the desire of the organization to secure the election of laboring men who, through their work, would know what the needs of labor were?

Mr. MORRISON. Particularly the members of unions.

Mr. WILLIS. That is what I want to get at right there.

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Suppose there would be a labor man elected to Congress, and there are many, because there are many cases of that, and he would be friendly to your interests, as you thought, and would vote for measures you thought advisable, and yet not be a member of a union and not a card man. Would you feel it proper to support him, to go into his district, and send circulars, etc.?

Mr. MORRISON. As against a member of a union on another ticket?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes; as against a member of the union on another ticket who had not served in Congress. This man I have taken as an illustration is a labor man, but not a union man, and he has voted in favor of legislation you deemed wise. What would be your attitude?

Mr. MORRISON. Our attitude would be this: That if a man showed he was sympathetic and favorable to our legislation, we would consider him. He had been tried, and we certainly would not want any change.

Mr. WILLIS. Then your activities would not be confined to supporting simply union men and card men, but you would include men who were friendly, aside from those who were laborers?

Mr. MORRISON. As I say, in a case, except where trade-unionists were nominated, we usually confine—we give the record of the man and allow the local movement to take care of that. There are a few cases in which we made an extra effort to secure an election of trade-unionists where they were nominated.

Mr. RALSTON. Allow me to suggest, Mr. Willis, I think there is a concrete case probably you might ask about, coming within the line of your suggestion.

Mr. WILLIS I have no particular case in mind. If you can give an illustration there is no objection.

Mr. RALSTON. I give one case. Mr. Pearre when opposed by Mr. Lewis—Mr Pearre, of Maryland, when opposed by Mr. Lewis; Mr. Pearre not being a member of organized labor and nevertheless having shown his sympathy, and Mr Lewis, an active candidate against him, who was a member of organized labor.

Mr. WILLIS. And organized labor supported Mr. Pearre?

Mr. RALSTON. It kept out of the contest.

Mr. MORRISON. We did not interfere; we let the best man win. Our natural affinity would have been Mr. Lewis; it would have been to have favored Mr. Lewis, but as Mr. Pearre had been in sympathy with the movement and his votes had in no way been antagonistic, we were trying to deal fairly, and we do deal fairly.

Mr. WILLIS. That leads to another inquiry. In answer to some questions propounded by Judge Russell you spoke of securing the nomination of fair men. Was any special significance attached to that word "fair"? What did you mean by that, Mr. Morrison?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, a man who seemed to believe and feel that the great mass of the wageworkers of the country should have remedial legislation enacted in their behalf.

Mr. WILLIS. You did not mean by that, necessarily, union men, then?

Mr. MORRISON. Not necessarily; no, sir; because there are lots of times when it is impossible to get a union man nominated. I remember asking the question in a Labor Day speech at Pittsburgh, If it costs a man $40,000 to get the nomination, how much would it cost him to be elected? Our labor people have no money, and they are unable to secure the amount of money that is required to nominate, required in many cases to carry on the agitation for an election, or even for the nomination, let alone the election.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you file the statement we were speaking of this afternoon concerning the number of men that were sent into that Maine district? I was detained in the House, and do not know whether you did or not.

Mr. MORRISON. I enumerated the names to-night.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you recall how many there were? You do not need to go over the names again, if you have already given them.

Mr. MORRISON. I will have to go over them to get them. There was Hamilton, Reed, Tazalaer, Flood, and De Nedrey—I guess about five besides Mr. Gompers, or six.

Mr. WILLIS. You remember I called attention to the fact that your account showed there were some 20 men on the pay roll at that time?

Mr. MORRISON. That was in different parts of the country. If you will notice in that account, that election, I think, terminated on the 10th of September.

Mr. WILLIS. That is, the remainder of these men worked at different work in other districts?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you acquainted with Mr. Colpoys, Mr. Morrison.

Mr. MORRISON. I am.

Mr. WILLIS. What position does he hold?

Mr. MORRISON. I think he is secretary of the central body—the central labor union here.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know of his having been sent out to any districts as organizer, or anything of that sort?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir; not by the federation.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know of his having been sent out by anyone?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you acquainted with Mr. P. J. Ryan?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. What position does he occupy?

Mr. MORRISON. He is an attorney here—that is, a member of the plate printers, and I think he is a delegate to the central body.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know of his having been sent out into any districts as an organizer?

Mr. MORRISON. Not of my personal knowledge; but if I am not mistaken I heard he did go out in the district—one district or more; but it is hearsay.

Mr. WILLIS. Into what districts? Can you state?

Mr. MORRISON. That is only hearsay.

Mr. WILLIS. Let us have it, anyhow.

Mr. MORRISON. I think he went up to Milwaukee. I may be mistaken, but I think it was Ryan and some one else.

Mr. WILLIS. Who sent him up to Milwaukee?

Mr. MORRISON. I could not tell you, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. You do not know under whose auspices he worked?

Mr. MORRISON. Not the federation. No, sir; I do not know who sent him.

Mr. WILLIS. You may have read the testimony that has already been given here, that Mr. Ryan was sent out by some undefined person, and he was paid $500 by a certain gentleman here in Washington. That has been already testified to before this committee.

Mr. MORRISON. I did not hear that, but I heard it came out that he had been sent out some place.

Mr. WILLIS. You do not know in whose behalf he was working in Milwaukee?

Mr. MORRISON. Let me see. I do not know who it was—I don't know; I only know he was in Milwaukee. I heard he had been in Milwaukee, but I am not sure of the statement except I knew he was working against Mr. Berger.

Mr. STAFFORD. No, he was not working against Mr. Berger; I was the one that defeated Mr. Berger.

Mr. MORRISON. You defeated Mr. Berger?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes. He was not in my district at all.

Mr. MORRISON. He was not working against Mr. Berger?

Mr. STAFFORD. He was not in my district at all.

Mr. MORRISON. I do not know, then, where he was. I only heard he was in Milwaukee, but I do not know anything about it.

Mr. WILLIS. You do not know of any other district into which he was sent?

Mr. MORRISON. No, I have no recollection.

Mr. WILLIS. And you do not know at all under whose auspices he was sent out and paid this $500?

Mr. MORRISON. I do not. I know it was not under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. WILLIS. Would you know if he had been sent out under the auspices of the central organization of labor here?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir; I would not know.

Mr. WILLIS. Who would know about that?

Mr. MORRISON. I should think Mr. Colpoys would know, or the president of the association. I think it is Mr. Kidd, President Frank A. Kidd. He probably would know.

Mr. WILLIS. What interest would the central organization in the city of Washington have in the election of Members of Congress, if any?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, they might have in a member of the District Committee. They might have in a member of the committees affecting the arsenals; that is, of which there is a union—the navy yard, I had better term it. I think that is what it is called, the navy yard union.

Mr. WILLIS. Have you any knowledge, Mr. Morrison, that the central organization in any past campaigns has taken an interest in that way, to go out and defeat Members?

Mr. MORRISON. No; I have no personal knowledge. It is a fact that the central body at different times have adopted resolutions favorable to some Congressman, perhaps, or given them some assistance, though I don't recollect now any particular instance or any particular Congressman. It is just in my mind that they have adopted resolutions that were not altogether satisfactory to the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. WILLIS. In what respect were they unsatisfactory?

Mr. MORRISON. Well, they sent out resolutions sometimes for a Representative—I am not quite sure about that, whether that was published in the local paper—perhaps in favor of a man that was not favorable to some of the bills that the labor movement considered vital.

Mr. WILLIS. In your testimony a little bit ago you stated that you had seen Mr. Mulhall in committee. In what capacity did he appear to be acting before the committee? Was he making an argument, or what was he doing?

Mr. MORRISON. No; I never heard him make an argument. He simply was at a committee meeting, and I just came up and asked a man, and I turned around and asked who the gentleman was, and he said it was Mr. Mulhall. I knew him by reputation before I knew him by sight.

Mr. WILLIS. But you never heard him make any argument?

Mr. MORRISON. I never did.

Mr. WILLIS. Both yourself and President Gompers alluded to the fact that you had to some extent lost confidence in Mr. McDermott because of his vote on the immigration bill. I am not sure I just understand the reasons for that position on your part.

Mr. MORRISON. I will give you the reason and perhaps endeavor to go back a little. A number of years ago the federation declared in favor of restricting immigration. About a million a year were coming in here to this country, and it makes it difficult to organize and difficult to sustain organization when there is a million raw recruits coming in every year. A million and one hundred and some thousand came in here last year and we declared in favor of restricting immigration and particularly the educational test. We favored that because the committee that was appointed, which I understand was a hostile committee when it was appointed, came back with practically a unanimous vote on certain legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. You refer now to the commission, do you?

Mr. MORRISON. I do, yes. This legislation was passed in the Senate and passed in the House, and President Taft for reasons of his own vetoed it. I might say I appeared before President Taft and made an argument why he should sign the bill, and the Senator from Massachusetts——

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Lodge?

Mr. MORRISON. Senator Lodge—in his statement stated that the best argument made at that meeting was made by the secretary of the American Federation of Labor. I felt then and I feel now that President Taft sat as a judge and he should have signed the bill. After it was vetoed, the Senate passed it over the veto of the President by a very large vote—I think 80 something to 18; and it did seem to me that a man who knew that the federation stood for this legislation, that he should not have supported the veto.

Mr. WILLIS. The reason why I ask that question is to bring out whether or not you know the character of Mr. McDermott's district. I, for example, voted for that bill in its original passage in the House, and I also voted to pass it over the veto of the President. I think I was justified in that action.

Mr. MORRISON. In your district——

Mr. WILLIS. I knew that my people at home were strongly in favor of that bill, and that probably had something to do with my patriotic interest in that behalf. They believed I was justified in that, and so do I.

Mr. MORRISON. Is it not true that there are a great number of foreigners in your district?

Mr. WILLIS. Not very many.

Mr. MORRISON. Not very many? I thought there were some Finns there.

Mr. WILLIS. No, not many. Now, what was the character of Mr. McDermott's district? Was there a large foreign population there? Was the sentiment of his district for or against the bill, so far as you know? I am seeking to find out the basis for your loss of confidence in him.

Mr. MORRISON. The fact of the matter is this, that I do not believe that that district would fail to support him on account of his vote, because the legislation desired was for the purpose of assisting the packing house people to organize and get better conditions. The only people that wanted foreigners and men who could not read, who had strong arms, were the packing-house people.

The CHAIRMAN. You have used that expression "packing-house people" there twice, and I think with a different meaning each time. You had better clarify your meaning.

Mr. MORRISON. I do not know just how you would define the people that own the packing houses in the Chicago district.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the ones who wanted unrestricted immigration were the owners of the packing houses?

Mr. MORRISON. They are the ones that are using it, and they wanted it.

The CHAIRMAN. And those for whose benefit you say it was passed, you mean by that, do you, those who labor in the packing houses?

Mr. MORRISON. The employees of the packing houses.

Mr. WILLIS. What do you know about any influence that may have been exerted by your organization in the past relative to the appointment of committees of the House? I am asking that because this committee is charged to find out, so far as it can do so, what influence has been brought to bear by anyone on the appointment of committees. What do you know about that, Mr. Morrison?

Mr. MORRISON. I only know we have submitted names at different times and endeavored to secure the appointment of a chairman of the Labor Committee.

Mr. WILLIS. Who, for example?

Mr. MORRISON. The first recollection I have was Mr. Phillips, of Pennsylvania. The next was Mr. Gardner; the next was Mr. Lewis and Mr. W. B. Wilson. And then we urged Mr. Lewis and also, if not Mr. Lewis, Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. WILLIS. That was in the organization of the present Congress?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. How did you make your wishes known in that respect?

Mr. MORRISON. My recollection is that I went to Mr. Underwood.

Mr. WILLIS. You went to him personally?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Anyone with you?

Mr. MORRISON. I think Mr. Holder, as I recollect, Mr. Arthur E. Holder.

Mr. WILLIS. Please relate the conversation which took place.

Mr. MORRISON. We simply stated that Mr. Wilson was defeated, and that while we felt very kindly toward Mr. Hensley, we felt that the labor group should be recognized. He said that Mr. Wilson had been chairman of the committee during the time when Mr. Taft was President—Mr. William B. Wilson. We believed that if recognition was not given to us that the claim would be made that this Congress failed to give us as much as we had received from the prior Congress, and we submitted Mr. Lewis's name to Mr. Underwood for his consideration.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you have any reason for opposing Mr. Hensley other than the fact that he was not a card man, a union man?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir. We thought very kindly of him, and would support him now if he was running for reelection again.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you see Mr. Underwood more than once about this matter?

Mr. MORRISON. I think I did. I went to see Mr. Underwood the second time with Mr. Spencer and Mr. Short.

Mr. WILLIS. Who are those gentlemen?

Mr. MORRISON. The president and secretary of the building trades department. There was a statement made, or an indication given, that possibly Mr. Lewis would not want to be chairman, or that he might receive some other appointment that would preclude him from becoming chairman. I believe there was some statement made that a man could not be on two committees—that is, naming certain committees—and there was a great desire to have Mr. Lewis on the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. We went up there then to suggest the name of Mr. Buchanan if Mr. Lewis, through any possible chance, would not be in a position to accept the appointment if tendered to him.

Mr. WILLIS. Where did you see Mr. Underwood on these occasions?

Mr. MORRISON. I think the first time I saw him in his room, and the second time in the Capitol; just what room I do not recollect now.

Mr. WILLIS. Did he give you any assurance as to the action that would be taken in the matter of the appointment?

Mr. MORRISON. No, sir; he said he would consider the matter.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you have any correspondence with him on the subject?

Mr. MORRISON. I think not; no, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you make any suggestions as to the names of any other gentlemen you would be pleased to have on the Labor Committee?

Mr. MORRISON. I am not sure that we made—no, sir, we did not. That was the only suggestion that was made about those two gentlemen. The first time we suggested Mr. Lewis, and the second time, hearing of the possibility of Mr. Lewis not being in a position to accept, we submitted for Mr. Underwood's consideration Mr. Buchanan's name.

Mr. WILLIS. In these meetings with the card men of the House was the organization of the Labor Committee ever discussed; any suggestion made as to who should be members of the committee, etc.?

Mr. MORRISON. I do not recollect that there was any such discussion; there may have been discussion—yes; there was discussion in regard to having a labor man on the committee.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you remember whether any of the gentlemen who attended the conference were talked about as likely and proper candidates for positions on the committee?

Mr. MORRISON. The only proposition that came up was the matter of the chairman of the committee, on account of the defeat of Mr. Wilson, and it was thought that Mr. Lewis would probably be a man that they could accept and appoint as chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. And the only reason you preferred Mr. Lewis or Mr. Buchanan over Mr. Hensley was the fact that those two gentlemen were members of a labor union and Mr. Hensley was not?

Mr. MORRISON. Were members of our labor group. That was the only proposition. There was no other.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you ever discuss the make-up, or want to influence the make-up, of any other committee; the Committee on the Judiciary, for example?

Mr. MORRISON. Do you mean——

Mr. WILLIS (interposing). The Judiciary Committee of the House.

Mr. MORRISON. Of which Mr. Clayton is chairman?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes; he is the present chairman.

Mr. MORRISON. In 1912 the only men that were covered in any way were the two whom I mentioned, just for the chairmanships.

Mr. WILLIS. In any other years have you sought to influence the appointment of——

Mr. MORRISON (interposing). I have an indistinct recollection that there was a suggestion made for the appointment of some of our men to the labor committee when Mr. Wilson was appointed, and on some of the other committees; that is, the suggestion was made of the appointment of some of the labor group to other committees, and I think that a suggestion was made for the appointment of a man on the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you remember what steps, if any, were taken to carry those suggestions into effect?

Mr. MORRISON. Nothing except the suggestion. Now, I am not sure whether that suggestion was made to Mr. Underwood—he was the leader in 1910?

Mr. WILLIS. In the Congress that was elected in 1910, meeting in 1911, Mr. Underwood was the leader of the majority.

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you remember whether or not you communicated with Mr. Underwood in the last Congress about the appointment of these committees?

Mr. MORRISON. No; of that I am positive. There was nothing said except in regard to these two names which were submitted to him. There was no other request made in regard to anybody that I know of—that is, through me.

Mr. WILLIS That is in the organization of the present Congress?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS In the last Congress you did suggest to Mr. Underwood the selection of Mr Wilson, did you not?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you sure you did not suggest any other, for any other committees?

Mr. MORRISON. I think I did.

Mr. WILLIS Who were they?

Mr. MORRISON. The suggestion was rather general in regard to our group, that the group ought to be represented on other committees, and if my recollection serves me right I think we asked for some one to be appointed on the Judiciary Committee, and my recollection is the appointment was not made.

Mr. WILLIS You saw Mr. Underwood personally about that matter?

Mr. MORRISON. Of that I am not sure. I saw Mr. Underwood or some one else.

Mr. WILLIS Did you have any correspondence with any member of the Committee on Ways and Means? That is, the committee on committees under the present organization?

Mr. MORRISON. No; I think not; no, sir. I want to make this point clear, if I can, that I believed that the labor group was equivalent, so far as it affected labor legislation, to an independent labor party; that it should be recognized on committees; that the Labor Committee, where labor matters were discussed, should have a majority of labor men.

Mr. WILLIS. You mean union men?

Mr. MORRISON. Union men or labor men.

Mr. WILLIS. Which do you mean? There is quite a distinction.

Mr. MORRISON. Well, we will take members of what they call the union labor group.

Mr. WILLIS. You mean by that union men, card men?

Mr. MORRISON. Card men. We believed we had just as much right to have a majority on that committee as the Judiciary Committee has the right to have all lawyers, because lawyers are discussing legislation in which their legal training is supposed to be of assistance to them in drafting, and granting that we thought we should have on the Committee on Labor men whose education and training would be of assistance to them in matters which came before the Labor Committee.

Mr. WILLIS. That is, that you should have majority so made up?

Mr. MORRISON. There would not be any harm if we had them all. I believe it would not do the Judiciary Committee any harm if they put on two or three labor men.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you think that would be advisable in connection with the Committee on Banking and Currency, to have a majority of that committee made up of bankers? Would that be advisable?

Mr. MORRISON. After the committee reports you have the several hundred Representatives to pass on the committee's report. If they make a mistake it surely can be corrected. I think that so far as I am concerned, I have no objection to the Committee on Banking and Currency being made up of bankers.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you recall the fact that in the last Congress Representative William Hughes, now Senator Hughes, was a member of the Ways and Means Committee, which was the committee on committees?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you communicate with him about the selection of any person or persons to be members of the Committee on Labor or the Committee on the Judiciary?

Mr. MORRISON. I have no recollection of talking to him about it.

Mr. WILLIS. I suggested that because you said you could not recall to whom you had spoken. You said you thought you had spoken to some one.

Mr. MORRISON. It was not he. That was in the last Congress?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes; that was in the last Congress.

Mr. MORRISON. I do not recall talking to him about it at all.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no other questions by the members of the committee, you may be excused, Mr. Morrison.

Mr. MORRISON. Gentlemen, I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 10.10 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until 10 o'clock a. m. to-morrow, Friday, September 12, 1913.)

SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBY INVESTIGATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, September 12, 1913.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., Finis J. Garrett (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Cline, Russell, Ferris, Stafford, Willis, and MacDonald.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order, and I will ask Mr. Watson to take the stand.

TESTIMONY OF HON. JAMES E. WATSON.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you a Representative in Congress, Mr. Watson?

Mr. WATSON. Twelve years. I was elected in 1894, beaten in 1896, elected in 1898, 1900, 1902, 1904, and 1906; my term expired on the 4th of March, 1909.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you just to take this matter up in your own way and make to the committee whatever statement you desire touching these various matters.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I have no formal statement prepared. I would like first to make this statement: When your message last week was sent to me at Rushville I was in Idaho. The message was not forwarded to me. I was not aware of the fact that you had telegraphed me until I came home on last Tuesday evening. My wife informed me that she had wired you that I was away and she did not know my location, but I would be home soon.

The CHAIRMAN. We received that message.

Mr. WATSON. Upon my arrival home at Rushville I at once wired you stating that I would be here this morning. I wanted to make that statement because I wanted it understood that I did not intend to be discourteous to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee understood that, I am sure, Mr. Watson.

Mr. WATSON. I am very glad. I think, perhaps, so far as my knowledge of and relation with this affair is concerned, a few general statements will probably clear away some of the underbrush.

In the first place, so far as the tariff bill just passed is concerned, neither the National Association of Manufacturers nor its officers, nor

any person connected with it, asked me in any wise to interfere with or seek to influence any item of any schedule in that bill. I neither spoke to nor did I write to any Senator or Representative with reference to the passage of that bill, or any item in it or connected with it.

The CHAIRMAN. You refer to the Underwood bill?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; the bill just passed. In fact, I was not in Washington this year at all until subpœnaed by the Senate committee.

In the second place, so far as the tariff bill of 1909 was concerned, neither the National Association of Manufacturers, nor any of its officers, at any time asked me to seek to influence any Member of Congress with reference to any item of any schedule in that bill.

Mr. CLINE. Do you include in that statement the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. WATSON. I am about to complete my statement, Mr. Cline.

My relation with the National Association of Manufacturers in the passage of the Tariff Commission bill was a relation that existed with it as one of something like 235 or 240 other organizations known as the National Tariff Commission Association. I do not remember the exact number of organizations. I had no other relation with the National Association of Manufacturers at the time of the passage of the Tariff Commission bill.

In the third place, at no time, either while I was a Member of Congress or after my term expired, was I in the employ of the National Association of Manufacturers for any purpose. The National Association of Manufacturers never, at any time, employed me, except in connection with the tariff commission bill, as I have related: nor was I ever at any time a lobbyist or lawyer or a representative of the National Association of Manufacturers for any purpose.

In the next place, the National Association of Manufacturers, while I was a Member of Congress, so far as I have any recollection—and I have looked over the matter with some care—through its officers or its representatives, never at any time approached me in favor of any legislation. In other words, I have no recollection of any affirmative legislation in which the National Association of Manufacturers was interested and in the enactment of which my influence was sought. The matters concerning which the National Association of Manufacturers talked with me and I with their officers, related, as I recall, to two propositions. The first was the Pearre anti-injunction bill, the second was the amendment to the Sherman antitrust law exempting labor organizations from its operation.

My acquaintance with the officers of the National Association of Manufacturers began, I should think, in 1906 or 1907. Mr. Bird, the general manager, with headquarters in New York, I never met until the day I left Congress. I was presented with a silver service in the Speaker's room on the day I left Congress, and Mr. Bird was present at that time and I was introduced to him then, and I never saw him before, to my recollection. I have no recollection of seeing Mr. Emery to exceed three times before he established an office in Washington, which was in the latter part of 1908, after I had returned from the Indiana campaign.

I never saw Mr. Kirby to exceed two or three times before 1909, when my term of office expired. I had no conversation with these gentlemen about matters of that kind, as I now recall. My acquaint-

ance began with these members through Mr. D. M. Parry when Mr. Parry was the president of the National Association of Manufacturers some six or seven years ago; I do not remember the exact date. He lived in Indiana, in Indianapolis, and formerly lived in the town in which I now live, and for many years was my personal and political friend. We often discussed political matters, talked about this association and its objects and purposes, and through Mr. Parry I was introduced to these gentlemen. I knew Mr. Van Cleave well and I talked frequently with him. I knew Mr. Schwedtman well, and I talked frequently with him as to the plans and purposes of this association, what they expected to accomplish, and what they were trying to do, and in so far as their object in Congress was concerned, I was in sympathy with their association and its purposes.

Those were the two things upon which I was in harmony with them and operated with them; that is to say, in opposition to the Pearre injunction bill and to the proposition to repeal or amend the Sherman antitrust law in order to exempt labor organizations from its operation.

The CHAIRMAN. What about eight-hour legislation, and your attitude upon that? That is a general term, but you know what I mean by it.

Mr. WATSON. Yes. My recollection about that, Mr. Chairman, is that if I discussed the eight-hour legislation with them, or if they ever talked with me concerning it, it has escaped my memory. I have no recollection of talking about eight-hour legislation with them or with the officers. I do not recall—and I have discussed it with Mr. Kirby since coming here, and with Mr. Emery, for the purpose of trying to refresh my recollection—I do not recall any conversation with Mr. Mulhall or Mr. Kirby in reference to it.

Now, in the next place, so far as I have any present recollection, there was no member of this association who sought to influence my conduct as a Member of Congress, or as the Republican whip of the House, to change or to originally fix the membership of committees.

Mr. Mulhall stated, I believe, before the Senate committee—I do not know what he stated here, because it has not been carried in the press—but before the Senate committee he stated that after my campaign for governor I became, as he expressed it, very subservient to the wishes of the National Association of Manufacturers, and that after I returned I immediately began to influence the appointment of committees. He mentioned specifically that I had Mr. Pearre taken from the Committee on the Judiciary and two other members, whose names he did not give, and that in their places I had three persons substituted, one being Mr. Vreeland, of New York, and one Mr. Bannon, of Ohio. There was one other, I think, if I remember correctly. Well, so far as Mr. Bannon was concerned, my recollection is I asked Mr. Busby to look it up, and he handed a memorandum to me some time ago, and I think I am not in error in saying that Mr. Bannon became a member of that committee in December, 1906. After Mr. Gillette, of California, who was nominated for governor by the Republicans of that State, resigned from that committee, Mr. Bannon became a member of it. That was a long time before I became a candidate for governor of Indiana. I did not know he was

to be put on the committee until after it had been done. I was not consulted about it.

In the next place, Mr. Vreeland never was, at any time, a member of the Committee on the Judiciary during his service in the House. So far as Mr. Pearre was concerned, the situation was like this: In his opening speech in his home town of Danville, Ill., in the campaign of 1906, Mr. Cannon, at that time Speaker of the House, made a speech to his fellow citizens in Danville, there being a large body of people present, and among others miners and railroad and other labor men, and in that speech he took up and discussed the Pearre anti-injunction bill in full. He said he desired to be entirely frank with these people in that discussion, and in that discussion and after the discussion of that bill and its provisions he simply stated he was opposed to that bill; that he intended always to fight it; and that while water runs and grass grows he would never vote to make fish of one and fowl of the other. When the following Congress met he was elected Speaker, and he left Mr. Pearre off of that committee. I never spoke to Mr. Cannon about it at any time. If I had been inclined to speak to him, I would have known of the absolute folly of it. You do not need to tell the sun to shine, you do not need to tell a canary bird how to sing, and you did not need to tell Uncle Joe Cannon whom to appoint on a committee after a speech of that kind.

Mr. CLINE. That was in the make-up of the committees in the session held in 1909?

Mr. WATSON. No; in 1907—December, 1907.

Mr. CLINE. That was before your candidacy for governor?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir. I never at any time said anything to Mr. Cannon about taking Mr. Vreeland off of that committee.

Mr. WILLIS. You are talking about Mr. Pearre?

Mr. WATSON. I should say Mr. Pearre. If I had been Speaker at that time, I would not have put him on myself, because I am opposed to his views on that proposition.

Mr. CLINE. I was just asking you those questions in order to get the chronological situation.

Mr. EMERY. May I make an inquiry just there? I had a recollection of reading in the press and elsewhere that Mr. Pearre had severed his relations with the Committee on the Judiciary because of ill health. I do not know what there was in that, but I have a recollection of having read or heard that statement at that time, and I thought perhaps Mr. Watson might know something of it.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Pearre was at one time sitting by my side in the House of Representatives, sitting between Judge Gibson, of Tennessee (whom some of you gentlemen will probably remember) and myself when he fell over in a faint. I remember that Judge Gibson called out and wanted to know if there was any doctor in the House. I went out to find a doctor, and he was carried out of the House at that time. I do not remember seeing Mr. Pearre back in the House after that. He was not capacitated by reason of ill health to discharge the duties of membership on that committee. That is my recollection about the Pearre business in relation to that committee.

So far as the general make-up of committees was concerned, gentlemen, it was my custom during the time that I was whip not to mention the qualifications of any Member for any particular place

on any committee to Mr. Cannon unless he asked my advice. The committees were made up, as a rule, by Mr. Cannon and Mr. Busby and Mr. Asher C. Hinds, then the parliamentarian of the House, and I never obtruded my opinion upon the Speaker unless he requested my opinion. He would occasionally say to me, "What do you think of this man," or "What do you think of that man? You know these fellows better than I do. You have associated with them more closely than I have. What do you think of this or that man?" And I would give him my opinion without knowing on what committee he wanted to put that particular man, and I did not pry into those matters. Those were propositions that I regarded somewhat as sacred, and because of my close relations with the Speaker I did not offer to force my ideas of any man upon him unless he asked me what I thought of the different men.

I thought the right to appoint committees was a right that the Speaker claimed was his by virtue of the then existing rules of the House, and that he was entirely willing to exercise. At that time, when he was first made Speaker, he turned over, I think, for the first time in the history of Congress, the selection of the minority membership to the Democratic leader, whoever he might be.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the first time any formal announcement of it was made. As a matter of fact, it had been very largely the practice before that, had it not, or do you know?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; it had been the practice formerly, to a certain extent; but yet there were times when the Speaker felt free to ride over the custom and select Democrats of his own choosing.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cannon did that in a few instances?

Mr. WATSON. I recall but one instance now, Mr. Garrett. That was—well, I am not quite sure who the man was. I remember it was the Committee on the Judiciary, however; some membership on the Committee on the Judiciary.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I recall that Mr. Sherley was appointed to the Committee on the Judiciary when not recommended by the minority leader, and resigned. Is that the case you have in mind?

Mr. WATSON. I remember about that, now that you refresh my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Then there was an appointment made to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors over the recommendation of the minority leader. However, those things are immaterial to this inquiry.

Mr. WATSON. Yes; they are immaterial to this investigation.

Now, with reference to the activities of the National Association of Manufacturers in my campaign for the governorship. I will state briefly—I do not know whether you regard that as a part of this inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say, Mr. Watson, that we do not regard it as a part of this inquiry, but you will be permitted to make any statemnt you may care to make about that, in view of the publicity already given to it.

Mr. WATSON. I am obliged to you, Mr. Chairman. Col. Mulhall—they called him colonel, although he was not a colonel—came to Indiana, so far as my recollection goes, about the 1st of January, 1908. He came there with letters of recommendation which were quite satisfactory to me. I had met him a few times before. I had not known him at all intimately, but he came there stating he thought he

could be of service to me. He remained in Indiana, my recollection is, until about the 24th of February. As I recollect, at that time, or about that time—I found a letter here in the files as I was running over these letters, when I was here before, written by me either to Mr. Van Cleave or Mr. Schwedtman, in which I asked that he be taken out of the State, saying that he was causing more or less friction and discord in my organization. They did take him out of the State at that time. He was there some four or five weeks at that time. That was while I was a candidate for the nomination. He went out of the State about that time. He came back in Indiana, I should think, about the 1st of August, and he was there possibly until about the 1st of October, or something like that. I can not give you the exact date. There was an editorial printed in the Indianapolis News inquiring about this man Mulhall, and asking what he was doing there, and my fellows became somewhat excited about it, and they wrote and asked that he be recalled, and he was taken out of the State; but I think he came back, possibly just a day or two before the election. I think also that after he was taken out of the State in February he came back and was there a day or two before the convention at which I was nominated in 1908. I was nominated on the 2d day of April.

Mr. CLINE. That article in the Indianapolis News created quite a little excitement at that time, did it not?

Mr. WATSON. It did create a good bit of excitement. Of course, I was not in the city all the time. I was very rarely in Indianapolis, going there only to change cars, and going back and forth, but I knew that it created some excitement among my fellows.

Mr. CLINE. I wanted to ask you, Mr. Watson, whether there is not a possibility of your being just a little bit in error in the statement that he was taken out right away. Let me ask you if this was not the fact, that there were some members of the manufacturer's association in Indianapolis in favor of having Mulhall remain there, and that Mr. Hemenway got into the press and straightened the matter out so that everything was harmonious again, and he stayed there for some little time and then went East after that? The correspondence discloses that fact. I did not know whether you remembered just how it was.

Mr. WATSON. I have no distinct recollection about that. I remember that Mulhall came there and he operated—he came there in this way, the second time: He came to me with a letter from Mr. Sherman—a matter I do not like to mention, because, in the first place, of my close personal relationship with Mr. Sherman, and in the second place, because he is now dead, but it is not to his discredit at all. But at that time, you will recall, Mr. Cline, the labor organizations in Indiana were against me, organized labor. I had been denounced in resolutions by organized labor from one end of Indiana to the other. I shall not go into the cause of that, but, of course, I believed it was wholly unjust and wholly unfair. He came there upon the assumption that he could help me with organized labor, and that he could organize, get an organization of the unorganized labor men, and the labor men out of the unions. I said to him: "If you can do that, you are the very fellow I want, and I want that very quickly; I want it right away." The truth is, I wanted more than I got. He went to work on that theory. In his statements he said he raised $22,000. The first statement published in the World

says that he raised about $22,000. On the witness stand before the Senate committee he said that he had caused to be turned over to the committee $22,000.

If you gentlemen will subpœna Mr. Simms, the acting chairman of the committee, and Mr. Goodrich, the chairman of the committee, Mr. Ernest Thomas, who was my personal representative on the committee at that time, and Mr. McCardle, who was acting treasurer, every one of them would swear that he never turned over a dollar to them or caused a dollar to be turned over to that committee. He said he had caused Mr. Parry to give me a thousand dollars. Mr. Parry never gave me a cent. He said he had caused Mr. Hanch to contribute to my campaign. Mr. Hanch never gave me a cent. He gave the names of various manufacturers whom he had gone to see, and who had promised to contribute. Those manufacturers, every one of them, if asked, would say that they never promised to give him a cent. Mr. Studebaker has said that he was never a member of the National Association of Manufacturers; Mr. Miller said that he was a member, but that he had never promised to give a penny. He mentioned the name of Pat Ryan, but inasmuch as Pat Ryan is about as vigorous a type of Democrat that I know of and was as much for Mr. Marshall's election, Mr. Cline, as I presume you were—and I do not suppose that would be questioned in Indiana—you can see the absurdity of that. Ryan and I are personal friends, but he did not contribute anything to my campaign.

Mr. CLINE. I will simply say that in that campaign we Democrats did not have any money to give away to anybody else, so I think you are right in your statement about Pat.

Mr. WATSON. Of course, I do not know just how that was. I know there was some money which came into the campaign along at the last of it, but that is a question that I may or may not discuss before I leave the stand, according to what questions may be asked.

There was a letter written to me, I think it was on the 26th of May, this year, or May 17, this year, in which Col. Mulhall was seeking to have me influence the officers of the National Association of Manufacturers to have him restored to his position, in which he says:

> The small amount of money that was raised in Indianapolis by Mr. C. C. Hanch, Mr. D. M. Parry, Mr. C. C. Foster, and myself was about the only aid that was given to me by the association that year, and if it had not been for my persistent efforts upon these gentlemen, that would not have been accomplished.

That, of course, is a contradiction in terms of the statements he had made with reference to what the manufacturers had done, and in some of these letters he had stated he had succeeded in getting a large number of manufacturers, but in this letter he said:

> I tried on many occasions to organize the manufacturers, but I could not get a large meeting. The largest meeting was held in the Claypool Hotel in August, 1908, when I succeeded in getting seven manufacturers together, and when I found that I could not get a united effort among the manufacturers, I went to work among the labor people.

Mr. WILLIS. Is that letter to you?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; dated the 17th of May, this year. I do not know of any better way to identify it than to say it appears in part 56 of the Senate hearings, at page 4512.

The CHAIRMAN. That letter can be incorporated in the record.

Mr. WATSON. He wrote me this letter, dated the 17th day of May, in which he asked me to have him reinstated. My recollection is I had not seen or talked with Col. Mulhall for, I suppose, a couple of years before that. He wrote, I should say, about nine months before that, asking me to have him reinstated, and said he was having some trouble. I think that letter is here. I responded, saying I had no connection with this association and never did have, and that I could not be of any influence for him.

Then, on the 17th day of May, he wrote me this letter and asked me to have him reinstated, and to that I responded that I did not know how I could be of service to him. Here is the letter of the 26th of May, in which he told me how he thought I could be of service to him, etc., and in which, I think, he made some threats about what he intended to do. However, I shall not go into that.

Mr. WILLIS. Is that in our record?

The CHAIRMAN. I have the impression that it is, but, if there is any doubt about it, we had better insert it here. Both those letters will be inserted, the one of the 17th and the one of the 26th of May.

(The letters referred to were printed in full on pages 1994 and 1996, respectively, part 23, of these hearings.)

Mr. WATSON. I may be in error now as to these dates, but I do not think I am, but I think that when he wrote me his first letter on the 17th of May he had already made a proposition to the American to dispose of this correspondence two days before that; and, failing in that, he wrote to me. He had written me, I think, about nine months before that asking me to use my good offices, and at that time I responded it was not possible for me to help him in any way; that I had no connection with the National Association of Manufacturers and never did have, and that he must work out his own salvation.

Now, so far as the National Association of Manufacturers is concerned in legislation, I have stated that I was in sympathy with the objects of this association. I have no connection with it; I never was entitled to membership in it; I was never employed by it for any purpose; I was never its lobbyist or legislative agent. I believed as these men believed on certain propositions that I regarded as fundamental to good government, and the labor questions were not the only ones in which these people were interested in which I profoundly believed. They state in their handbook that the object of this association is—

> The cooperation of all manufacturers for the promotion of the industries and the commerce of the United States, the betterment of the relations between employers and workers, the establishment and maintenance of industrial peace, and the encouragement of the business and the financial interests of its members at home and abroad.

I talked frequently with Mr. Van Cleave and Mr. Schwedtman, and I made a speech, if not two speeches, at their national banquets held in May of each year. I think I spoke at their banquet in 1909 and, if I am not mistaken, I spoke at their banquet in 1910 in favor of the enlargement of the merchant marine—in favor of our trade expansion. Those were things in which I believed, and I was in full accord with the purposes and objects of the National Association of Manufacturers.

And in so far as the association was active in opposition to the Pearre anti-injunction bill and also in opposition to the amendment of the Sherman antitrust law as proposed, I was in sympathy with it. The Pearre anti-injunction bill—I do not know that it is necessary for me to explain what that was or why I was opposed to it. I was opposed to that before I knew there was a National Association of Manufacturers; I have been opposed to it always, and am opposed to it now, because I think the principles involved in it are subversive of good government. It was not necessary for me to consult these gentlemen about that or for them to consult me. I simply opposed legislation of that character.

The Pearre anti-injunction bill embodied two fundamental propositions. One was that the right to do business at a particular place, or of a particular kind, or to do business at all, was not a property right that could be protected by injunctive relief. The second proposition was that a number of persons could not be convicted of any crime unless one individual could be convicted of that same crime. In other words, it was simply an amendment of the law of conspiracy, and in effect was a repeal of the Sherman antitrust law to that extent.

On that question I opposed that legislation. These gentlemen opposed that legislation. So far as I could I worked in harmony with these men in opposition to that legislation, and also in opposition to the other legislation.

Now, that is an incident of my connection while a Member of Congress with this association. This association never at any time, nor its officers, nor any of its members, so far as I know, ever proposed corruptly or clandestinely on insidiously to influence the action of any Member of Congress. I never knew of a proposition of that kind being entertained for a moment. These people had their representatives here. They thought they had a right to be represented here, just as labor had its representatives here; just as they were seeking to have legislation enacted; just as Mr. Gompers stated yesterday, so I am informed, they had always had a labor committee here.

It was at that time, or around about that time, that these gentlemen became hostile to me. Mr. Gompers, in 1906 or 1907, sent out a letter to all the Members of the House, embodying a certain number of questions, in which he demanded a definite and specific answer to each question. My recollection is that that circular was closed by saying: "If you do not answer, your silence will be construed as opposition."

Well, I never answered those questions. I did not think he had any right to ask me how I stood on the propositions. I always felt that the humblest constituent in my district had the right to come to me at any time to find out how I stood, and if I had views I would give them to him, for I always believed it more honorable to confess my ignorance of a question than to confess cowardice. But I did not think it was Mr. Gompers's right to hold any inquisition over me.

Thereafter circulars were sent out from Washington against my candidacy for the governorship—not my candidacy for Congress at all, but for the governorship of Indiana. They were sent out nu-

merously. Mr. Gompers came to Indiana and spoke from the tail end of a train. I think he was there for probably five days, if I recall, and made as many as 10 speeches a day.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that before the nomination?

Mr. WATSON. No; after.

The CHAIRMAN. He opposed you for election?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; and opposed me specifically.

Now, Mr. Chairman, so far as the general labor legislation in Congress was concerned, I never knew what the opinion of the officers of the National Association of Manufacturers might be with reference to that legislation. Take, for instance, child labor. I never at any time, so far as I know, discussed child-labor legislation with any of those gentlemen, and when I was championing a bill here for child labor they never talked to me about it and I never talked to them about it. I did not know what their opinions were.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that bill? A District bill?

Mr. WATSON. That was a bill that was taken charge of by Mr. J. Van Vechten Olcott before the District of Columbia Committee. It was what Mr. Roosevelt, when he asked me to get Mr. Olcott to take it up, described as a model child-labor law for the District that the States might copy.

Take another instance. Take the bills limiting the hours of continuous employment on interstate railroads to 16 hours. I believe—if I may say it modestly—I was as much instrumental in having that law passed as any other man in this country. I never asked these gentlemen what they thought about it. I do not know what they think about it now. If they opposed it, I never knew it. If they favored it, I never knew it.

Take the ash-pan bill. Take the safety-appliance propositions. I was in favor of every one of those propositions. I never knew how they felt about those things, and never inquired.

The CHAIRMAN. If I may interrupt you there for a moment, do you remember there was a bill introduced in the Senate by a Senator from your State, Senator Beveridge, seeking to prevent the transportation in interstate commerce of articles the product of child labor?

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, broadly speaking. I do not think any such bill as that was ever introduced in the House at any time. Do you remember any bill of that character?

Mr. WATSON. No; the Beveridge bill was much broader than any bill ever introduced in the House of which I have any recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Emery has testified that he himself felt some apprehension concerning that bill because of the principle it contained of undertaking to regulate, not interstate commerce, but those engaged in interstate commerce. I do not know that he expressed it just that way.

Mr. EMERY. If you will pardon me, Mr. Chairman, my suggestion was that it was a regulation of production under the guise of regulating commerce. That was simply a personal opinion.

Mr. WATSON. I have no knowledge of Mr. Emery's position about that bill. He and I never discussed it, and I do not think I ever knew that he opposed it. I remember that Senator Beveridge——

The CHAIRMAN. I do not suppose it ever reached the point in the House at any time, even in discussion or consideration, that caused you to take any interest in that bill in any way?

Mr. WATSON. Not that I remember, Mr. Chairman. The only child-labor legislation that ever came to a head of which I have knowledge was that Olcott bill. I do not know whether it was called the Olcott bill, but my recollection is that in an interview I had with the President about the legislative program that was one of the things he asked to have done. I took it up immediately with Mr. Olcott, and that bill was brought out from the District Committee, and it was subsequently passed. I think it became a law; that is my present recollection about that. I feel quite confident it passesd the House.

Now, I never knew how those men stood on that or any of the ordinary labor bills that passed the House. The only two propositions that I remember upon which there was agreement and which we discussed, and on which I was in thorough accord with their views, were the two I have mentioned, and that was because I was fundamentally opposed to legislation of that character. I did not believe it right, and I do not now.

Now, so far as the tariff commission proposition was concerned, I can state very briefly about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Just what did you do?

Mr. WATSON. I can tell that. The special session of Congress in 1909 was convened on the 15th of March——

Mr. WILLIS. When did you go out of Congress?

Mr. WATSON. I went out of Congress on the 4th day of March, 1909. I went home immediately, and I should think about two or three days before that session met I was asked to come to Washington by a certain gentleman to assist in organizing the House, in the reelection of the Speaker, and the readoption of the rules. I had had some familiarity with those matters and I knew some of the brethren. I came back and got into that little mêlée. The Speaker was reelected, and the House rules were adopted with some modifications, and I went home.

I should think about the 26th or 27th of March I received a message—I am not sure whether it came from Mr. Emery or Mr. Mulhall, but from one or the other—and I came back here, and at that time the question was put up to me of representing these people in securing a provision in the Payne tariff bill providing for a tariff commission. There was some little parleying back and forth about it, and finally I accepted the employment; my recollection is about the 1st of April, 1909.

In 1909—February 16, 17, and 18—there was a meeting held at Indianapolis of people from all sections of the country who believed in a tariff commission. That was a three-day session. Many Members of Congress went out to it, and I was invited to go, but did not go, because I did not have time. They appointed a committee of 100——

Mr. STAFFORD. When was that?

Mr. WATSON. The 16th, 17th, and 18th, or the 17th, 18th, and 19th of February. It was in that week.

Mr. STAFFORD. Of 1909?

Mr. WATSON. Of 1909. They appointed a committee of 100, and that committee of 100 appointed an executive committee, I think, of 15, and some of the members of the executive committee met here about the 27th or 28th of March for the purpose of taking up formally aggressive action with regard to the object of that association.

Mr. WILLIS. When did that session of Congress convene?

Mr. WATSON. The 15th day of March. Now, before the special session met for 9 or 10 months the Ways and Means Committee had been formulating a tariff bill. Nobody appeared before the committee to ask for a tariff commission. That bill was brought out and put into the House, my recollection is, the 18th of March.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a member of that committee at that time?

Mr. WATSON. I was a member of the Ways and Means Committee until, I should think, about the 15th day of June, when I left here to go home and take up my campaign for the governorship, and I resigned and Mr. Crumpacker was appointed in my place at that time.

Mr. WILLIS. That was June, 1908?

Mr. WATSON. That was June, 1908. Mr. Crumpacker sat during the summer as long as Congress was in session, and the following winter, as a member of that committee, as my successor on that committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I remember now.

Mr. WATSON. But nobody appeared before that committee to ask for a tariff commission, and the bill as it was presented to the House contained no provision for a tariff commission. When I accepted the employment there was some question about what I was to do, which I can state very quickly.

I was to seek to have an amendment adopted in the House providing for a tariff commission. I talked with a number of the Members of the House about it, and several speeches were made. I think, if you will get the record, you will find that Nick Longworth made quite a speech in favor of it. My recollection is that Longworth was very much in favor of it, as were various Members. There was a vote taken on the amendment, but we could not get it in the House, because there were a good many Republicans that did not favor it and most of our Democratic friends were opposed to it.

Mr. WILLIS. Some of the Democrats were strongly in favor of it?

Mr. WATSON. I think some of them were in favor of it. My recollection is, there were several of them in favor of it, and there were a good many Republicans in favor of it, though some of the strongest ones were not. They were opposed to it on the theory that what I was asking was too broad, or would soon become so broad that the tariff commission would practically be enacting tariff legislation and revenue legislation instead of the House of Representatives, and thereby the sovereignty of the House of Representatives be impaired.

Mr. CLINE. Were not Payne and Fordney and Dalzell, at the top of the Ways and Means Committee, absolutely opposed to the tariff commission?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Was that one reason, probably, why the matter was not considered in the committee?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir; I think so. I talked to those gentlemen about it. I talked to Mr. Cannon about it. I knew very well what their views were. In fact, I was pretty nearly the only old-fashioned stand-pat Republican on that committee that was in favor of a tariff commission.

Mr. CLINE. And the Speaker was opposed to it, too?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; he was opposed to it. I do not like to state the Speaker's views, because he likes to state his own views, and I do not like to reflect anybody's opinions. I think, however, that if he could have been assured that the power of this commission would always have been limited simply to finding facts for report to Congress he probably would not have been opposed to it; I doubt that Mr. Payne, or Mr. Dalzell, or any of those gentlemen would. But the thing that was a nightmare to them was that, either in the organic act creating the tariff commission or by subsequent amendments, or because of the encroachment of the commission itself upon Congress, its powers would be so enlarged that it would finally be enacting legislation, substantially.

Mr. STAFFORD. As I understand it, you were in favor of a tariff commission while a member of the Ways and Means Committee, and then you resigned from that committee?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir; I was, and have been for many years.

Mr. CLINE. You and brother Beveridge were in accord on that one proposition?

Mr. WATSON. We were not; no, we were not in accord on that, and, so far as I know, on nothing else.

Mr. RUSSELL. Does that relation still exist?

Mr. WATSON. Up to the last meeting we had. [Laughter.] If there has been any change, it is in Mr. Beveridge. However, that is past. Our personal relations are clever and have never been severed. Mr. Beveridge believed in a much broader tariff commission than I did, with broader powers than I thought feasible or practicable, and yet I thought that he ought to be consulted about it.

If you gentlemen care to know, I can tell you just what happened in the Senate committee on that proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe there is no objection.

Mr. WATSON. The bill passed the House without any provision for a tariff commission and went to the Senate. I had my headquarters down here in town, and I would get gentlemen to go and see their own Senators. I did not go to see all these gentlemen or argue to different Senators about it, but I had men from the different States go to see their own Senators and then report to me. I had charge of that organization and that campaign for a tariff commission in the House and in the Senate, and I had various Members of Congress coming to report to me about how their delegations stood, and I had gentlemen who were interested in this proposition. For instance, I asked Mr. John C. Cobb, who at that time, I believe, was president of the Merchants' Association of Boston. He came here, and I asked him to see Senator Lodge and Senator Crane about it, and so on through the various States.

Mr. Van Cleave and Mr. Schwedtman and I called on Senator Aldrich to ascertain his views on this proposition, and Senator Aldrich brought in the proposition for a tariff commission. He said he was not opposed to a tariff commission properly limited and defined, and he brought in a proposition and handed it to Mr. Van Cleave, and we sat down and went over it while he was there. My recollection is that I took my pencil out of my pocket and just wrote in this expression. They were providing for finding the facts for various purposes, and how a report should be made to the President, etc., in that proposition of Senator Aldrich's, and I took my pencil and wrote in this language:

And for use in the preparation of tariff legislation.

He said, "I have no objection to that."

My recollection is that within a day or two that was adopted by the Senate Committee on Finance. I think I am not in error on that statement, though I have not looked it up since to see whether it went through in that exact language. I am not prepared to say, but I think it did in substance, and in the conference committee it was modified and not passed. At any rate, President Taft construed that language to mean that he had the right to appoint a commission for the purpose of finding facts and reporting them to Congress, so that in the construction of the President I think it was quite as broad as if the original language had been adopted. And the President proceeded to appoint the tariff commission. You gentlemen know whether it is in existence now or not.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is not, but I am a little mixed in my history of it. My impression was that this tariff board was appointed under a provision carried in the sundry civil bill.

Mr. WATSON. I think not, Mr. Garrett.

The CHAIRMAN. To enable the President to carry out the provisions of the maximum and minimum clause——

Mr. WATSON. No; I think that in the tariff bill itself it was provided that to enable the President to carry out the provisions of the maximum and minimum clause——

The CHAIRMAN. That is true; yes.

Mr. WATSON. That board should be appointed for that specific purpose.

Mr. STAFFORD. Permit me to suggest there that in the original Payne Act the tariff-board provision was incorporated for three members, and the following year a provision was incorporated in the sundry civil bill extending the membership to five and giving it some added powers.

Mr. WATSON. I do not recall just how that was.

Mr. STAFFORD. Not added powers, but merely increasing the membership.

Mr. WATSON. In the original Payne bill that passed the House was there is a provision for the Tariff Commission?

Mr. STAFFORD. Not as it passed the House, but as it passed finally in conference.

Mr. WATSON. Oh, yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. The membership of that was changed subsequently in the year following in the sundry civil bill.

Mr. WATSON. That is all there is in that proposition, Mr. Chairman. I accepted that employment. I was not a Member of Congress. There was nothing secret or insidious about it. I went to Members of Congress and talked freely about it, both in the House and in the Senate. I thought I had a perfect right to do it. I thought they had a perfect right to employ me, as I have always believed that any body or any set of bodies had the right to come here in person or by representatives and be heard on a proposition in Congress and by Congressmen.

And when I was a Member of Congress I had no hesitancy in talking with anybody who had business that would be affected by legislation, and I believed the National Association of Manufacturers had a perfect right to have their representatives here, that labor had a perfect right to have its representative here, that the temperance people had a perfect right to have their representative here, as they always have had. I never questioned that for a moment. And I believe they had a right to talk with me about matters, provided they came in the right way and in the right spirit.

So much for that. They paid me $250 a week and my expenses, as I remember it, and my personal recollection is that I received a retainer of $500. That is my personal recollection about it. There seems to have been some dispute about it. I am told that the books do not show that, but I have the recollection that I received a retainer of $500 and $250 a week.

There was something said here about a contingent fee. There may have been talk among those gentlemen about a contingent fee, but there was no provision for any contingent fee for me of which I have any knowledge. There was a letter turned up, I understand, that Mr. Mulhall wrote afterwards, in which he suggested that I might get additional compensation, but I wrote him and told him that there was no use to take that up, or language to that effect. That is my recollection about it.

The CHAIRMAN. There is such a letter in the correspondence.

Mr. WATSON. Let me make this statement, gentlemen: I was friendly with Mr. Van Cleave and Mr. Schwedtman, and they were friendly with me. They were my personal and political friends. Col. Mulhall knew that fact, and it was a convenient way for him to stand in with them by reporting, "I have just seen Mr. Watson and had a long conversation"—for he never had a short conversation with anybody [laughter]—on this or that or the other topic.

Mr. CLINE. Let me remind you that he did not use the word "conversation"; it was "interview."

Mr. WATSON. As Sam Weller would remark, that is probably a more dignified term.

Well, I went very carefully over the letters that were produced in the files having reference to my association with Col. Mulhall and his alleged association with me, etc. Of course, the lapse of time dims the recollection of these things to a great degree, but I should think half of those letters detailed conversations that never occurred and narrated events that never happened.

It was a very easy thing for the colonel to sit down and make a report that he had had an interview with Hon. James E. Watson about this, that, or the other thing, when I had not seen him, be-

cause there were days that I did not see him. So, when this proposition came up, he was always wanting to be friendly with me, because he thought I was friendly with these men and stood in with them. So he would sit down and write me, and he said he thought he might get me some additional compensation, or something of that kind, which, I think, was simply an effort on his part to show that he was kindly disposed toward me. I wrote him there was not anything I knew that could be obtained, etc.; that Mr. Miles probably would not agree to it with Mr. Towne, and that is all there is to that.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a letter under date of August 4, 1900, or a copy of a letter that purports to have been written by you.

Mr. WATSON (after examining letter). That ought to be Mr. Miles—Mr. Miles or Mr. Towne; yes. That is the only way I have of explaining that letter. I am quite sure there was no contingent fee arranged for in my employment, and I really regret that there was not.

The CHAIRMAN. There is an additional Senate print—I have sent for volume 6 of it—in which there is some correspondence that seems to refer in some way to that matter. I do not remember exactly what it is, but I have sent for it.

Mr. WATSON. That is the contingent fee?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. It seems to be some correspondence among yourselves—I mean among the members of the National Tariff Commission Association.

Mr. WATSON. There was some discussion.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not recall there is any correspondence with you in it, but it seems to be correspondence among the members of the National Tariff Commission.

Mr. WATSON. I read what Mr. Miles said, and he said there was some loose talk about it; that was his language on the witness stand, that there was some loose talk about it, but my recollection is Mr. Towne, of New York, Mr. Curtis Guild, of Boston, the ex-ambassador to Russia, just out, and Mr. Miles were the three gentlemen, and Mr. John C. Cobb, of Boston. They were down at the Willard, and I met them there. My recollection is Mr. Miles and I went over into another room and sat down and talked over and agreed on the terms of my employment, and then he went back and reported to the others. So far as I remember, there was some talk among them about a contingent fee.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you known Mr. Miles before that?

Mr. WATSON. I knew Mr. Miles before that.

The CHAIRMAN. You remember Mr. Miles testified before the Senate committee that at the beginning, when the matter was first suggested about your employment, he did not look with very great favor on it?

Mr. WATSON. That was very natural.

The CHAIRMAN. Because he knew of your——

Mr. WATSON. Stand-pat proclivities.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; he knew of your stand-pat proclivities.

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I think he testified to that.

Mr. WATSON. Yes; and it was quite true that Mr. Miles, I think, was perhaps in that frame of mind. He did not know where I

might stand on a tariff commission. He and I never had any talk about it in the world, but he knew I was an old-fashioned Republican of the ancient order, and I suppose he had reason to believe that the other fellows on the committee, or some of them at any rate, were in that frame of mind, too.

Mr. WILLIS. Was it a fact that Mr. Miles was an active tariff reformer, so called, in favor of quite a considerable reduction in duties? Do you know about that, Mr. Watson?

Mr. WATSON. I know all about that, or as much as a man can know. Mr. Miles came on to Washington, I think, during the winter before, and was here seeking to have tariff reduction. He was a very sincere man and a very earnest man. He was a very hard worker. He was an implement dealer, or an implement manufacturer at Racine, Wis., and he went about to see the other implement dealers in this country, and they got up quite an organization. It was a source of a good deal of annoyance to us Republicans.

For instance, at Richmond, Ind., there are a number of implement manufacturers in my district, and they came after me for a reduction of the tariff on steel billets, and I was much annoyed by them, because they proceeded to say to me they wanted it and they intended to have it. Of course, I undertook to explain to them it was impossible to amend one item of the tariff bill without throwing the whole tariff bill open to miscellaneous amendments, and endless discussion, and so forth. But with all that, you know, that explanation was not very satisfactory. Mr. Miles was in the thing at its inception, and there was a very close fight, and when he came over here in connection with the tariff commission proposition, why we all had more or less trouble to prevent Mr. Miles from discussing schedules all the time instead of the necessity of a tariff commission. He insisted on talking about schedules. My recollection is Mr. Taft one day took him to task about it; that is, he said, "If you are here to discuss the necessity of a tariff commission, you can not possibly discuss schedules, because you are destroyed by your own argument. We are supposing we do not know enough about it to regulate the tariff schedules, and it is necessary for us to have a commission composed of men who know what the tariff schedules mean, to tell us about them." There was more or less difficulty about it. I think Mr. Kirby remembers it, but I do not think Mr. Emery remembers it, because I do not think he took any part in regard to the tariff commission, as I recall. The other gentlemen did. Mr. Miles and I talked about it and sometimes the conversation was pretty sharp; there was considerable acerbity in it. Mr. Miles was a very sincere man and a very honest man and was seeking to work out what he thought was for the best interests of the country, and of course he was very insistent on tariff items and schedules.

Now, there was only one proposition, gentlemen, in this whole matter in which I had a deep and vital interest, and that was the statement by Mulhall that he had paid me money while I was a Member of Congress. Of course he subsequently retracted and withdrew that statement. In the published statement of the 29th of June in the Chicago Tribune and the New York World (although the New York World did not publish it, the Chicago Tribune did) he said that this money was paid to me and fixed the time as December, 1908. I came over here and looked through the letter files and I found a letter

from Mr. Mulhall to Mr. Schwedtman, dated December 18, from Cincinnati, in which he said, "I called up Rushville to talk to Mr. Watson, and Mrs. Watson told me he had gone to Washington. I am going to Washington and I may see him there"; and in a letter, dated the 19th of December, in which he said to Schwedtman, "I arrived here and went to look up Mr. Watson and found he and Senator Hemenway had gone home for the holidays," and in a letter, dated December the 31st, in which he said he wanted to talk matters over with Mr. Watson and had no opportunity to do so because he had not seen me; and a letter, dated the 4th of January, 1909, in which he said to Mr. Schwedtman, "I came over from Baltimore to-day and went to see Mr. Watson, and when I inquired for him I found he had not returned from Indiana"; and a letter, dated the 12th of January, 1909, in which he said, "I went into the Speaker's room to-day and saw Mr. Watson, the first time I have seen him since I left Indiana," the night before the election.

So by his own letters, and they are valuable only because it is an admission, he shows he had not seen me at any time from the night before the election until the 12th day of December, 1909.

The specific statement appeared in the Chicago Tribune that Mr. Miles had paid me $500 at the Willard Hotel, and he, Mulhall, was in the same room and he had seen him hand it to me. That was in the Chicago Tribune.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, during all this time you were here in 1909 engaged in the work for this tariff commission, didn't you see Mulhall?

Mr. WATSON. Oh, yes; I saw Mulhall every once in a while.

The CHAIRMAN. Wasn't he really mistaken about that, then, in stating on December 12, 1909, he had not seen you since election night of 1908?

Mr. WATSON. Not December, 1909, but January, 1909.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you said December, 1909.

Mr. WATSON. No; December, 1908, is when Miles handed me this money, and then he said in a letter he had not seen me until the 12th of January, 1909, since he left Indiana, the night before the election.

The CHAIRMAN. It was so that Mr. Mulhall assisted you, however, on the tariff-commission proposition?

Mr. WATSON. Only in this way: He would occasionally come around; he was an officious sort of fellow, and wanted to be doing something for you, you know, and when he was not out in the field he would come around to see me and say, "Is there anybody you want me to see or anything you want me to do," and I would say, "No; I guess not," or, "You might go to see so and so." It was just a sort of convenient way to handle a fellow and keep him smooth, and so forth, but I did not regard anything he might do around here as of any consequence.

Mr. WILLIS. Just a moment ago you said in December, 1908, "He handed me the money."

Mr. WATSON. I said in December, 1908, he said he handed me the money, and they published it here in the Chicago Tribune. Of course, I was not doing anything about a tariff commission in 1908, and that matter was never thought of so far as I know until the Indianapolis convention in the latter part of February, and

then the tariff proposition was not a proposition made to me, and nobody, of course, paid me a penny in the world while I was a Member of Congress on any proposition. And I want to state—and I want to say this generally—that while I was whip of this House, for probably six years, I think I was probably as well acquainted with the Members of the House as any man could be. I knew the Democrats well and I knew every Republican in this House and generally when, where, and what they did, because I frequently came into contact with them; and I never knew a corrupt Member of the House and I never knew any man who was offered money, of my personal knowledge; I never knew any man to take money on any proposition, and I never knew any man that had been corrupted by money by anybody while I was a Member of Congress, and I never knew of any attempt on the part of anybody to corrupt Members while I was a Member of this House. I have a very high opinion of the Representatives of the people of this country, and I do not believe they could be corrupted or anyone could be bought for money. I never did believe it, and do not believe it now. Of course, the National Association of Manufacturers, so far as I know, never dreamed of any such proposition. What the term "insidious" means is, it means sly and under cover, etc. It does not mean corrupt. There was nothing insidious about the National Association of Manufacturers, so far as I knew. They came here to fight their cause as they believed they had a right to do. And as I said awhile ago, I am not a member of it and had no connection with it and never did in the world. I knew of their organization and objects and purposes, and they are set forth in the handbook as furnished to me in 1907, a handbook I think it would be well if the whole thing was incorporated in the minutes, and should go out to the country what they are doing here and what they are trying to do and their principles and their objects.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Chairman, may that be included in your record? It is a small handbook, and I would like to have it put in the record.

Mr. CLINE. Didn't you incorporate that in your statement while you were on the stand?

Mr. EMERY. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE. I thought you gave a very detailed statement of the purposes and objects.

Mr. EMERY. I am glad if it impressed you in that light, in the limited time I had to do it. We are particularly inquiring into this matter of legislative activities, and that handbook sets forth all the activities of this association; and while in the course of the testimony the facts have been more or less detailed, the so-called political activities have been unduly magnified.

Mr. CLINE. My understanding was you went thoroughly into that subject. I may be mistaken.

Mr. WILLIS. How extensive a publication is this?

Mr. WATSON. I had a copy of it. I brought a copy of it here with me, but I do not know what became of it.

Mr. EMERY. I think, in justice to ourselves, it ought to be incorporated. It is brief.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection, it will be incorporated in the record at this point.

(The handbook referred to is as follows:)

A HANDBOOK OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, 1907.

Officers: President, James W. Van Cleave, St. Louis, Mo.; treasurer, F. H. Stillman, New York, N. Y.; acting secretary, George S. Boudinot, New York, N. Y.

Board of directors: James W. Van Cleave, St. Louis, Mo., the Buck's Stove & Range Co.; F. H. Stillman, New York, N. Y., Watson-Stillman Co.; H. B. Anthony, Detroit, Mich., McRae & Roberts Co.; H. S. Chamberlain, Chattanooga, Tenn., Citico Furnace Co.; George T. Coppins, Boston, Mass., Walworth Manufacturing Co.; C. C. Hanch, Indianapolis, Ind., Nordyke & Marmon Co.; Charles M. Jarvis, New Britain, Conn., P. & F. Corbin; Jackson Johnson, St. Louis, Mo., Roberts, Johnson & Rand Shoe Co.; John Kirby, jr., Dayton, Ohio, Dayton Manufacturing Co.; Ludwig Nissen, New York, N. Y., Ludwig Nissen & Co.; H. E. Miles, Racine, Wis., Racine-Sattley Co.; F. C. Nunemacher, Louisville, Ky., The Nunemacher Press; David M. Parry, Indianapolis, Ind., Parry Manufacturing Co.; Enos Paulin, Bridgeton, N. J., Ferracute Machine Co.; C. W. Post, Battle Creek, Mich., Postum Cereal Co.; Daniel C. Ripley, Pittsburg, Pa., United States Glass Co.; A. A. Schenck, Syracuse, N. Y., The Engelberg Huller Co.; Ambrose Swasey, Cleveland, Ohio, Warner & Swasey Co.; D. A. Tompkins, Charlotte, N. C., D. A. Tompkins Co.; William A. Vawter, Chicago, Ill., Baker-Vawter Co.; George S. Boudinot, New York, N. Y., general offices.

General offices: 170 Broadway (Maiden Lane and Cortlandt Street), New York, N. Y.; president's office, Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo.

THE SITUATION.

The swift expansion which is under way in all the United States' important industrial, commercial, and distributive activities, the rapid concentration of capital and labor into great combinations, and the frequently recurring conflicts between labor and capital, are bringing up new issues and are throwing the old issues into new shapes.

These changes make the work of the law framer and the law administrator far more intricate and far more difficult than it was in times within the easy recollection of all of us.

To deal with these questions wisely requires the best thought of all intelligent and patriotic Americans.

This necessity makes an especial demand upon the manufacturers of the United States, in whose hands rest, in a large and constantly increasing degree, the country's welfare and progress, and the advancement and prosperity of all elements of its people.

It is only by organization and cooperation that this demand can be adequately met.

To the extent of its membership and of its resources the National Association of Manufacturers is meeting this demand.

The time, the conditions, and the general business and social outlook make an especial appeal to every manufacturer, small and large, in every town and city of the United States—North, South, East, and West—to join the National Association of Manufacturers.

"Hear us for our cause!" It is also the cause of every employer, of every worker, and of every public-spirited and broad-minded American.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS.

At a gathering in Cincinnati in 1895 of many of the leading manufacturers of the United States, the National Association of Manufacturers was formed, and it was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York in 1905.

Its object is the cooperation of all manufacturers for the promotion of the industries and the commerce of the United States, the betterment of the relations between employers and workers, the establishment and maintenance of industrial peace, and the encouragement of the business and the financial interests of its members at home and abroad.

The membership is restricted to American manufacturers.

The membership fee is $50 a year, and membership involves no liability except this fee.

The association's revenues from every source are devoted wholly to the service of its members.

The president, the directors, and the committees of the association give their time and attention to the duties of their posts without salaries or fees of any sort.

In its membership is vested the entire management of the affairs of the association, and they elect officers and dictate its policies.

On the third Tuesday in each year the association meets in New York, hears reports of the work of the association for the preceding 12 months, elects officers for the following year, and, after full and free discussion, it adopts a platform which those officers and the committees endeavor to carry out.

At these annual conventions prominent public men and experts on all topics of industrial concern make addresses, which are published in all the great newspapers of the country.

The general offices in the association are at 170 Broadway, New York City, where, at all times, meeting rooms, messengers, telephones, stenographers and interpreters are at the services of members.

The association's organ is American Industries, which is published on the 1st and 15th of each month, and contains articles by specialists covering all lines of industry and commerce, foreign as well as domestic.

THE ASSOCIATION'S ACTIVITY IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

One of the activities of the National Association of Manufacturers is the promotion of good legislation in Congress and the State legislatures and the defeat of bad measures. The term good legislation is not used here in any narrow or exclusive sense. It means legislation which will aid the employees as well as the manufacturers and advance the general interests of the country.

In these days, when Congresses and legislatures are so active—and in some instances perniciously active—this public work keeps many of the members of the association busy a large part of every year. Nearly all the association's officers and directors, as well as the heads of its committees, are personally acquainted with the President of the United States and with the leaders of both parties in each branch of Congress. Some of them are also in close touch with the governors and the more prominent lawmakers in each State.

Members of the association's committees, regular or special, appear before committees of Congress in support of or in opposition to measures which are to come up for action. Sometimes the association is represented in this work by well-known lawyers or publicists. A similar course of procedure is followed by the association in the legislatures.

Some very effective work was done by the association in opposition to the compulsory metric weights and measures bill and to the various anti-injunction and eight-hour bills. Much of the credit for the defeat of those measures in the recent Congress belongs to the National Association of Manufacturers. Against this metric bill, and against all the measures giving special privileges or advantages to the labor unions, this association has worked vigorously from the beginning—not so much because the special privileges would go to the labor unions as because the association is opposed to the granting of special privileges or advantages to any particular element of the people.

In fighting the anti-injunction and the eight-hour bills the association had a difficult task. These measures were instigated by the American Federation of Labor. They were introduced at the federation's order, and it had a powerful and unscrupulous lobby to push them. The federation's chiefs threatened political death to everybody who would oppose them. They attempted to coerce President Roosevelt and Speaker Cannon into accepting these measures and failed conspicuously in each instance. Congressman Littlefield, of Maine, who was an outspoken opponent of the anti-injunction bill, was marked for especial attack in the congressional canvass of 1906, because Maine voted early. The head of the American Federation of Labor and many of his satellites took the stump against Littlefield, but he was triumphantly elected, as was every other Congressman whom the federation singled out for assault.

Regardless of their politics the association supported every one of these courageous and public-spirited Congressmen who refused to take orders from the labor-union bosses and who legislated in the interest of the entire American people. The association supported them through its official organ, American Industries, through subscriptions which many of its individual members made toward the legitimate campaign expenses of these patriotic public officers, and

by the personal appeals of the association's president and many others of its members through their official organ and in other ways.

The association opposed the eight-hour bill because it would hamper farmers, miners, small manufacturers, and other employers and workers without giving any compensating advantages.

The association fought the anti-injunction bill because it is better to head off the destruction of life, business, or property than it is to attempt to punish the perpetrators of the destruction after their crimes are committed, and when, even if the criminals get all the punishment which the law metes out for their crimes, their work of destruction can not be undone.

For at least two reasons the National Association of Manufacturers is able to labor effectively for any cause which it champions and against any cause or practice which it opposes. Its members represent more workers and more capital than any other organization in the world. These members are among the most intelligent, level-headed, and patriotic citizens of the country, who constantly act on the principle that no great issue can be settled permanently until it is settled right.

The vicious measures which have just been named, and many others which have not been mentioned here, but which the association fought successfully during the Fifty-ninth Congress, which recently expired, will be presented to the Sixtieth Congress, which will meet in December, 1907. They will undoubtedly be reenforced by other measures equally objectionable. As a President and Congress are to be chosen in 1908, the labor union bosses and other demagogues and disturbers will be particularly active and belligerent in their demands for class legislation.

In combating the reactionaries and the destructionists the association will need to be unusually active and belligerent in the coming year.

The situation which confronts the country makes an especially powerful appeal to every manufacturer in the United States to immediately enroll himself in the National Association of Manufacturers.

THE ASSOCIATION'S LEGAL WORK.

In these days of frenzied politics more laws are being passed by the various legislatures affecting taxation, property, corporation regulation and control, or touching business and trade in some shape than anybody now alive ever before saw in anything like the same length of time. The statutes of yesterday are repealed to-day, and to-day's laws may be knocked obsolete to-morrow. They may be nullified by the courts as violations of the constitution, or they may be superseded by the legislatures in enacting new statutes.

These swift and sweeping changes carry peril to every man engaged in trade. In these days business of all sorts is steadily broadening its field and crossing State lines. The most vigilant and law-abiding manufacturer may be violating some statute of some State without knowing it, and thus may be laying himself open to attack in the courts. However innocent of harmful intent the person may be who breaks a law, the breaking of it entails humiliation, and may bring a serious obstruction to business.

The association has a legal department, which is presided over by a learned lawyer who, through his staff, keeps informed about the statutes of the various States in every point at which those statutes touch trade in any shape. On legal matters he will give advice to members of the association, and will cooperate with their attorneys. All this is free except where litigation may develop, where collections are made, or where specific extra services are rendered. In all cases where charges are made members are told in advance just what those charges will be. And in all cases the charges must be reasonable.

Here is a very important advantage which the National Association of Manufacturers holds out to all its members. Through this legal aid rendered gratis a large number of its members every year are enabled to save, by averting legal complications, many times the amount of their $50 membership fee.

THE ASSOCIATION AS AN ADVISER.

Fully as important as the association's work as a mentor in legal matters are its functions as a general adviser on all concerns affecting the business and the financial welfare and prestige of its members. Its information bureau extends to all sorts of interests which touch the American manufacturer. In this department the association's activities cover the entire commercial world, abroad as well as at home.

The association gives advice and assistance to members in their domestic and foreign transportation interests. Its advertising bureau tells the individual member the sort of advertising, in the home and foreign field, which will bring the largest results, and shows him where to place that advertising.

The association puts members on their guard against home and foreign fakes and grafts of all sorts which lay traps that often victimize the most skilled and experienced manufacturers and exporters. It tells how to register trade-marks and patents; furnishes reports on industrial and commercial conditions in foreign countries with respect to the inquiring member's own products and problems; gives lists of importers, wholesale dealers, and agents in foreign countries; translates letters for members from or into any language; provides meeting rooms, messengers, telephones, stenographers, and interpreters at its central office in New York for members; gives reports on the commercial standing of business houses in all foreign countries; furnishes up-to-date information on the customs tariffs and trade regulations of every foreign nation; and gives letters of introduction to official bodies and correspondents in every country to members who go abroad on business or pleasure.

It is scarcely necessary to remind manufacturers that all these sorts of services, which are rendered free to members, may, in many cases, be worth many thousands of dollars a year.

THE ASSOCIATION AS A BUSINESS PROMOTER.

In promoting the business, foreign and domestic, of its members, the association does a work of great value. Its organ, American Industries, published twice a month, not only prints articles on all business interests by experts, but it gives the dates of departures of vessels carrying merchandise from New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans, and other shipping points to all the great ports of the world. Through its columns, too, foreign inquiries for American goods are brought to the attention of its readers.

An American Trade Index, which is a particularly valuable book to all manufacturers, is issued by the association yearly. It contains an alphabetical list of all the association's members, with a brief description of their products, their foreign agencies, and their cable codes, and also contains a classified list of all its members, under headings which describe the things they manufacture.

Large editions of this book are sent all over the world each year, containing indexes in the languages of the countries in which they are distributed. In this way British, German, French, and other foreign buyers of American goods have the addresses of the American manufacturers placed in their hands, and are thus in a position to communicate immediately with the persons in the United States with whom they want to deal.

In the American Trade Index every member of the association has the privilege of placing a paragraph in the alphabetical section, and may also put his name and address under a suitable number of headings in the classified lists.

The association furnishes facilities for the prompt and correct forwarding of goods from manufacturer to customer. These facilities are obtained through the international freight bureau which the association maintains for the benefit of its members. The bureau advises them with respect to shipments, and gives them all needed information about routes, rates, and shipping requirements.

And all this is free of charge to the members of the association.

In a large number of cases these privileges and facilities, in the additional business which they brought, have been worth many times the $50 membership fee.

The association has a membership of about 3,000 manufacturers, and accessions to this number are being rapidly made.

Measured by the capitalization of the business concerns in its membership, or measured by the number of employees in those concerns, it is the largest organization of its kind in the world.

Among well-known men outside of the ranks of the association who spoke at its annual convention in May, 1907, were Oscar S. Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labor; Charles A. Prouty, Interstate Commerce Commissioner; Capt. Henry A Castle, late Auditor of the Treasury for the Post Office Department; Francis B. Loomis, formerly Assistant Secretary of State; Charles P. Neill, United States Commissioner of Labor; Admiral Sigsbee; Maj. Gen. J. Franklin Bell; and Charles M. Pepper, special agent of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

world's nations. Every succeeding sunrise in 1907 sees $10,000,000 added to the wealth of the United States. This is just seven times as much as is added to the wealth of the United Kingdom in that time.

The wealth of the United States, which was $7,000,000,000 in 1850, $30,000,000,000 in 1870, and $65,000,000,000 in 1890, is $120,000,000,000 in 1907.

In wealth in 1850 the United States held a very low place on the roll of the great nations.

CONCENTRATION OF POPULATON OF CITIES.

The rapid growth of population in cities as compared with the rural regions is among the striking social phenomena of the time, and it brings up new problems for the publicist and the lawmaker.

In 1790, when the first national census was taken, only 3.3 per cent of the population of the United States resided in cities of 8,000 population and upward, while 33.1 per cent resided there in 1900, and probably 35 per cent reside there in 1907. There were only six cities of 8,000 inhabitants or over in 1790, and there were 545 in 1900. Very likely the number is over 600 in 1907.

Seattle has more inhabitants in 1907 than the 133,000 which were in all the cities of the United States in the aggregate in 1790. Chicago has as many people to-day as the entire 13 American colonies had when they arose in revolt against George III. New York City has more people to-day, and far more wealth, than the whole United States had when Washington was elected President.

The United States is the only country with three cities (New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia) of over a million inhabitants. And it would have a fourth city (Boston) in that group if the consolidation under one municipal government of all the towns which form a single business community were as easy to accomplish here as it is in most of the European countries.

New York is the second city in the world in population and the first city in wealth, leading London in that respect. More millionaires are in New York than are in London, Paris, and Berlin combined.

Immigration adds to the complexity of the problem which this sweeping concentration of population presents.

The immigration into the United States from 1820, when the figures first began to be gathered, until July 1, 1907, was 26,000,000, of which 20,000,000 came since 1865. More immigrants came to the United States in the fiscal year 1907 than in 1895, 1896, 1897, and 1898 combined.

Most of the immigrants locate in the cities. Only a small portion of them speak the English language. Only a still smaller proportion of them have any knowledge of American institutions. The victims of repression in their native land, as most of the immigrants are, many of them believe that government in the United States as elsewhere is oppressive.

The demagogues, the socialists, the anarchists, and all sorts of extremists and destructionists have their headquarters in the cities. And to the immigrants, especially to those ignorant of the language of the country, they make an especial appeal.

CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL.

When, beginning with 1828, the railways of the United States began to be projected, we had to go to England for most of our locomotives, cars, and rails, and even for the men to run the locomotives. It was not imagined by anybody in those days that the United States would ever catch up with England in this field of activity.

Recently a Philadelphia concern completed its thirty thousandth locomotive, and although it had been building them since 1832, 28,000 of the number were completed since 1870. The United States builds more locomotives in 1907 than does all of Europe. It exports locomotives and cars to South America, Canada, Europe, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea.

In 1907 the United States has five and a half times as many miles of railway as Great Britain. It has more railways than all of Europe. It has two-fifths of all the railways of the world.

The United States had only 31,000 miles of railway in operation at the time that Lincoln entered the White House in 1861. It had 126,000 miles of railway at work on July 1, 1907.

The assets of the railways of the country in 1907 are almost as great as the entire wealth of the United States in the year in which Lincoln was first

elected. While the railroads are rapidly adding to their mileage and their earnings, their control is dropping into fewer and fewer hands.

The United States began its steel production in 1867, when it produced 19,000 tons. Its output was 569,000 tons in 1867, 7,000,000 tons in 1897, and it will be 30,000,000 tons for 1907. Until recently most of our steel was imported. In 1907 we are producing 42 per cent of the entire world's steel output. And half of our product is furnished by the United States Steel Corporation.

A like concentration of control into few hands is seen in nearly all our more important activities. This is how the trust problem has come up.

In 1888 the trust question made its earliest entrance into politics. This was in the campaign in which Harrison was making his first struggle for the presidency and when Cleveland was seeking reelection. Both the Republican and the Democratic platforms in that year referred to the trusts and condemned them. They had the Sugar Trust in mind, which was formed in 1887.

That was two decades ago. Ever since the close of the Civil War, and especially in the past quarter of a century, invention and discovery have been so busy in creating new appliances for the exploitation of the country's resources that the effective utilization of these new devices has necessitated the concentration of vast amounts of capital under the direction of a few groups of heads.

As a result we have sugar trusts, steel trusts, and combines in beef, coal, railways, and most of the other great interests.

We have also labor trusts, for labor, obeying the law of combination and consolidation which is at work in every great sphere of activity, has formed itself into societies, and these have thrown themselves into larger aggregations or federations.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF LABOR UNIONISM.

The shipwrights formed a society in New York City in 1803, and the tailors and also the carpenters did this in 1806 in the same town. This may be said to have been the beginning of labor unionism in the United States.

In the next four or five decades organizations were established in most of the great industries, some of which lasted only a few years. Many of these gradually became national. The printers were the first craft of any consequence to extend their organization all over the country. They established the National Typographical Union in 1852. So as to take in Canada they established the International Typographical Union in 1862, being the leader also in this broader field.

The formation of great corporations and the immense expansion in industry which began soon after the Civil War incited larger labor combinations than had existed prior to that time. Some of these formed the National Labor Union, established at a convention in Baltimore in 1866, which entered politics in 1872 by nominating the Labor Reform ticket, putting Charles O'Connor up for President. Its votes were few, and it attracted no general attention in the campaign. That broke up the combination, and labor societies, as societies, kept out of politics for the next few years. As societies their most extensive participation in politics was in the congressional campaign of 1906, when the American Federation of Labor attacked many Congressmen who opposed legislation which the federation advocated.

Starting as a local secret society in Philadelphia in 1869, and holding its first general assembly in 1878, the Knights of Labor wes the earliest society which aimed to gather all the workers of all trades into a single organization. It had 500,000 members in 1886, with Terence V. Powderly as the head.

Then began its decline and fall. Its strike on the Gould system of railways in St. Louis and the Southwest in 1885 it won, but the larger strike in 1886 on the same roads it lost. From that time onward it gradually shrunk in importance. To-day it is only a shadow of its former greatness.

The American Federation of Labor rose as the Knights of Labor fell. At a convention in Columbus, Ohio, in 1886, the American Federation of Labor was formed and it has gradually absorbed nine-tenths of all the labor organizations of the United States. In it the several crafts retain their autonomy, but are federated for purposes of cooperation.

In 1907 the American Federation of Labor comprises 119 national and international unions, and claims to have 2,000,000 members. The affiliated unions publish 245 weekly or monthly papers devoted to the cause of labor. The

federation's head is Samuel Gompers, and its organ, of which he is the editor, is the American Federationist.

Outside of the American Federation are about 15 labor organizations, the most important of which are the Knights of Labor, the Stone Masons' International Union, the Bricklayers' and Masons' Union, and the various orders of railway workers—locomotive engineers, locomotive firemen, switchmen, trainmen, conductors, and others.

The societies not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have a membership of about 500,000, making the membership of all the labor societies of the United States, in the aggregate, about 2,500,000.

THE GOOD POINTS IN LABOR UNIONISM.

The National Association of Manufacturers is not fighting labor unionism as such. It is only fighting the vices and follies which have crept into some of the unions through their ignorant, corrupt, and autocratic leaders.

Here are some expressions from addresses recently delivered by the president of the National Association of Manufacturers in various parts of the country:

"Originally the labor unions were called into being by the oppression of some of the employers. In several ways they have done good service to the workers. They have prompted a fraternal feeling and cultivated a spirit of mutual helpfulness between men in many sorts of occupations. They have aided in advancing the wages of workers, and thus have obtained for labor a larger share of the profits which the cooperation of labor and capital have brought. As fair-minded men we must all concede this. I, for one, have certainly no desire to take away any of the credit belonging to the labor unions for any good of any kind which any of them have done.

* * * * * * *

"We must recognize the good which is in labor unionism as well as the evil. We must not condemn all of the labor unions for the offenses of some of them, any more than we would like to have all employers blamed for the shortcomings of a few.

* * * * * * *

"As an ally in combating the extremists who would revolutionize society, abolish the principal incentives for individual exertion, and assail the individual's property and social rights, all good citizens should welcome such cooperation as the labor unions give us. For this reason the employer who would like to strike down all the labor unions indiscriminately is blind to his own interests as well as faithless to his duty to the general public."

The sentiment expressed by the president of the National Association of Manufacturers in those words he repeats emphatically to-day. And this sentiment is entertained by a large majority of the members of the association. This is the spirit in which the association conducts its work in its relations to labor unionism as a principle.

SOME OF LABOR UNIONISM'S VICES.

Through the influence of the ignorant, corrupt, and arrogant leaders who dominate many of them, the labor unions are—

Attempting to dictate to the employer how his business is to be run.

Destroying the independence and the self-respect of their individual members.

Abolishing the apprenticeship system.

Depriving the youth of America of the opportunity to learn trades and thus throwing them into the ranks of the common laborers or condemning them to idleness and crime.

Hampering all the great industries of the country by cutting off the supply of skilled workers.

Impeding the American manufacturer in the competition with his foreign rivals for the trade of the world.

In some trades the apprenticeship system has already been abolished. In all of the other trades it will be abolished in the next few years if the present tendency in restricting them continues. Here is section 5 of article 19 of the by-laws of the plumbers' union:

"Where there is no established agreement relative to apprentices, or where the agreement has expired and a new agreement is being formed, helpers and apprentices shall be entirely abolished."

The president of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, in a circular issued on June 10, 1907, forbade any member of that organization to teach any person the art of telegraphy.

These arrogant and immoral practices of many of the labor unions are closing the door of opportunity to hundreds of thousands of American boys, are debasing many of them into tramps and criminals, and are filling the penitentiaries of the country.

Against this tyranny and criminality which is perpetrated by many of the labor unions the National Association of Manufacturers wages war.

In this work for the protection of the American boy and for the defense and promotion of the American spirit the National Association of Manufacturers appeals for the support of every patriotic American, and especially of every American manufacturer.

UNIONISM'S ATTACK ON PERSONAL INDEPENDENCE.

In many cases labor unionism destroys the independence and the self-respect of the individual worker by compelling him to surrender his will and his manhood to the will or the whim of the society to which he belongs. And this often means the whim of an ignorant or corrupt boss. It prescribes the number of hours beyond which he can not work. It prohibits him from working with nonunion men, and thus dictates the associates which he must have and which he must avoid. By placing all workers on a level as regards wages it deprives the individual worker of the incentive to industry or to the acquirement of skill beyond that of the dead level of mediocrity which makes up the rank and file of the majority of the unions.

These are among the reasons why socialism is gaining ground in the labor societies. The Western Federation of Miners—the Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone Society, which made war upon the States of Idaho and Colorado in recent years—has been socialistic from the beginning. The American Federation of Labor has combatted socialism in many of its annual conventions, but its teachings and its practices are calculated to make socialists of most of its members ultimately. Many of its members are socialists and have been from the foundation of the order.

The sympathy which many of the labor societies all over the country expressed for Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone in their trial in Idaho on the charge of instigating the murder of ex-Gov. Steunenberg of that State, the amount of money which they subscribed for the defense of those persons and the number of them who participated in the various demonstrations against President Roosevelt for calling those federation chiefs "undesirable citizens," shows the strength of the impulse which is sweeping many of the unions into the ranks of the socialists and the destructionists.

SOCIALISM'S PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN.

The president of the National Association of Manufacturers, summing up socialism by its results and consequences, defined it in the following language. He did this in an interview in the New York Herald, published in that paper's financial section of its Annual Financial and Commercial Review on January 2, 1907:

"Socialism is the creed of failure. It is surrender—abject and unconditional surrender. Socialism throws up its hands to problems which it lacks the courage or the intelligence—or both the courage and intelligence—to face. It slinks away from difficulties which the world has had before it since Adam. Possibly if Adam had acted in some other way the world's industrial system since that time would have been ordered differently, and perhaps better. But, in one shape or another, some of these problems will be with us while any of Adam's posterity are left on this planet. And only cowards, incapables, or dreamers attempt to sneak away from them.

"For our present comparatively few employers socialism would substitute an employer with 85,000,000 heads. It would thrust society downward by dropping the industrious, the intelligent, and the ambitious to the level of the idle, the stupid, and the plodding. By taking away the incentive for individual exertion which our present system offers, socialism would deaden initiative and would destroy the spur to intelligent effort which has built up the social and

industrial scheme that has made the United States the leader in the world's prosperity and progress."

Proceeding further, the president of the National Association of Manufacturers (he was speaking of the situation in the closing days of 1906, when the interview took place) said:

"Let us look at some of the rewards which socialism aims to abolish. Although the United States has only a twentieth part of the world's population, it has a third of all the money invested in the savings banks of the world. The money deposited in the savings banks of the United States in 1906, $3,200,000,000, has increased more than 70 per cent since 1896, although the population in that time has grown only 21 per cent. The $6,794,000,000 which the farmers and planters of the United States received for their products in 1906 has increased more than 100 per cent in 10 years, or five times as fast as the population. The wages of the persons employed in the factories, which are $3,300,000,000 for 1906, have increased in the aggregate nearly 100 per cent since 1888, while the population has been growing only 40 per cent. The farmers are taking in more money in 1906 than the entire wealth of the United States amounted to in 1845."

These figures, let it be borne in mind, were the rewards of labor and not of capital. It is labor and not capital that furnishes the deposits in savings banks. It is labor and not capital which receives the wages in the factories here referred to.

At this point in the interview the president of the association put the following query to the interviewer of the Herald, and then went on thus:

"Does any sane being imagine that labor would win any such rewards if socialism's sway by the lazy, the ignorant, and the shiftless were to displace individual enterprise, initiative, and ambition?

"But socalism says that even if it pulled down the enterprising, the intelligent, and the progressive, it would increase the liberty and the happiness of the mass. Let nobody be deceived by this dangerous delusion. Socialism is slavery and not freedom. By the very law under which it would be compelled to work, socialism would be a far harder taskmaster than the individual employer. The mass would be less humane toward its units than the private employer is. What is everybody's business is nobody's business. Accountability for abuses could not be fixed on anybody, because it would be universal. Lacking as it would the selfish interest of the individual employer in making the laborer as contented and as efficient as possible, socialism would necessarily be far more oppressive. There would be nobody to molest it or make it afraid. The oppressive individual employer can be and is curbed by the State, but socialism's 85,000,000-headed monster would itself be the State."

Socialism's slavery, reaction, and disaster, which some of labor unionism's practices are inviting, presents a peril which the National Association of Manufacturers is combating. On this and other grounds the association deserves the support of all patriotic Americans, and particularly of every American manufacturer.

LABOR UNIONISM'S ATTACK ON THE AMERICAN BOY.

"The lack of trade education on the part of boys and men is a potent and constantly growing cause of crime."

These are the words of Chief Inspector Watts, of the Boston police force, in a recent statement.

This is one of the results of that restriction of apprenticeship—a restriction which in some cases amounts to virtual abolition—that has been mentioned in a previous section of this brochure. Shut out by the blind and oppressive regulations of many of the labor unions from all chance to learn a trade, these boys were thrown back into the crowded ranks of the common day laborers, or were forced into idleness. And the devil is just as alert now as he ever was in finding work of his own for idle hands to do.

Only 2 per cent of the prisoners in the various penitentiaries and workhouses of the United States and Canada are mechanics. The other 98 per cent are persons without any mechanical training.

"They have nothing to do, they were never taught a trade, and now they are too far advanced in life to learn a trade."

This is the judgment, expressed in his own words, of the warden of one of the largest penal institutions in the United States.

Those of them who wanted to learn a trade were deprived by the labor unions of the opportunity. Every year in the United States the entire lives

of hundreds of thousands of intelligent, ambitious American boys are wrecked by the criminal stupidity of this exclusion policy of the labor unions.

Of the millions of boys born every year in the United States only a very small proportion ever get a college education, and are equipped to enter professional life. The vast majority are children of poor parents, who look to apprenticeship in the trades as their principal chance of making a livelihood such as they desire.

Against this vice of labor unionism the National Association of Manufacturers is waging resolute war.

This labor-union plot against the advancement and the happiness of the American boy—which is also a plot against the industrial expansion and prosperity of the country—will be defeated by the establishment of manual-training departments in all the public primary schools of the United States, as explained farther on in this pamphlet.

UNIONISM'S ASSAULT ON THE CONSTITUTION.

"If the Constitution stands in the way of the American Federation of Labor we will tear it down and throw it aside."

When Samuel Gompers, the head of the American Federation of Labor, said this he probably believed the sentiment would meet the favor of a majority of the 2,000,000 members of that aggregation.

Was he correct in that assumption? Do a majority of that organization, which comprises only one-fifteenth of the wageworkers of the United States, place the interests or the prejudices of their order above the United States Constitution? The public-spirited, patriotic people of the country will be slow to believe that the American Federation of Labor stands ready to rise in rebellion against the United States Government if the Constitution chances to come into conflict with any of its by-laws or with any of the plans of its inner council.

Yet Gompers has been at the head of that organization long enough to know something about its ideas and designs.

In 1906 the country saw the heads of the American Federation of Labor attempt to coerce the President of the United States and the United States Congress into the support of an anti-injunction bill and other measures designed to give the labor unions certain privileges not possessed by the rest of the country's workers, and to make the labor societies a favored order in the community.

Because the leaders in Congress refused to be coerced, and because they legislated in the interest of the entire American people and not in the interest of the minute fragment of them which is enrolled in the labor societies, the American Federation of Labor made war upon them in the congressional campaign of that year. Several of the federation's chiefs took the stump against some of these patriotic Congressmen. The federation was overwhelmingly beaten in its conspiracy. Every Congressman whom the federation assailed was reelected.

The Constitution still stands. The American Flag is still there. But both of them will probably be assailed with greater force in 1908 by the American Federation of Labor, for it declares it will make another attempt to push its anti-injunction bill and other class legislation through Congress in the session of 1907–8.

UNIONISM'S WAR ON THE COMMUNITY.

"Every union man should have a rifle club. I seriously advise you to provide every member with the latest improved rifle which can be obtained. I entreat you to take action on this important question, so that in two years we can hear the inspiring music of the martial tread of 25,000 men in the ranks of labor."

These are not the idle ravings of a Herr Most or the outgivings of a Haymarket anarchist. They are the words of Edward Boyce, the president of the Western Federation of Miners, in an address at the annual convention of that order in Salt Lake City in 1898. Boyce was Moyer's predecessor at the head of the federation.

The Western Federation of Miners was at that time engaged in its war against the State of Idaho, which led to the murder of scores of persons, which lasted several years, and which had as its sequel the assassination of Ex-Gov. Steunenberg while entering the gate of his own residence on the night of December 30, 1905. This extract from the address of the president of the Western Federation of Miners, in which he urged a general arming of union labor

against the State and the Nation, is taken from a history entitled: "The Criminal Record of the Western Federation of Miners—Coeur d'Alene to Cripple Creek—1894 to 1904."

Gov. Steunenberg had taken an oath to inforce in the State of Idaho the laws of the Nation and the State, and in inforcing the law he brought the bloody career of the Western Federation of Miners to a sudden stop in 1899, although he was compelled to call in the Federal troops to do it, most of Idaho's militia being in the Philippines at the time. Steunenberg had been out of office several years at the time of his assassination. He was probably forgetting his connection with the halting of the federation's Coeur d'Alene atrocities. But the federation learns nothing and forgets nothing.

"They will get Steunenberg yet," said the people of Idaho in 1899, referring to the federation. "They've got him," exclaimed the people when, in the closing hours of 1905, they read of Steunenberg's assassination.

Between the time when Gov. Steunenberg, in the enforcement of the law, suppressed the insurrection of the federation in 1899 and the assassination of Steunenberg, the federation waged a war against the State of Colorado in the strikes, disturbances, and general dislocation of authority in the Cripple Creek and adjoining districts. This lasted from 1902 to 1904. During this time, as confessed by Harry Orchard, and as learned from other sources, not only did the federation murder scores of nonunion miners and other innocent persons, but it conspired to assassinate Gov. Peabody, of Colorado. Its agents, who were successful in removing Steunenberg, failed in their attempts to murder Peabody.

"I find that the disturbances at Cripple Creek and Telluride amounted to insurrection against the State of Colorado, in that mining, milling, and other business was suspended there by reason of intimidation and threats of violence and that the civil officers were not able to or did not maintain order."

This is an extract from a report made by Maj. Gen. John C. Bates, United States Army, who had been sent to the Cripple Creek district by the War Department to see if Federal troops would be needed there to put down the federation's insurrection.

Gov. Peabody suppressed the insurrection in 1904, but the federation defeated him when he ran for reelection as governor in that year.

Not every labor union has rebelled against the government of city, State, or Nation. In every important labor conflict, however, from the great strike of the railway employees in 1877 onward, the strikers have assailed the law, have destroyed life and property, and have come in conflict with the local or the national authorities. This was particularly true in the strike on the Gould roads in 1885 and 1886, in the Haymarket riots in Chicago in the latter year, in Debs's rebellion in Chicago in 1894, and in Shea's and other strikes in the same city in more recent times.

The labor societies in all the disturbances of recent years outside of the field ravaged by the Western Federation of Miners belong to the American Federation of Labor. During a recent address in Boston by the president of the Freight Handlers' International Union that personage is reported to have said to his followers: "If you meet a nonunion man turn on him and treat him like a dog, for he is a contemptible cur. Ask him what excuse he has for living, for such men are not fit to live."

In the inner circles of many of the labor societies throughout the country this spirit of hostility to law dominates. It does not prevail in all of them, but where it does prevail it must be eradicated.

This spirit of hostility to law is the spirit which the National Association of Manufacturers fights.

UNIONISM'S ASSAULT ON FREE SPEECH.

When, in the campaign of 1906, Secretary Taft made one or two addresses in Idaho in favor of the reelection of Gov. Frank R. Gooding he was condemned by many labor-union papers all over the country. Partisanship entered into the canvass in only a minor degree. The issue in the camapign was the enforcement of the law of the State and the Nation. Gov. Gooding was enforcing the law in bringing to trial the men who were accused of connection with the assassination of ex-Gov. Steunenberg.

In an address in Pocatello, Idaho, a few days before the election of 1906, Secretary Taft said: "The issue in Idaho is whether a governor who has done his duty in taking the legal steps to bring to trial men charged with a heinous crime is to be marked for defeat."

Gov. Gooding was reelected by a large majority, but Secretary Taft was denounced by labor-union politicians and newspapers for his part in aiding in his reelection and in thus insuring a vigorous enforcement of the laws.

When President Roosevelt (in a letter which was intended to be private, but which got into the papers) coupled Harriman with Moyer and Haywood as "undesirable citizens," he was denounced by many labor-union politicians and papers, and particularly by a coterie of persons calling themselves the "Cook County Moyer-Haywood Conference," which sent an impudent demand to the President that he retract his words. The President vigorously and indignantly denounced them.

Pointing to the printed heading on the letter, which read thus, "Death can not, will not, shall not claim our brothers," the President said: "This shows that you and your associates are not demanding a fair trial, but are announcing in advance that the verdict shall be only one way, and that you will not tolerate any other verdict."

In referring to the attack on Mr. Roosevelt, the president of the National Association of Manufacturers, in an interview in the newspapers at that time, said: "The President's assailants tell the President and the country, in substance, that the labor unions and not the courts shall try cases in which labor unionists are accused of crime. They proclaim that murder is not murder when done by the orders of the labor-union bosses and in the labor-union interest."

In saying this, the president of the National Association of Manufacturers expressed no opinion of any sort in regard to the guilt or the innocence of the persons accused of instigating the assassination of Steunenberg, but said that was a question which was to be determined by the evidence which would be brought before the Idaho court in the trial then pending.

GOVERNMENT BY LABOR UNIONS.

In the past few years the country has had the spectacle, in San Francisco, of government by labor unions. When, in 1900, Mayor James D. Phelan suppressed the rioters during the teamsters' strike in San Francisco and enforced the law the lawless elements of all sorts banded together and formed an organization of their own. It had the labor unions for a nucleus, and it was named the Union Labor Party. In the next election the Union Labor Party nominated Eugene E. Schmitz, a member of an orchestra in one of the theaters in that city, and elected him, and by subsequent reelection he has been mayor ever since until the law recently reached out for him and convicted him for one of the many offenses of which he has been charged.

During the five years' sway of Mayor Schmitz and "Abe" Ruef, the man who furnished the brains to the Schmitz régime, San Francisco has had an orgy of promiscuous and persistent rascality such as no other American municipality has seen along to that time. Ruef and Schmitz built up a machine comprising the police, the firemen, and all the other municipal employees, which even the earthquake did not shake. All the legislative and administrative branches of the city government were moved as puppets by the strings pulled at the Ruef and Schmitz headquarters.

Offices were virtually auctioned off to the highest bidder. Ballot boxes at the primaries were stuffed. Railways and telephone companies and other corporations were held up. The town was thrown wide open to Chinese and white gamblers, to prostitutes, and to all sorts of vice which would pay tribute to the pirate chiefs enthroned in the city hall.

At last Ruef said he called a halt to this rascality. In his confession he said he issued this warning to Mayor Schmitz: "I am sick of the whole thing and I want to get out. I can't stand for all the labor-union bums that you have gathered around you and will appoint. They would eat the paint off a house."

But before Ruef made his confession the people began to move against the bandits. Cases were worked up against them by District Attorney William H. Langdon, Assistant District Attorney Francis J. Heney, Detective William J. Burns, and other law officers, and the chief culprits were indicted by the grand jury on many charges. Schmitz was convicted and deposed and others of his confederates are being proceeded against in the courts.

And thus, in the one city in which it has been tried on a large scale, government by, of, and for the labor unions has ignominiously collapsed.

In San Francisco as elsewhere the majority of the labor unionists are good citizens. But there as elsewhere, in crises, the unions allow themselves to be ruled by their ignorant and vicious bosses, and thus get into disrepute.

Government by labor unions in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, or anywhere else where the people would allow the unions to set up their government, would be just as ignorant and crooked as it has been in San Francisco.

Government by labor unions is government by class, just as government by any other element of the community would be. We are against government by class, whether the class is labor union or nonlabor union.

The National Association of Manufacturers, like all patriotic persons, wants government by, of, and for the entire American people.

HOW LABOR UNIONISM HAS HIT ENGLAND.

In an address at the annual convention in Chicago in December, 1906, of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, William Collison, the general secretary of the Free Labor Association of Great Britain, said that 40 years ago England was so far ahead of every other country that she imagined her ascendancy would last forever. To-day, however, the United States has beaten England in the extent and variety of its manufactures. Germany has passed England in iron production and other activities. Other countries are gaining rapidly on England in many branches of industry.

Asked what gave England this setback, Mr. Collison answered, "The trades-unions." By strikes, boycotting, murdering of nonunion men, destruction of property, and other atrocities the trades-unions closed hundreds of mills, drove manufacturers into other countries where they could conduct their business peacefully, and reduced hundreds of thousands of workers to the brink of starvation.

A revolt against the labor-union tyranny at last took place, and in 1893 the National Free Labor Association was founded, which has since extended all over Great Britain, and it now comprises over 600,000 members, belonging to 150 different trades. Its platform is: Freedom for all workers to work on any terms agreed upon between them and their employers; protection to workers against interference from the outside; prosecution for those who interfere. The National Free Labor Association has had many battles with the labor unions in the past few years, and it has won all of them. But the blow which the labor unions dealt to England is still felt, notwithstanding the setback which the free and independent workers of that country are giving them. England is partly emancipated, but the dead hand of labor unionism has its clutch still on many of Great Britain's most important industries.

"If union labor has ruined England commercially," said Mr. Collison, "I shall be asked why it has not done the same thing for America, and I shall answer that the unions are only beginning to do for America what they have been doing in England for 40 years."

THE OPPRESSIVE EMPLOYER.

In combating the tyrannical practices perpetrated by many of the labor unions we must not neglect to fight the evils which have incited most of those labor-union vices. We must fight the oppressive employer, whether he is at the head of a trust or conducts a private enterprise.

In an address delivered before the Marquette Club, of Chicago, in June, 1907, on "Americanism the true harmonizer," the president of the National Association of Manufacturers said that the Marquette Club, in its propaganda for the Americanization of the wageworkers of Chicago, should Americanize all the employers first. He spoke of the rapid concentration of wealth in a few hands, pointed out that this concentration, when kept within proper bounds, was a vast advantage to the country, but said that it had developed some abuses which must be curbed.

"Concentration," he said, "means simplicity, economy, and efficiency. It is a law of civilization and progress. Statutes by our legislatures or by Congress are as powerless to repeal this law of industrial and social combination which is operating in all the great activities of all the great nations of the world as they would be to repeal the laws which send the earth and Jupiter in their revolutions round the sun. It is only the abuses which have crept into these corporation leagues and labor unions that we combat.

"With us," he added, "the very rich are rapidly getting richer, and while the very poor are not getting poorer and are not so poor as those of Europe, the contrast between rich and poor is, in some respects, more marked with us than it is in England, Germany, France, or anywhere else. The contrast is more marked because wealth here is flaunted in a more vulgar and barbaric shape than it is in any other country in the world. And as we have free speech and a free press these things would be dinned into our ears even if we refused to see them with our eyes. These are the things that rouse the demagogue and turn loose the instigators of class divisions and the preachers of class hatreds. These are the things that put the dynamite bomb in the hands of the anarchist.

"Wealth gained legitimately, displayed sanely, and used for the public good is the lifeblood of a country. And, I will add right here, most of this nation's wealth has been gained, is displayed, and is employed in this way. It is in the hands of public-spirited men, who use it to develop the country's resources, to give employment to all its people, and to promote the people's prosperity and happiness. But much of the country's wealth and many of its owners and controllers are of the opposite sort. And this wealth is great enough and these exploiters of this wealth are numerous and obtrusive enough to constitute a portent with which all of us must reckon."

Referring to the work which the Marquette Club has started out to perform, to educate Chicago's workers in the principles of true Americanism, he further said:

"But, my friends, let us begin by Americanizing the capitalists and the employers. Some of the captains of industry, the trust magnates, and the heads of the great financial interests of Chicago, New York, St. Louis, and of the United States in general need Americanizing more than do the workingmen. These are the persons who are responsible for the Sheas, the Schmitzes, the Debses, the Mosts, the Haywoods, and the rest of the grafters, the impracticables and the destructionists who aim to strike down the social order, and to put the bottom stratum of the population on top. As these capitalists are higher socially and intellectually than their employees society's claims on them are larger, and their sins, when they do sin, are greater.

"The Lord never made any two men alike physically, morally, or mentally. Men are different in tastes, in intellect, in aptitude, in industry. Consequently there will be differences in wealth and station always. The poor and the rich will be with us while time lasts. But, so far as we are able, we must endeavor to correct social abuses and right social wrongs, so that every man can have an equal opportunity to make the most of himself according to the qualities that the Lord put in him. * * * Industrial oppression, whether it comes from below or above, we must oppose. There must be no class reservations or partialities in our work of social reform."

This is the spirit in which the National Association of Manufacturers works.

Here is one of the reasons why the association should have the aid of every manufacturer in the United States.

TO EDUCATE EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES.

At its annual convention in May, 1907, the National Association of Manufacturers resolved to "instruct its officers to establish and finance a council to serve as a means of harmonizing and federating the various national and State organizations of citizens, merchants, and employers, to the end of utilizing them in a vigorous educational campaign in the interest of industrial peace and mutual good will." The president of the association said he believed that $500,000 a year, or thereabouts, for three years, would be needed to make the work of the proposed council effective. The suggestion received the convention's unanimous approval.

The National Association of Manufacturers, which is itself the largest coalition of employers in the country, asks for a federation of the various organizations of employers throughout the United States, for these reasons, chiefly:

(1) Defense of our common interests.
(2) Political and legislative work.
(3) Legal work.
(4) The establishment of labor bureaus.
(5) Additional organization work.
(6) Publicity and education.

In its plan of a federation of all the associations of citizens, merchants, and employers of labor in every field, national and State, each organization, while preserving its independence as absolutely as at present, will come into cooperation with all the other organizations in a great council, in which each will have a voice, and in which all will meet on terms of fraternity and equality. Each organization, as now, will deal with the issues affecting itself solely, and the federation, through its council, will handle all the concerns common to all the organizations.

This "educational campaign in the interest of industrial peace and mutual good will" is to be carried on among employers and workers impartially. It will disregard class, partisan, and sectional lines. It will be in the interest of stalwart Americanism, irrespective of politics, social station or locality. Its object will be to educate employers and workers alike to deal sanely and patriotically with the new and great issues which are shaping themselves for the country, and on which the American people will be called upon immediately to act.

LET US RESCUE THE AMERICAN BOY.

In the campaign of education to Americanize employers and workers on which the National Association of Manufacturers has entered it proposes to begin by rescuing the American boy from labor-union tyranny. By restricting or abolishing the apprenticeship system throughout the United States the unions have prevented the boys from learning trades and have forced them into the ranks of common laborers or into idleness and crime. This practice has enabled the unions to also exercise despotic sway over the manufacturers.

"Valuable men are scarce. Be scarce and you will get your price."

These words of Dennis Kearney, the old San Francisco sand-lot demagogue, express the principle on which the labor unions act. By their restrictions on apprentices they have created a scarcity of mechanics, and this scarcity has enabled the unions, by their wage scales, to levy tribute on the manufacturers, and incidentally on the entire community.

Here is the way in which the American boy can be emancipated, the labor unions' tribute on the manufacturers and on the community can be abolished, more and better mechanics can be created, and the high wage scale can be maintained. This is the plan outlined by the president of the National Association of Manufacturers at the annual convention of the Citizens' Trade School Association of the United States, at Indianapolis, in June, 1907:

"Attach a manual training department to every public primary school in the United States.

"Begin the training just as soon as the boy can hold tools in his hand, or, say, at the age of 9 or 10. Give an hour every school day, under a competent instructor, to the use of tools, through all the primary grades. Make this instruction compulsory on every boy.

"By the age of 14 the boy of average intelligence and industry who takes this instruction will be able to handle with considerable skill most of the tools used in the more important mechanical trades.

"Now let us have industrial high schools into which the boys who have taken the manual training course in the primary schools, and who want to continue the instruction, can enter. Two years in these industrial high schools will qualify these boys to be first-class mechanics."

Referring to the fact that the country already has some manual-training schools, President Van Cleave said:

"But, my friends, these schools meet only a small—a very small—part of the popular demand for industrial education. Virtually all the manual training and technical schools are of the academic grade; some of them are of the collegiate grade; nearly all of them charge for tuition. Thus they are out of the reach of the children of poor parents who, everywhere, constitute the vast majority of the community. Nearly all their graduates enter the technical professions. The ordinary mechanical trades receive very few of the pupils of the manual-training schools of the present day.

"What is needed is a scheme of industrial education which rejects caste and class lines of all sorts. It must be as broad as the entire land. It must be as free as the air and the sunlight. It must take in every American boy regardless of the nativity, the poverty, or the obscurity of his parents. The poorer and the obscurer the parents the greater the need for the training which will equip the children to lift themselves out of obscurity and poverty.

* * * * * * *

"Many years ago, by the establishment of the free-school system, every boy and girl in the United States was furnished with the opportunity to get the rudiments of an education, as that term is ordinarily understood. But that sort of an education does not meet present needs. The activities of three-quarters of a century ago, or half a century ago, have advanced since then, and new activities have been created.

"Now, Mr. Chairman, let us supplement this education of the mind by the education of the hand and the eye.

"Let us send the whole boy to school.

"We will thus make a broader and better man of him, make the country prouder of him, and make the country better because he has lived.

* * * * * * *

"Under the present labor-union proscription of apprentices the boy who can not pay the tuition in a manual training school—which means 99 out of every 100 boys in the United States—has virtually no way of learning a trade unless he commits some crime which sends him to the penitentiary.

"We propose to banish this monarchical narrowness, tyranny, and vindictiveness. By putting manual training in all our public primary schools, and thus making it as free as the air and the sunlight to every boy in this land, we will avert all caste and class restrictions, broaden every boy's horizon, give labor a nobility for him which he never saw in it before, make life larger for him, and advance his country's moral and intellectual leadership among the nations of the earth."

The establishment of a manual training department in all our public primary schools will be the American boy's and the American people's declaration of industrial independence from labor-union despotism.

Every patriotic American, and particularly every American manufacturer, should support the National Association of Manufacturers in this work of social enfranchisement.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS.

Stated in the fewest possible words, here is the creed of the National Association of Manufacturers:

(1) The open shop.

(2) No restrictions as to the use of tools, machinery, or materials, except as to such as are unsafe.

(3) No limitation of output.

(4) No restriction as to the number of apprentices and helpers, when of proper age.

(5) No boycott.

(6) No sympathetic strike.

(7) No sacrifice of the independent workingman to the labor union.

(8) No compulsory use of the union label.

This is the platform on which the National Association of Manufacturers appeals to the country, and especially to manufacturers in every calling. The association aims to promote peace between the various organizations of employers and peace between employers and workers. The peace which it seeks is a righteous peace, which will satisfy both sides, and which will be permanent. If possible, we want to do our work of peacemaking so well in 1907, 1908, or 1909 that neither we nor any of our successors will find it necessary to do the work over again in 1910, 1920, or ever.

Knowing that organization for worthy objects incites courage, confidence, and enthusiasm, our aim is to spread our organization to the farthest possible extent throughout the country, to cultivate high ideals among our members, and to promote those ideals with all the resources which we can command.

We appeal to every manufacturer, small and large, in every State—North, South, East, and West—to place himself on the roll of the National Association of Manufacturers and to do it not to-morrow or next week or next month, but to do it to-day.

We want every manufacturer to assist us in broadening the manufacturers' market at home and abroad, in promoting the prosperity of all our people, and in lengthening the country's leadership in the industries and in civilization among the nations of the world.

Let all of us American manufacturers help to deal with the new and pressing problems which are before the country.

Let us aid in piloting the ship of state across the uncharted seas which open before us.

Let us all join with enthusiasm in raising the slogan, "Americanism must rule America!"

A FINAL WORD TO PATRIOTIC AMERICANS.

A glance at the foregoing pages shows that—

The work which the National Association of Manufacturers is doing makes an immediate and direct appeal to every manufacturer, in every State in the country.

And the work which the association is preparing to do through the Federation of Citizens' Organizations and Employers' Societies of all kinds makes an especial demand on the support of patriotic men of all parties, of all sections, and of all creeds.

No such perilous crisis for the United States has appeared within the memory of living men as that which confronts it to-day.

The Government which the fathers of the country established is threatened with destruction, not from foreign enemies, but from foes from within—alien, naturalized, and native.

On the existing social order the assault comes from several quarters, high and low.

It comes from oppression by the trust chieftains, who are dangerous not in proportion to their number, which is small, but in the magnitude of the business interests which they sway and in the amount of money which they control; collective despotism by the Socialists; go-as-you-please destructionism by the anarchists; and oligarchical tyranny by the ignorant, arrogant, and corrupt labor-union bosses, who are drifting into socialism or anarchism.

Washington's command to his army at a particularly critical hour at Valley Forge, "Put none but Americans on guard to-night!" is the watchword which the present hour demands.

But the term American, as we use it, means anybody and everybody, naturalized and native, who stands for the liberty and the equality on which the nation is built.

We make an appeal to—

Every man who favors equal laws and equal opportunities for all Americans, regardless of social station or place of birth.

Every man who wishes the present prosperity of the country to continue.

Every man who wants to save the country from such tyranny and humiliation as Mayor Schmitz and his gang of vulgar bandits has inflicted on San Francisco.

Every member of every citizens' and employers' organization who, proud of their country, want to help to increase its leadership among the great peoples of the world.

We appeal to all of these and to all patriotic Americans to—

Lend a hand to the National Association of Manufacturers and to the Federation of Societies and Organizations which it is forming to educate employers and workers, to strike down oppression, whether it comes from trust magnates from above or from demagogues, class instigators, socialists, anarchists, and labor-union chiefs from below, and to aid us in making the American spirit and American ideals dominant and permanent throughout the American Nation.

If you are willing to do your plain duty to-day, from the standpoint of patriotism and love of liberty and country, then sign and return the appplication for membership now and mail it to-day and be proud of the fact that you are a member of a great organization of American manufacturers and one of them.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS.

AUGUST, 1907.

Mr. WATSON. My friend Cline said something about my taking $40 a speech for Chautauqua speeches. There seems to be some correspondence about that.

Mr. CLINE. That was just a pleasantry between you and I.

Mr. WATSON. I understand that.

Mr. CLINE. You were not discussing the question at all.

Mr. WATSON. No; but I said there was some correspondence had as to what I have been paid for Chautauqua speeches.

Mr. WILLIS. That related principally to Mr. Emery.

Mr. WATSON. Unfortunately, I have not been able to make a Chautauqua speech this year—I mean unfortunately for me. I think the dear people are getting along quite as well. I was here for five weeks—I was not here, but before the Senate committee, hovering around the outer edges—and I did not have an opportunity to make a Chautauqua speech this year; and while I do not set any great price on my own ability either to entertain or instruct the people, I never yet made a Chautauqua speech for $40.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe the statement was that some one, I do not remember who, but it was a statement in some letter here, a statement that some one delivered some lectures and the National Association of Manufacturers paid $40 for it and the Chautauqua people paid the balance—something of that kind.

Mr. FERRIS. I think I recall that testimony, Mr. Chairman. The substance of it was a letter quoting Mr. Emery as being agreeable to the employment of Mr. Watson by Mr. Landis (I am not sure but what he was to be in on the deal himself), to have the National Association of Manufacturers pay $40 and the gate receipts would pay the balance; so they did not diminish the price of your lectures. I think that was the correspondence.

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

Mr. FERRIS. It simply said that was to be their part of the payment.

Mr. WATSON. I never delivered any lecture for the National Association of Manufacturers. I never was asked to, except I spoke at their banquets, I think, on two occasions—at their national banquets. I received my expenses over to New York and back. And I went one time and made a speech down at St. Louis with the Vice President, Mr. Sherman, and my recollection is they paid our expenses there and back. I think that is right.

Mr. EMERY. That, however, was not for the National Association of Manufacturers, was it, Mr. Watson?

Mr. WATSON. No. What was that for?

Mr. EMERY. For the Citizens' Industrial Association of St. Louis, a local organization.

Mr. WATSON. Yes; a local organization there that Mr. Schwedtman was mixed up in. My recollection is I talked there about the relations of capital to labor, and so forth. That is my recollection about it. So far as I remember, those were the only three speeches I ever made for those bodies or any other association, and no proposition was made for me to go on the Chautauqua platform on those subjects.

Mr. FERRIS. There was some correspondence on that.

Mr. WATSON. Were there any letters from me?

Mr. FERRIS. No. I should say there were some negotiations, or at least there was some correspondence in reference to having you make Chautauqua speeches, but whether you were engaged I don't know.

Mr. WATSON. No; no arrangements were made.

Mr. FERRIS. The proposition was to have the National Association of Manufacturers pay $40, and the gate receipts you should get hold of would be the rest of the compensation, and some reference was made to Mr. Emery in this same connection, and this letter disclosed

the terms. That was the substance of it. I have not the letter just now.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a letter I just happened to find at this moment. I had not seen it before. It is No. 3020, E–1524, in the last Senate confidential print. It is under date of August 21, 1909, and reads as follows:

AUGUST 21, 1909.

MY DEAR MR. WATSON: I am writing you this little note on the council letterhead. I know you will be interested to learn that the National Council for Industrial Defense is growing continually in membership and in financial resources.

Mr. Van Cleave, Mr. Kirby, Mr. Emery, and yours truly are going to have a conference on council affairs in the near future. You know from your experience with me as an officer of the Citizens' Industrial Association of St. Louis that I am a strong believer in educating the public through platform lecturers of national reputation. I have advocated right along that the National Council for Industrial Defense send out some of our country's ablest orators to Chautauqua meetings to deal with the more popular sides of the labor question. There are so many phases that can be discussed to good advantage that it is unnecessary to go into this in detail with a man so thoroughly versed on the subject as you are.

The point that I want to bring out is this: Would it be possible for us to make an arrangement with you by which you would give a series of talks at Chautauqua meetings on some of the popular phases of the labor problem, the council to foot the bill? I know some of the lyceum managers very well, and I shall likely make arrangements for Emery in a similar way in the near future. Eventually the council should foot the bill for half a dozen of our best orators.

I am writing you this at the present time in strict confidence and in strictly a personal capacity, and if it is possible to arrange such a thing I would like very much to come to see you and talk it over in detail soon after our conference.

Very truly, yours,

——— ———, *Secretary.*

It is addressed to "Hon. James E. Watson."

Mr. WATSON. Who wrote it, Mr. Schwedtman?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know. It is signed "Secretary."

Mr. EMERY. What is the date?

The CHAIRMAN. August 21, 1909.

Mr. EMERY. That would be Mr. Schwedtman.

Mr. FERRIS. There are some letters in addition to that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WATSON. I can state now, generally, that I do not recall a conversation with Mr. Schwedtman or Mr. Van Cleave about it, or Mr. Emery or Mr. Kirby. I do not think I ever did speak to them about it. However, it is possible I talked to both Mr. Van Cleave and Mr. Schwedtman. I want to say this, that in talking with business men in this country I have often said to them that they did not appreciate the value of the Chautauqua as a method for establishing public opinion and forming public sentiment, and that, therefore, the Chautauquas had largely been turned over to those who did not believe in what I considered largely the fundamental principles of government.

Mr. CLINE. I wanted to ask if you thought the inception of this propaganda by the National Association of Manufacturers arose out of Mr. Bryan's success on the Chautauqua?

Mr. WATSON. I could not say as to that. I suppose, as I have said in Chautauqua lectures, that Mr. Bryan was the most successful man in his line in the history of the world. In his line he is the John D. Rockefeller, so far as the Chautauqua business is concerned, because he has made more money than any other man in the world and gotten

to be a man pretty well thought of because he has gone about abusing other fellows for making money. [Laughter.]

Mr. CLINE. He has been pretty successful in his lectures in educating the people? There is not any dispute but what the people have been benefited by Mr. Bryan's lectures?

Mr. WATSON. Absolutely not.

Mr. EMERY. You spoke about the National Association of Manufacturers in reference to that Chautauqua matter. It is the National Counsel for Industrial Defense.

Mr. CLINE. They are so nearly twins in their purposes that you can not distinguish one from the other.

Mr. WATSON. I have talked with men along that line on a good many different occasions. I have talked with the Chautauqua managers about it, and they are entirely familiar with that situation, and they think there ought to be a great many more preaching conservative doctrines on the Chautauqua platforms in this country, and they would be very glad indeed if more of that would be done. My own judgment about it is that things that can should be done. In other words (I am not going to debate this with the committee or any member of it), there is almost a socialistic tendency at this time and the Chautauqua should be used as one of the methods to meet it, in my judgment. There are thousands upon thousands of Chautauquas in this country. It is a tremendous instrument for the creation of public sentiment, and right there is the place where a man can go and discuss a question and he can have a hearing and the people will listen. They might not always listen, but they will give you an opportunity to talk, and it is an opportunity I think the conservative element should take advantage of in this country. That is my judgment about it.

Mr. CLINE. Of course, Mr. Watson, the proposition of whether there is a socialistic tendency and the reason for its existence is a mooted question upon which people may have different views.

Mr. WATSON. Certainly. So far as I am personally concerned, I think there is. I have not any doubt about it. And when you reflect that there were about a million persons who voted for Debs last time it looks like a serious proposition in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Watson, coming back again to this other matter, I have been looking here for that letter I spoke of a little while ago, touching the contingent compensation proposition in connection with your work for the Tariff Commission.

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I find letter 3009 in the last Senate confidential print, dated Racine, Wis., August 12, 1909. This appears to be a copy of a letter written by Mr. H. E. Miles, chairman of the executive committee, and addressed to four gentlemen, namely, Van Cleave, Towne, Kirby, and Cobb. It reads:

GENTLEMEN: In the belief that your views should be particularly considered in the matter of Mr. James E. Watson, his services, and question of further payment to him, and that you will be interested in his views as to the present situation, I send you, with his permission, copy of his letter of August 4 and also make the following extracts of his letters of August 3 and 7.

August 3:

"I was greatly surprised when I got your message. You remember the reply that John Dalzell made me over the phone the morning I asked him what had been done. He said nothing was stricken out except the words we knew would

be stricken out, and I never dreamed that the clause had been cut to pieces until I received your message."

Mr. WATSON. What is the date of that?

The CHAIRMAN. It is dated August 12, 1909, and it purports to quote from a letter of yours of August 3, the quotation I have just read. Then, continuing the quotation from you, it reads:

"Of course I regard this as a wholly unwarranted proceeding and one directly against the wishes of a very great majority of the people of the United States, including those who are familiar with tariff matters and those who are governed wholly by sentiment.

"The only thing to do is to continue the fight for a tariff commission organization in accordance with just principles and along right lines.

"I have enjoyed my acquaintance with you very much and I trust that our paths may frequently cross each other in the years to come."

August 7:

"I regret more than I can ever tell that the provision as originally incorporated in the Senate was emasculated, and I regret even more that this emasculation was done by the Members of the House and not by Members of the Senate."

I do not know that the matter of bonus or further compensation to Watson will occur to him or be brought to your attention, but inclosed information is due you, and we should satisfy ourselves independently of any suggestion from Mr. Watson whether it is in any way whatever incumbent upon us as a matter of debt, or of delicate appreciation, to make him a further remittance.

President Kirby will remember hearing from one of our trusted lieutenants that Mr. Watson stated clearly that his weekly stipend ceased properly with the last remittance made him. If so, that part of it is out of the way. Mr. Kirby and one or two others will also remember that about the last of July Mr. Watson very clearly gave the impression to President Kirby and two or three others that he, Watson, was expecting a large bonus.

As near as I can calculate this expectation was prior to the time Watson learned of what he called the "emasculation" of the Aldrich proviso.

Mr. Watson was paid under a weekly stipend agreement a total of $3,750.

The agreement, as I understood it, was that the total should be made up to an even $5,000 minimum provided we got what we went after, which at the time of our conversation was a full-fledged tariff commission as provided in the Gardner bill, which our committee framed and Mr. Watson approved.

The original Aldrich proviso would probably cover this agreement, but that proviso, I suppose, was accepted by Chairman Van Cleave and others as an "irreducible minimum"; but of that I have no correct knowledge.

No one of us is willing to wait for Mr. Watson to dun us, nor that he should be justified in making any reflections upon us as delinquent as regards the bonus. I would be particularly sensitive on that score.

While we talked of $5,000, and I never dreamed of a larger amount, Mr. Watson did say that if he could get "just one year's salary" out of the tariff commission proposition on the basis of successful accomplishment he would be very well satisfied. I understood at the time that that might indicate, and presumably did indicate, $7,500, as the salary which Congressmen are now getting, and so I said of course I could not obligate any individuals or committee for the payment of moneys which might never come into the treasury, but if money came in very freely and we had an unexpected and glorious success the matter of anything above $5,000 would be left to the committee, with the suggestion that a grant of it would be very acceptable and might be very becoming.

I mention this last only that I may completely cover the ground.

Yours, very truly,

H. E. MILES,
Chairman Executive Committee.

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

Mr. FERRIS. Now, Mr. Chairman, coming back for a moment to this Chautauqua business—I do not mean to lay any particular stress on it——

Mr. WATSON (interposing). With reference to that, of course, Mr. Chairman, I can not be bound by what these gentlemen are saying among themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. No. I merely wanted to call your attention to the letter.

Mr. WATSON. My present recollection about it is that I received $500 retainer and $250 a week and my expenses, and if there was any talk of bonus in connection with it, I am exceedingly misty and hazy about it. It was never incorporated in any contract or agreement, and after this tariff commission proposition had been incorporated in the tariff bill in the Senate and had gone to the committee on conference, I said to these gentlemen, "I have rendered you all the service I can," and that they then paid me $3,750 and my relation with them ceased at that time.

There was a change in the verbiage; it was changed materially by the conference committee. Of course, after the bill passed the Senate, so far as I had anything to do with it, it was only to talk with the conferees, and my recollection is that I said to these gentlemen I had rendered them all the services I could and that my relations with them ceased.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is another letter bearing on the same proposition——

Mr. WATSON (interposing). I know. I did not receive any bonus, and I know that if one had been due me, and I thought one had been due me, I would probably have been after it.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a letter dated August 16, 1909, addressed to Mr. H. E. Miles, Racine, Wis., in which it is stated:

> Under these circumstances Mr. Watson, in my opinion, has been very amply paid for his services and has received all that he is entitled to. His letters to you which you quote seem to imply clearly that he so views the matter. My advice, therefore, is that you should let the matter drop definitely and finally; that if he should make a demand for further pay the foregoing facts should be cited in reply and Mr. Watson advised to withdraw any further demand, and that if he should then persist in asking for further compensation, you should request him to give you a written statement of the ground on which he asks it, and inform him that you will submit that statement, together with your own statement of the matter, to the executive committee, whenever it next has a meeting, and that until then nothing further can be done.

It would seem from those letters that they had some suspicion that you might not be satisfied, but it seems from your statement that you were entirely satisfied.

Mr. WATSON. I think so. I never made any demand in the world for any contingent fee, as I remember it. My agreement with these men, as I recall it, was for $500 retainer and $250 a week and expenses while I could be of service to them, and when the thing was over I simply said I was done. They had paid me, up to that time, $3,750, and that was all that was paid, as I recollect. I never made any demand on anybody for any additional compensation, because I did not believe I had any right to. This fee did not originate with me, did not emanate from me. My recollection is that I said to them, and I think I said to all of them, that I had rendered all the service I could, and that I was through. And so far as this matter is concerned, I do not know whether it makes any difference whether I got $3,750 or $10,000; whether I was to receive a straight fee or a contingent fee. My recollection is there was no contingent fee mentioned; we did not close on any proposition in regard to a contingent fee.

Mr. STAFFORD. There might be some ethical objections to a contingent fee to a person, under such circumstances.

Mr. WATSON. There might be to that; yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. For instance, a person employed, as I have seen them, around State legislatures?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir; that is a different proposition.

Mr. STAFFORD. And if a man was to be paid a fee of $5,000 if he was successful in getting a bill through the legislature, I think that is highly censurable.

Mr. WATSON. That is a different proposition. I do not know on what ground any contingent fee could have been offered in this case, and my recollection is that any talk about a contingent fee was probably a misunderstanding among these gentlemen themselves.

Mr. STAFFORD. I only interpolated that remark, Mr. Watson, because of your statement that there could not have been any objection to a contingent fee. I have known instances in State legislatures where I thought it was very censurable to pay as large a contingent fee as was stated.

Mr. WATSON. My idea about that, Mr. Stafford, is that in this case these gentlemen started with the original idea of what they wanted, and that was a tariff commission; and they probably said among themselves that if they succeeded in getting this through, and if Watson succeeds in getting it through, he will probably want some additional fee, but it did not go through as they wanted it. Mr. Van Cleave and Mr. Schwedtman and I accepted what Senator Aldrich said would be the proposition incorporated, and it was the best we could do. That did not satisfy Mr. Miles and some of the other gentlemen, and I think probably after that passed there was some talk among them as to whether or not I ought to have additional compensation, not as a matter of right, but simply expressing their appreciation of what had been done. That is the only way in which the thing could have originated. It was not a contractual relationship between me and these gentlemen.

Mr. RUSSELL. Here is a letter of August 4, 1909, that bears a little upon the question now being discussed, which appears to have been written by you to Col. M. M. Mulhall. I will read a clause of it:

> I do not think that either Mr. Miller or Mr. Towne will be willing to pay me anything for what I did in Washington. We did not succeed in the thing that was closest their hearts, and I am satisfied that they are so cranky with respect to it that they will not concede me even a little credit for having had anything at all to do with it.
>
> It is quite true that this whole thing was in fine shape until Mr. Taft made his free-trade speech, which rubbed the hair of the old-time protectionists the wrong way; but Mr. Miles expected me to control the Speaker and all the old-time fellows regardless of these conditions, and of course I could not make good.
>
> Of course, a fee would be wonderfully beneficial just at this particular time, and very thankfully received, but I see no chance in that direction.

Mr. WATSON. As I said a little while ago, I imagine that Mulhall sat down and wrote me a letter and said he thought he could get me something additional, and I answered him in that way. I did not expect to get any additional money, and I never got it, and never asked them for it.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose Col. Mulhall was cognizant of your employment; he knew you were getting a fee?

Mr. WATSON. Oh, yes; he knew I was employed, and I think he knew the terms. I think he was there at the time of the employment.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any other features of the tariff bill you took any interest in except the tariff commission proposition?

Mr. WATSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean when you were employed by anybody?

Mr. WATSON. There were various gentlemen in whose behalf I did take an interest, Mr. Chairman. There were many men in Indiana who were interested. Senator Beveridge at that time was more or less of an insurgent, and they really could not look to him for help; and I was about here on this other matter, and I did go and assist various gentlemen from Indiana, but not for pay. I took an interest in those matters because they knew me and were familiar with me and came to talk to me about it. Of course, it was reported around, just like these reports get out everywhere from my political enemies—they take every opportunity to spread such reports—and they reported that I was here representing the Standard Oil Co., and that I was representing the Steel Trust, and that I was representing the Tobacco Trust. Those reports were circulated all over my State, and some of my friends came to me and congratulated me on the fact that I was representing the Steel Trust and hoped I would get a good thing out of it. I never represented the Steel Trust or the Tobacco Trust or the Standard Oil Co. in tariff legislation or otherwise, and never got a dollar from any of them. I do not think they appreciated the value of any services that I might render. That is that situation.

Now, Mr. Ferris, you had some questions in relation to the Chautauqua matter?

Mr. FERRIS. I made a short statement, but I am afraid I may not have stated it correctly. I will read a short paragraph from a couple of letters that probably brought this matter to the attention of the committee. I will read first from what appears to be a copy of a letter which seems to be from Mr. Schwedtman, dated November 20, 1909, and addressed to Mr. Van Cleave. In it is this paragraph:

In our various conferences Mr. Kirby and Mr. Emery agreed that I take upon myself the problem of getting a number of Chautauqua lecturers for next season. I have kept you and them fairly well posted as to the progress of the work. Definite arrangements have been made for Watson at a cost of $40 to the council for every lecture which he makes to Chautauquas or to organizations on subjects approved by us. Ex-Congressman Landis, who is a great Chautauqua speaker, is ready to get in on a similar basis. Mr. Emery has been placed at the disposal of Chautauqua managers, and they are trying to arrange dates for him.

Now, the letter goes ahead and says:

You were present when I had a conference with Mr. Ferguson, the manager of one of the lyceum bureaus I am dealing with, and I think you were as much impressed as I was with the plans then discussed of breaking in a number of younger lyceum speakers for our work without their knowledge and without the knowledge of the public. I am keeping Ferguson and Palmer and Wagner, the three lyceum men I am dealing with, stirred up, but at best it seems hard work to keep them moving as fast as we would like to have them move. I would be very glad to have any suggestions that may come out of a discussion of this matter with Mr. Kirby or Mr. Emery. Incidentally, the preparation of younger speakers for the platform is going to take a great deal of somebody's time. Mr. Ferguson would like to have outlined for him the important points on the various subjects which we want driven home. It will take days and weeks of study, writing, and conferences to get this well started.

Later on there is a letter from Charles W. Ferguson, president of the Chicago Mutual Lyceum Bureau, under date of December 8. 1909, which is only a few days later, addressed to Mr. Schwedtman, which reads as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., *December 8, 1909.*

MR. FERD. C. SCHWEDTMAN,
Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR MR. SCHWEDTMAN: Mr. Charles B. Landis, of Indiana, just called, and I had a very satisfactory talk with him in regard to lecturing on our list in accord with the suggestions of Mr. Watson.

The Chautauqua business for next summer is, perhaps, three-fourths booked, but I believe that we can get quite a few dates for Mr. Landis yet. I think Mr. Landis is sound and all right. He has had an abundance of experience in Chautauqua work. His Grosvenor debates were popular, and his work was first class. I shall be pleased to take him on, on the same basis as Mr. Watson, if agreeable to you.

Mr. WATSON. I never got on.

Mr. FERRIS. The letter continues:

And, if we make this arrangement, I will get after the work immediately and see if we can not get a fairly good list of engagements for next summer. I had quite a long talk with Mr. Landis, and he is sound. He is not only sound, but is a forceful and energetic speaker. One good thing about him is that he has a record for getting there. I have never heard of him having an engagement that he did not fill on time, and he has had a large experience among Chautauquas and lecture courses.

There is some competition among the bureaus for the best of our talent, and I would be glad to have you write me if there are any new developments touching the educational campaign, which you are interested in. As I wrote you a few days ago, there are a number of our young men that could fill a good many engagements, and who are sound politically and economically, and who could write good, strong effective stuff, and who can be handled nicely on this proposition. I would like to improve the opportunities as they go by in landing some of these men if matters have proceeded far enough so that you can give me the authority to act. Before any expense is incurred, we might even go so far as to submit the subject matter in manuscript for your inspection.

I shall be glad to hear from you, and have you send me any literature that is going out, and I will handle this matter personally, and as we talked qualifying as best I can for the work.

Yours, very truly, THE CHICAGO MUTUAL LYCEUM BUREAU,
CHAS. W. FERGUSON, *President.*

They had evidently been dealing on the side, so far as you were concerned?

Mr. WATSON. Yes. There was no arrangement of that kind for me; none in the world.

Mr. FERRIS. Then Mr. Schwedtman was mistaken in saying that he had made arrangements for you?

Mr. WATSON. Absolutely. There was no arrangement made of which I had knowledge.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you ever lecture any at all for this Chicago Mutual Lyceum Bureau?

Mr. WATSON. No; there is no such bureau as that. The bureau of which Mr. Ferguson was president was called the Chautauqua Managers' Association.

Mr. FERRIS. He signs this "The Chicago Mutual Lyceum Bureau, Chas. W. Ferguson, president."

Mr. WATSON. Well, he is the president of what is called the Five Cs. There were five Chautauqua associations whose names began with C, and they were merged into one, which was called the Five Cs, and afterwards called the Chautauqua Managers' Association,

and I lectured for those people. I have talked with Mr. Ferguson time and again along these lines about conservative speeches made at Chautauquas, and have outlined what I thought he might be able to do along that line, and told him I would be glad to assist him in seeing that the conservative gospel of this country was spread through the medium of the Chautauqua, and I doubtless talked with Mr. Schwedtman, and I do not know but what I told Ferguson to see Schwedtman. I have not any recollection about that.

Mr. FERRIS. On December 8, 1909, were you or not under contract with Mr. Ferguson to deliver lectures for this bureau?

Mr. WATSON. For his bureau?

Mr. FERRIS. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. In 1909?

Mr. FERRIS. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. In December, 1909?

Mr. FERRIS. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. I do not know.

Mr. FERRIS. He says in his letter here that on your—Mr. Watson's—suggestion he is willing to take on Mr. Landis on the same arrangement he took you on. Is or is not that a fact?

Mr. WATSON. I do not know whether it is or not.

Mr. FERRIS. You do not know whether you were lecturing under the auspices of that bureau or not?

Mr. WATSON. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you have a conversation about Landis with him?

Mr. WATSON. I have no recollection about that.

Mr. FERRIS. And this letter does not refresh your memory?

Mr. WATSON. No. My recollection is that Landis was employed over here in Delaware. These dates become confusing as we go on and recede from them. I was under contract with the bureau for two years—it may have been three years. I was under contract with the bureau this year, but I did not make a speech.

Mr. FERRIS. Then, as a matter of fact, the National Association of Manufacturers might have been paying Mr. Ferguson and the Chicago Mutual Lyceum Bureau $40 a night for you and Landis, so far as you know?

Mr. WATSON. Oh, no; that never happened; because if it had, I would have known it.

Mr. FERRIS. How do you explain these letters here which relate conversations and agreements made with you?

Mr. WATSON. Oh, no; there could not have been any agreement made with me.

Mr. FERRIS. This letter says that on a suggestion from you they are willing to take on Mr. Landis on the same basis that you were taken on at that time.

Mr. WATSON. I have frequently talked with Mr. Schwedtman about that and suggested to him that they get into the Chautauqua business in order to present their views to the people. I have talked to Ferguson and other Chautauqua people about it and suggested that they make some sort of an arrangement by which the conservative side of politics might be presented, and I may have told Ferguson and Schwedtman to get together. I do not remember about that. I have done a great deal of talking with Chautauqua managers and business people along those lines. I know that I made

no definite arrangement by which I received additional compensation from these people. I never got a dollar from this association or from any other association for making a Chautauqua speech in my life, except from the bureau that employed me.

Mr. FERRIS. Then, if the National Association of Manufacturers, as they say in their letter—or as Mr. Schwedtman says in his letter under date of November 20, 1909—made any definite arrangement to pay $40 a night for your lectures, and the same to Mr. Landis—you knew nothing about that?

Mr. WATSON. I did not know about it.

Mr. EMERY. Pardon me, Mr. Ferris. I know you desire to be entirely fair, but does that letter say that any definite arrangement had been made with Mr. Landis?

Mr. FERRIS. It says—I will read it again:

Definite arrangements have been made for Watson at a cost of $40 to the council for every lecture which he makes to Chautauquas or to organizations on subjects approved by us. Ex-Congressman Landis, who is a great Chautauqua speaker, is ready to get in on a similar basis.

Let me read the reply, which was dated December 8, 1909, from Charles W. Ferguson, president of the Chicago Mutual Lyceum Bureau, addressed to Mr. Ferd. C. Schwedtman, Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo., as follows:

CHICAGO, ILL., *December 8, 1909.*

Mr. FERD. C. SCHWEDTMAN,
Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR MR. SCHWEDTMAN: Mr. Charles B. Landis, of Indiana, just called, and I had a very satisfactory talk with him in regard to lecturing on our list in accord with the suggestions of Mr. Watson.

The Chautauqua business for next summer is perhaps three-fourths booked, but I believe that we can get quite a few dates for Mr. Landis yet. I think Mr. Landis is sound and all right. He has had an abundance of experience in Chautauqua work. His Grosvenor debates were popular, and his work is first class. I shall be pleased to take him on, on the same basis as Mr. Watson, if agreeable to you, and if we make this arrangement I will get after the work immediately, and see if we can not get a fairly good list of engagements for next summer. I had quite a long talk with Mr. Landis, and he is sound. He is not only sound, but is a forceful and energetic speaker. One good thing about him is that he has a record for getting there. I have never heard of him having an engagement that he did not fill on time, and he has had a large experience among Chautauqua and lecture courses.

There is some competition among the bureaus for the best of our talent, and I would be glad to have you write me if there are any new developments touching the educational campaign which you are interested in. As I wrote you a few days ago, there are a number of our young men who could fill a good many engagements, and who are sound politically and economically, and who could write good, strong, effective stuff, and who can be handled nicely on this proposition. I would like to improve the opportunities as they go by in landing some of these men, if matters have proceeded far enough, so that you could give me the authority to act. Before any expense is incurred we might even go so far as to submit the subject matter in manuscript for your inspection.

I shall be glad to hear from you and have you send me any literature that is going out, and I will handle this matter personally and as we talked, qualifying as best I can for the work.

Yours, very truly,

THE CHICAGO MUTUAL LYCEUM BUREAU,
CHAS. W. FERGUSON, *President.*

Mr. EMERY. It says if he can make the arrangement. There is nothing to indicate that any such arrangement was ever completed.

Mr. FERRIS. Well, Schwedtman says "definite arrangements."

Mr. EMERY. That is with respect to Mr. Watson, not with respect to Mr. Landis. He says Mr. Landis is ready to get in on a similar basis, but it does not say that any definite arrangement was made with Mr. Landis.

Mr. FERRIS. I am asking the witness if there was anything of that kind done.

Mr. WATSON. I think not.

Mr. FERRIS. These letters seem to indicate that there was some arrangement made. I am not trying to misinterpret the letter.

Mr. WATSON. I understand your position. You are trying to get the fact. There was no arrangement of that kind made to my knowledge.

Mr. FERRIS. If there was any such arrangement, you had no knowledge of its existence?

Mr. WATSON. I want to repeat——

Mr. FERRIS (interposing). Do you know whether he had any arrangement of that sort with Mr. Landis?

Mr. WATSON. I did not have any knowledge of it.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you know of any negotiations in regard to it?

Mr. WATSON. I did not. I want to repeat the statement I made, however, that I have no personal recollection about anything of that kind at all, but I know I have frequently talked to Mr. Schwedtman and Mr. Van Cleave about the desirability of spreading their propaganda through the Chautauqua, and I also talked with many Chautauqua managers about it and got their views. I have had no correspondence about it. I have talked with Mr. Ferguson about it. I do not remember—I have talked with Ferguson about it several times in Chicago. It is possible I advised him to see Mr. Schwedtman. I do not know about that. But no arrangement was made by which I was to be paid anything by the National Association of Manufacturers, by the National Council for Industrial Defense, or any of these other associations.

Mr. FERRIS. Suppose that the National Association of Manufacturers, being particularly anxious to get conservative speakers like you and Mr. Landis into the field and onto the lecture platform, might it not be possible, along the lines of these various conferences, that some arrangement was made, independent of your knowledge, with this Chicago Lyceum Bureau, along the line of Mr. Ferguson's letter, independent of your knowledge; might they not have done that?

Mr. WATSON. Of course. It would not seem possible, however, that they were doing that without telling me something about it.

Mr. FERRIS. This letter says, "Definite arrangements have been made for Watson at a cost of $40 to the council for every lecture which he makes to Chautauquas or to organizations on subjects approved by us."

Mr. WATSON. They never asked me for any subject in the world.

Mr. FERRIS. You say that conservative lectures ought to be made?

Mr. WATSON. Absolutely. That is the very reason they would not need to enter into arrangement with me in regard to the subjects, because they knew that any speech I made, if it was on the political situation, would be along conservative lines.

Mr. FERRIS. You were more of an amateur in the Chautauqua lecture business in 1908 than you are now? You had not made any lectures at that time?

Mr. WATSON. I still regard myself as an amateur.

Mr. FERRIS. I was going to be more charitable than that. The reason I mention that is because this letter says they are making a strenuous effort to get young men into the field. You were one and Mr. Emery was the other?

Mr. WATSON. I have had contracts for four successive years to make Chautauqua speeches. In 1908, before I was nominated for governor, or had any idea—the Chautauqua people make their contracts the previous summer just as soon as the season is over; they make all the contracts for the next year. In 1908 I canceled every engagement I had by telegraph. In 1909 I canceled practically all of them, I think, but 8 or 10. The next year I declined to make over 20. The next year after that I do not think I made over half a dozen. Then I canceled every one I had; I do not know how many.

Mr. FERRIS. You did not lecture prior to November, 1909, did you?

Mr. WATSON. I think I did.

Mr. FERRIS. You do think so?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; because I had contracts before I filled them. Being a Member of Congress and having a long vacation, as you know, as a rule, I went out and made the speeches.

Mr. FERRIS. You think you would hardly belong in the category of young lecturers at that time, as referred to in this letter?

Mr. WATSON. I still claim to be a young lecturer.

The CHAIRMAN. There are one or two letters I want to ask you about specifically. Were you through with all the general statements you want to make or did you want to make something additional?

Mr. WATSON. So far as I recall, I am through.

The CHAIRMAN. There are one or two matters I want to direct your attention to in order to see if you can throw any light on this phase of the matter. First, I desire to call your attention to this black-list proposition.

Mr. WATSON. Yes; I am glad you mentioned that.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is what purports to be the original of Senate print 2244, 2245. I will ask you to look that over. [Handing paper to witness.] Is any part of that list in your handwriting?

Mr. WATSON (after examining paper). Yes, sir; this part here is in my handwriting [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. What names?

Mr. WATSON. Gus Gardner, Massachusetts; Vic Murdock, Kansas; Morse, Lenroot, Nelson, Wisconsin; Haugen, of Iowa.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know in whose handwriting the other names are, Mr. Watson?

Mr. WATSON. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recognize that list as having any particular significance, and if so, what?

Mr. WATSON. No; I do not. I read in the press about these lists. I took it for granted I had not written any of them. I do not know what that means. I see, however, it is my handwriting. "Gus Gardner, Massachusetts; Vic Murdock, Kansas; Morse, Lenroot, Nelson, Wisconsin; Haugen, Iowa." I do not know what they mean.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know a gentleman by the name of Childs, who was clerk to the Committee on War Claims?

Mr. WATSON. I do not remember him, Mr. Chairman. If he were to come in here I might recall the fact that I had met him.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I ask that question is because Mr. Mulhall testified before this committee that his impression was that these other names besides the ones you have identified as having been writen by you were in the handwriting of a Mr. Childs.

Mr. WATSON. I have no recollection of that. I do not know Childs—that is to say, I do not recall him. If he were to step in here I might recall that I had met him. I knew a great many clerks of committees. I have no recollection about this particular individual.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose the names that are drawn through by pencil mark—that has no significance whatever to your mind?

Mr. WATSON. There is no pencil mark here on this one.

The CHAIRMAN. On the next page, Mr. Watson.

Mr. WATSON. I have no knowledge of that page at all. There is nothing on that page in my handwriting.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing on that page in your handwriting?

Mr. WATSON. No; nothing on that page in my handwriting.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you state again, please, Mr. Watson, the names that you say are in your handwriting? I wanted to identify them with the printed lists.

Mr. WATSON. Certainly. "Gus Gardner, Massachusetts; Vic Murdock, Kansas; Morse, Lenroot, Nelson, Wisconsin; Haugen, Iowa." Those names are in my handwriting. I do not know what that means. I do not know how they happened to be there. I have no recollection of that in the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you are familiar with what Col. Mulhall says this list is?

Mr. WATSON. A black list.

The CHAIRMAN. A black list to be marked for slaughter by the National Association of Manufacturers, and that those names were put there by you to be included as enemies of the National Association of Manufacturers; that is, that was the inference, because they had been in opposition to Speaker Cannon.

Mr. WATSON. Do you know, I have no recollection about that list in the world, gentlemen. I do not recall ever writing it. It is not possible that I furnished him with a black list. I can not conceive of any reason why I should furnish Mulhall with a black list for any purpose; and why anybody should put in writing the names of individuals to be marked for slaughter by the National Association of Manufacturers is more than I know.

Mr. Emery was here—no; he was not here in 1908. These gentlemen evidently knew the names of those who were opposing their measures. I have no knowledge, and I had no knowledge when I was in the House, so far as I recall, of how Mr. Gardner stood on propositions in which these gentlemen were interested.

Take, for instance, the eight-hour bill. I do not know how Gus Gardner stood on that proposition; I might have known at that time. I might have known how he stood on the Pearre anti-injunction bill; I do not now recall. I do not know that I ever knew how

he stood on that proposition. I have no way of telling how those names happened to be there. I can only say, so far as I have any knowledge on the subject now, or any recollection of it, or so far as I can conjure up any reason for having furnished Mr. Mulhall with a black list, that is something that is entirely outside—well, it looks to me like a grotesque proposition.

Mr. CLINE. Did you know how Lenroot and Morse stood on this proposition?

Mr. WATSON. Lenroot and Morse were insurgent Republicans, but I do not know how they stood on this proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true of all those gentlemen there, is it not, with the possible exception of Mr. Gardner, who was an insurgent on the rules proposition in a way?

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true of the men whose names are on that list?

Mr. WATSON. Yes; with the exception of Mr. Gardner.

The CHAIRMAN. And he was not in sympathy with the Speaker on the rules idea?

Mr. WATSON. Didn't he vote for the election of Cannon as Speaker?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; he voted for Cannon.

Mr. WATSON. Didn't he vote for the adoption of the rules intact?

The CHAIRMAN. You mean at the beginning of 1906?

Mr. WATSON. No; he did not.

Mr. STAFFORD. I believe he did. His fight, as I recall, was in the short session just before.

The CHAIRMAN. I have a very distinct recollection that Mr. Gardner voted with the Democrats against the previous question.

Mr. WATSON. However that may be, this could not have any bearing on that, because this is marked 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. It has no date but it occurs in this print——

Mr. WATSON. Yes; the first one is 1908.

Mr. RUSSELL. I think the testimony heretofore has been in doubt as to who put that there.

The CHAIRMAN. It comes in in this print as of 1908.

Mr. WATSON. Those names are in my handwriting, but I have not the slightest idea how I happened to write them and give them to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is another. I have not the original of this list and consequently shall have to submit to you the Senate print. It is No. 1018, 1019 of the original Senate print, dated November 25, 1907. It reads:

NOVEMBER 25, 1907.

WATSON: Here's a list for you to knock out: Candler, Mississippi; Hamlin, Missouri; Danforth, New York; Payne, New York; Lever, South Carolina; Graham, Illinois; Lobeck, Nebraska; Beall, Texas; Stephens, John H., Texas; Bowman, C. C., Pennsylvania; Lloyd, Missouri; Clark, Missouri (Monday); Humphreys, Mississippi; Carter, Oklahoma; Brantley, W. G.; Hull, Tennessee; Bulkley, Ohio; Burgess, Texas; Towner, Iowa; Focht, Pennsylvania; Gardner, Massachusetts; Henry George, jr., New York; Henry, R. L., Texas; Hinds, Maine; Lindbergh, Minnesota; Rees, R. R., Kansas; Reilly, T. L., Connecticut; Foster, Vermont. Members in town up to this time, November 25.

That was in 1907, and it is not signed. The original of that paper we have not been able to get.

Mr. WATSON. Oh, I do not know anything about this.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you acquainted with Mr. Lobeck, a gentleman whose name appears there on the second line?

Mr. WATSON. No; I do not think I ever knew him. Was he in Congress when I was?

Mr. WILLIS. I was just about to ask you that question. He was not, as a matter of fact.

Mr. WATSON. My recollection is that I knew every Member of the House, and I do not remember a man of that name.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Lobeck came to Congress on the 4th of March, 1911.

Mr. CLINE. He was a Member of the Sixty-first.

Mr. WATSON. How does his name happen to be here?

Mr. WILLIS. That is what I am trying to find out. Do you know C. C. Bowman?

Mr. WATSON. No; I do not know him.

Mr. WILLIS. He came to Congress about four years after this alleged list appeared. Over on the next page—are you acquainted with Mr. Bulkley, of Ohio?

Mr. WATSON. No; I do not know Mr. Bulkley.

Mr. WILLIS. You did not serve in Congress with him?

Mr. WATSON. No.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Bulkley came to Congress on the 4th of March, 1911.

Mr. WATSON. I do not know him.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know Mr. Towner, of Iowa?

Mr. WATSON. I have met Mr. Towner.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you serve in Congress with him?

Mr. WATSON. No; Mr. Towner was not here when I was here.

Mr. WILLIS. He came in on the 4th of March, 1911.

Mr. WATSON (reading):

Focht, Pennsylvania; Gardner, Massachusetts; Henry George, jr., New York——

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know him?

Mr. WATSON. I have met him.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you serve in Congress with him?

Mr. WATSON. No; I did not serve with him.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know when he came into Congress?

Mr. WATSON. No.

Mr. WILLIS. The 4th of March, 1911, the records show.

Mr. WATSON (reading):

Hinds, Maine——

Mr. WILLIS. Was he in Congress at that time?

Mr. WATSON. No; I never served with Mr. Hinds.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know when he came in?

Mr. WATSON. I think he came in when I went out.

Mr. WILLIS. April 4, 1911. Do you know Mr. Rees, of Kansas?

Mr. WATSON. No; I do not know him.

Mr. WILLIS. He came in March 4, 1911.

Mr. WATSON. T. L. Reilly.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know him?

Mr. WATSON. No; he is a new man to me. No; I do not know a thing about that list. When I was whip I had a list of the Repub-

lican Members of the House, and I had a man in each delegation to keep me informed—an assistant whip—and when Congress convened it was the business of that fellow in that delegation to inform me when the members of his delegation arrived, and I kept a list of those things. It is possible that somebody handed me that—"Here is a list for you to knock out." And yet it is not possible, for there are several men there I never knew and never saw.

Mr. WILLIS. You observe the date of that list is 1907?

Mr. WATSON. Yes. No; I have no knowledge of that list, gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you keep a list of Democrats the same as of Republicans?

Mr. WATSON. No; I just kept the Republicans.

The CHAIRMAN. I call your attention here to the fact that the first name on this list for you to knock out—even if we proceed on the assumption that there is a mistake in the date, because there is a good deal of fragmentary stuff in Col. Mulhall's files—I call your attention to the fact that that list includes Candler, of Mississippi, Democrat; Hamlin, of Missouri, Democrat; Lever, of South Carolina, Democrat; Graham, of Illinois, Democrat; and a number of other Democratic Members.

Mr. WATSON. Judge Brantley is there.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and Stephens, of Texas; and Lloyd, of Missouri.

Mr. WATSON. It is not possible, of course, that that is a blacklist furnished by me; that furnishes its own refutation. I can not conceive, gentlemen, that I ever furnished a blacklist to Col. Mulhall for any purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. This appears to be a copy of something sent to you for some purpose, but it is evidently erroneous as to some names. You were not here in November, 1911, were you; before the beginning of Congress?

Mr. WATSON. Oh, no; no, I was not there that year or about here, unless I just chanced in. It is not possible that I furnished that list to anybody, of course. That speaks for itself. And as to the other list, I have no recollection in the world of having written those names, and I can not conceive why they were.

Mr. STAFFORD. On the second sheet of this list there is a notation on the side, "Written by Watson," and then somebody else, and then "Watson" underneath the name. I will ask you if that is in your handwriting?

Mr. WATSON. No; I did not write that. I did not write anything on there.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it was testified by Col. Mulhall that his impression was that that was simply a notation made on that in the newspaper office in New York City.

Mr. WATSON. I wonder if it is possible I was putting John Dwight on a blacklist to beat for office, and Sereno Payne——

The CHAIRMAN. It is not claimed that any of those names were in your——

Mr. WATSON. But I thought this was a blacklist—I did not know but they claimed this was a blacklist I furnished to Mulhall.

The CHAIRMAN. They claimed to have gotten up a list of their own and you furnished that list supplemental to that.

Mr. WATSON. Here is a list. It says, "Written by Watson"—Lenroot, Cooper, Gardner, Parsons, William S. Greene, Champ Clark—oh, well, of course, I never furnished any such blacklist as that to anybody in the world.

The CHAIRMAN. William S. Greene voted for the Hughes amendment in 1910.

Mr. WATSON. Did he?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WATSON. I do not know about that. I was not actively engaged in any sort of propaganda to defeat Members of Congress because they had been in favor of or hostile to any object or purpose of the National Association of Manufacturers, and was never asked to do so.

The CHAIRMAN (handing a paper to the witness). By the way, there is on the back of the typewritten statement a notation, "Cannon blacklist."

Mr. WATSON. I did not write that.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know anything about whose handwriting that is?

Mr. WATSON. No; I do not.

Mr. STAFFORD. You never saw that list before, did you?

Mr. WATSON. I never did in my life. When I was here one day I went up to the Senate rooms to see the lists, but they had been taken away and I never got to see the lists. There are two sheets there that have no names in my handwriting; the other sheet has. I do not know how I happened to write those names there or for what purpose.

Mr. RUSSELL. In the case of this list of names that you did write, they were all against the Cannon rules?

Mr. WATSON. I think they all were, with the possible exception of Mr. Gardner. As far as Gus Gardner is concerned, I have no personal knowledge at this time about his standing.

The CHAIRMAN. I may be mistaken, but I think Mr. Gardner voted against the previous question at the organization of March, 1909.

Mr. WATSON. Yes. But why make a blacklist? It was a thing that everybody knew about. Everybody in the country knew who the insurgents were and how they voted. Why should I be making a list of them—a thing that everybody knew about or could get information about?

Mr. RUSSELL. There must have been some reason for your giving that list.

Mr. WATSON. Yes; for my writing those names.

Mr. RUSSELL. Can you account for it on the theory that you may have been writing down for somebody the information as to how the men voted on that proposition and then he constituted it a blacklist?

Mr. WATSON. It might have been that way, Judge, because I have no recollection of it in the world. My mind is an entire blank on it. When some of these gentlemen asked me if I had ever furnished a list, I pooh-poohed the idea. I did not think it possible for my handwriting to be disclosed on any of those sheets, but it is there. Of course, I have no recollection of how that happened—five years ago.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you ever speak to Mulhall about defeating any candidates for Congress?

Mr. WATSON. Oh, no. I never talked with Mulhall about those things. He was not a man you could talk confidentially with about

such matters. He was a man that would talk loud. He was a man that—for instance, if I would meet you on the street and introduce Col. Mulhall to you, he would immediately sit down and write what he called a report of how he met Representative Stafford, of Wisconsin, and had a long conversation on certain public questions. When Mulhall came to my State I had met him, as I said, a few times before, but I thought that Mulhall was square. His reports seemed to be all right, and he seemed to be very enthusiastic. I did not know anything about the fellow; I thought he was all right and I was quite willing to use him if I could use him in that campaign. That is all there was to that part of it.

Mr. RUSSELL. You really thought he rendered you considerable service in that campaign?

Mr. WATSON. That is to say, there were letters of that kind written. I will tell you about those letters, Judge. In the first place, I am naturally a pretty grateful fellow if a man helps me or tries to help me. I am also grateful after I get a thing as well as before. It has been accounted a very heroic thing of late days to turn your back upon the fellows that made you and pose as being above the obligations of politics. I am not that way. I believe in rewarding my friends. I believe that this is a Government by political parties. And I want to compliment the Democratic Party for standing together and doing the things they promised to do. I believe you fellows are trying to do that, all right, and I believe everybody ought to compliment you, because this is a Government by parties, and whenever a political platform is made it ought to be transferred to the statute books of the country just as soon as opportunity offers after freedom of debate has been allowed.

Mulhall was this kind of a man: He thought, as I have said before, that I stood well with the officers of this association, and he would come to me every now and then and say, "I want you to write a letter for me—a good letter—to Mr. Emery." He was always afraid he was going to lose his position, and he would ask me to write to Mr. Van Cleave and others and to make it good and strong. I was always kindly disposed toward Mulhall, as I hope I am toward everybody. I have written letters for him complimenting him on what he did. There was a letter written here—two letters from my State—one in February and one, I think, in October, in which I asked to have him taken out.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Watson, I do not know that I understand you, and I want to ask this question for my own information.

When Mr. Mulhall came to you in Indiana, I think you said in January, 1908——

Mr. WATSON. I should think about that time. It is possible he came in December, 1907.

Mr. CLINE. You did not know he was coming?

Mr. WATSON. No; I do not think at that time I knew he was coming.

Mr. CLINE. And you were surprised when you found he was offering you assistance?

Mr. WATSON. No; I can not say I was surprised.

Mr. CLINE. You had no reason to expect him?

Mr. WATSON. No; no reason to expect him.

Mr. CLINE. How did it occur to you that he happened to come?

Mr. WATSON. Well, I can explain that. As I said before, early in my campaign for the nomination the labor organizations were against me, and they began to pass resolutions against me, and they began a most vigorous fight from one end of the State to the other. That, of course, excited the attention of my friends in this association, but whether I asked to have Mulhall sent there or they sent him there voluntarily I do not know. That is, so far as the nomination is concerned.

Mr. CLINE. That is just the problem with me. I wanted to understand if you knew just how he happened to come there.

Mr. WATSON. After the nomination, in August, when I realized I was in a desperate fight, I wrote a letter to these gentlemen and asked them to send him there. I think it was about the middle of August that I wrote and asked to have him sent there, because I thought if he could render me any service I wanted him. You know all about that. I was willing to reach out and take advantage of whatsoever means were placed at my disposal.

Mr. RUSSELL. At that time—July, 1911—you wrote to Mr. Schwedtman:

MY DEAR SIR: I wonder what has become of our friend, Col. Mulhall. I need him very much, indeed.

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir; I wrote and asked him to have him sent into the State.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Watson, I was not taking any part in the fight against you in 1908. I was trying to get my own bacon out. [Laughter.]

Mr. WATSON. Yes; there was an almighty grabbing after the bacon in Indiana that year.

The CHAIRMAN. After all, that was not an unusual experience, was it?

Mr. WATSON. It was a little more intense that year and of longer duration.

Now, I am glad that Mr. Gompers testified here yesterday, because he threw some light on propositions about what our labor friends had done here through these years, and, as I understand it, these gentlemen here representing the National Association of Manufacturers were organized for the express purpose of meeting efforts of that kind, to pass legislation that they believed was inimical to the business interests of the country.

Mr. RUSSELL. There was one statement made here by some witness—I forget who it was—that in that Indiana campaign that year you were drinking cocktails and making temperance speeches.

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. And Mr. Marshall was preaching and running on the liquor ticket.

Mr. WATSON. Yes. Well, that would be confusion worse confounded. My friend Mulhall, I think, testified before the Senate committee that he took six cocktails into a room and put them on a table, and then went out and shut the door.

Mr. CLINE. You do not think he would do that?

Mr. WATSON. Whether or not it was in order to overcome temptation, or whether he went outside to weep that a man running on a local-option platform should drink six cocktails, I do not know.

But, of course, such a thing as that never occurred. It was a willful, malicious, and diabolical lie.

Another thing that he testified was that he came down to my town and met Capt. Gowdy and Mr. Thomas and myself, and we agreed to see whether or not we could get the brewers for me into that campaign. Of course, if you would bring Capt. Gowdy and Mr. Thomas here they would testify that such a statement was never made.

He then testified that Senator Hemenway met them and discussed it and made a similar suggestion. Senator Hemenway never suggested such a thing in that campaign. He then said he met Mr. Joseph C. Schef, president of the American Brewers' Association, and they discussed it with the idea of bringing the brewers to me when I was running on a county local-option platform, which they knew would put them out of business in all but 17 counties of Indiana. Mr. Schef came out and said he never had an interview with Mulhall and had never seen him. Of course, that whole proposition was an iridescent dream. If he went up there to see those fellows he did it without any knowledge of mine. The issue was well defined in that campaign. Our Democratic friends stood for township and ward, local option. That was the issue in that campaign. Out of the 220 speeches that I made I did not make one but what I proclaimed the proposition that if elected I would do what I could to have a county local-option law passed.

Mr. RUSSELL. Gov. Hanley fixed that proposition with you, did he not?

Mr. WATSON. He fixed me. [Laughter.]

Mr. STAFFORD. It was generally regarded that he did so at that time?

Mr. WATSON. I think so. Many of my friends, my Democratic friends—of course, they understand it as well as I do, because the Democrats in Indiana are pretty well up to snuff.

Mr. CLINE. It is a fact, is it not, that Gov. Hanley called the special session for the purpose of forcing the local option on a county basis over the objection of every prominent Republican in the State?

Mr. WATSON. Every man with whom he consulted—and over my most vigorous protest, of course, because I believed it sounded my death knell. And when he called it, it was put up to me to say to the legislature what to do, which, of course, was most embarrassing. But I had been on the stump, had been preaching it, and I went to the legislature and told them to pass it. I was between his satanic majesty and the dark, rolling billows of the deep blue sea.

I see that my friend Beveridge takes up one proposition. I would not read this letter if it had not been published, but it was called to my attention last night. In a letter written February 19, 1909, he criticizes the manufacturers because they would not organize and force matters like the labor fellows, and Mr. Van Cleave answered him on that. Then he said, in a letter written February 27, 1908:

I think you misunderstood my reference to the methods of the labor men down here in my comparison of their persistency with what the "standpatters" down here think and give of your lack of persistency. The fact is just this: Organized labor not only has a very efficient set of men down here all the time, but they keep up the agitation through their periodicals, through speeches, and generally are constantly at work on public opinion. The result is that every measure they propose, while at first received with coldness and hostility, finally assumes the proportions of a movement, and great numbers of Senators and

Congressmen vote for such measures through fear; while, of course, others vote for such measures after study and from conviction.

That is a statement by Senator Beveridge that I think is worthy of consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. I got the impression from that correspondence between Senator Beveridge and them about that time about those matters that there were several elements that entered into his somewhat cold attitude toward the association.

Mr. WATSON. He says here, "I should imagine that he ought to use 100,000 copies of my speech rather than 10,000."

The CHAIRMAN. I was just speaking of that.

Mr. WATSON. I can imagine why Mr. Beveridge would imagine that. [Laughter.]

Mr. CLINE. I should like to ask you one more question and then I will not trespass further. You were whip of the House for six years, I believe your testimony was—whatever number of years you were, you were intimately acquainted with the Republican Members of the House?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Referring now to the contents of this letter, I want to ask you whether, from your experience with Members of Congress, coming in close contact with them, meeting them daily, if you believe that there were any considerable number of men in any Congress in which you were the whip of the House that hid their honest convictions upon public questions when it came to a vote and voted through fear of anything that might happen to their canvass afterwards?

Mr. WATSON. I am glad you asked me that question, Judge Cline, because I am in a position, I think, to answer. I do not think a great number of men vote through fear, but I do think there are a number of Congressmen who are afraid—the new Members of Congress, as a rule, are more fearful than the older ones, because the older fellow learns that if he votes his convictions and goes back home and takes the stump he can win his people.

I have seen times when I was trying to organize the House on certain propositions that I thought the figure of Mr. Gompers strode down the corridors of the House more majestically than any other figure; that men were afraid of organized labor and afraid that Mr. Gompers would put them on the black list—and he was in the habit every year of printing a black list.

There were other instances. For instance—I do not know whether you were in the House, Judge—the newspapers were conducting a campaign to have the rural free delivery carriers made their agents for the sale of newspapers. They came here and got up in the galleries of the House and a lot of fellows were afraid to vote against it. I can recall now some few gentlemen that got right up in the row next to the gallery—I had never seen them in that row before—so that when the stand-up vote came they could stand up without the fellows in the galleries seeing who they were.

There are, in my judgment, fellows that do that in every Congress, because they say, "What is the use to take on additional burdens; we have enough to carry now. Why not vote this way?"

Mr. CLINE. It seems from the evidence that has been disclosed in this hearing that the Federation of Labor has been active, according

to the testimony, for something like 20 years, electing and defeating Members of Congress?

Mr. WATSON. Yes, sir; I think so.

Mr. CLINE. And they have only, out of the 435 Members now, about 12 or 14?

Mr. WATSON. Yes.

Mr. CLINE. So it does not seem they have been very effective?

Mr. WATSON. I think this, Mr. Cline, they are more effective in opposition than they are on the affirmative side; they can do a man more harm by opposing him than they can good by favoring him. They can arouse hostility to the cause of a man but they can not support the best men in the organization and lead the other fellows to do it. The truth about it is, I believe in Indiana they went from one end of the State to the other, and I do not think I lost 1,000 votes all over the State, by and large. That is my candid conviction about it. In other words, I believe the great body of intelligent labor of this country are not looking to Mr. Gompers or anybody else to lead them or willing to adopt him as an intellectual pabulum; and I believe a representative who will stand up fearlessly and honestly before them and state the things he feels in his own conscience are right, and will go before his people fearlessly and honestly (of course he has got to have a good character to back it up and it must be assumed he has or they would not have sent him to Congress) he will have no reason for fear as to what the result will be. I think that is true regardless of what measure a man may support. That is my honest conviction. I believe there are men, a good many men, who have voted through fear. Some of you were not here when the oleomargarine bill passed; I do not think you were, Mr. Stafford?

Mr. STAFFORD. No; that was before my time.

Mr. WATSON. There was, to use an ordinary expression, some men who took to the woods on that proposition that I never knew to take to the woods on any proposition before or since. But that is neither here nor there.

Well, gentlemen, are there any other questions? If not, I am certainly obliged to you for your courtsey, and I thank you very much for giving me the opportunity for saying what I had in mind to say.

The CHAIRMAN. We are glad to have you appear, Mr. Watson.

Mr. WATSON. Thank you, very much, sir.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY NEAL (colored).

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your full name, Neal?

Mr. NEAL. Henry Neal.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you do?

Mr. NEAL. Messenger to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you served in that capacity?

Mr. NEAL. Thirty-eight years next December.

The CHAIRMAN. What Speaker did you first serve in that capacity?

Mr. NEAL. Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have served with each Speaker since that time?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. About how old are you now?
Mr. NEAL. Sixty-three.
The CHAIRMAN. What did you do before you began that service? Were you employed here before that time?
Mr. NEAL. Yes; I was a laborer before that.
The CHAIRMAN. You were a laborer before that?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Are you from Pennsylvania?
Mr. NEAL. No; I lived in Pennsylvania a long time—in Philadelphia.
The CHAIRMAN. Neal, it has been stated here that you were in the employ or on the pay roll of the organization known as the National Association of Manufacturers for a period covering a number of months, receiving a salary of $30 a month. I will ask you to state the facts about that.
Mr. NEAL. Not to my knowing, I was not on any pay roll of the National Association of Manufacturers.
The CHAIRMAN. Do you know a man named Mulhall?
Mr. NEAL. I do, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. M. M. Mulhall. How long have you know him?
Mr. NEAL. I have known him, I guess, five or six years. I knew of him, that is.
The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen him often?
Mr. NEAL. I have seen him but once since the Sixty-second Congress. He came there and asked for Mr. Gardner, of New Jersey.
The CHAIRMAN. Prior to that time did you see him very often?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir; two or three times a week.
The CHAIRMAN. How is that?
Mr. NEAL. He was always around the corridor there two or three times a week.
The CHAIRMAN. That is before the Sixty-third Congress began?
Mr. NEAL. O, Lord, yes,
The CHAIRMAN. You say you have not seen him but once since the Sixty-second Congress?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. You only saw him once during the Sixty-second Congress?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir; at the Capitol I did; yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. And he came there on that occasion and asked for Mr. Gardner?
Mr. NEAL. Of New Jersey; yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Asked you to go in and get him?
Mr. NEAL. He did, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Did he come pretty frequently before that time and ask you to go in and get Members?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. You would go in every once in awhile to get a Member for him?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. What Members did you get for him?

Mr. NEAL. I can't remember anybody particularly; I used to get a lot of them, though. I got Mr. Gardner, of New Jersey, the last one I got for him.

The CHAIRMAN. That was during the Sixty-second Congress?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any others during that Congress?

Mr. NEAL. He is the only one I remember during that Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the Sixty-first Congress?

Mr. NEAL. He asked me to go in to get several of them; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You would carry his card in?

Mr. NEAL. I would carry his card to them; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how he came to you to carry his card in?

Mr. NEAL. No. I was privileged to the floor and was always around there. He saw I was between that room and the Ways and Means room.

The CHAIRMAN. He just came to you to get you to carry the card in?

Mr. NEAL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he pay you anything for that?

Mr. NEAL. Sometimes he tipped me; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. About how much do you suppose, in all, he tipped you?

Mr. NEAL. I have not any idea. He used to tip me sometimes a dollar or a couple of dollars, and so on.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it run up to anything like $30 a month?

Mr. NEAL. Oh, no; not that much, I don't think; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Emery?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you known him?

Mr. NEAL. I have seen him going about some six or seven years, I guess.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever receive any tips from Mr. Emery?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Under what circumstances did you get a tip from Mr. Emery?

Mr. NEAL. I waited on Mr. Emery and Mrs. Emery and got seats for them in the gallery.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean in the Speaker's gallery?

Mr. NEAL. In the Members' gallery; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he gave you tips?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir. Most any gentleman will give you tips.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any idea as to how much in tips he gave you?

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Emery gave me a tip at one time, one tip, you know—probably more, I don't remember now.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever get as much as $25 from either of those men?

Mr. NEAL. Not at one time; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are aware of the fact a letter was written by Mr. Emery to Mr. Mulhall, which has been put in evidence, stating an occasion when Mr. Emery left the city here he wrote back to Mr. Mulhall saying he inclosed a check for $50 and to pay you $25 and Harry $25. Did you know anything about that letter?

Mr. NEAL. Only what I heard of it; yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. You know such a letter has been produced here?
Mr. NEAL. I heard of it; yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Did you get that $25?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. He did not pay you at that time? Was there any understanding of any sort that you would get any fixed amount from Col. Mulhall or from anybody else?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir; not to my knowledge.
The CHAIRMAN. You can not give us any idea at all about what amount of tips you got?
Mr. NEAL. Altogether, no, sir; I could not.
The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. McMichael ever give you any money?
Mr. NEAL. God! no, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. What?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember any occasion on which he paid you any money?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir. I would have if I ever got anything from him.
The CHAIRMAN. How much is the most Mr. Mulhall ever gave you at one time?
Mr. NEAL. I don't remember. I think about $2 is the most I ever got from him at one time.
The CHAIRMAN. You think about $2 is the most you ever got from him at one time. You understood that Mr. Emery was connected with the National Association of Manufacturers?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir
The CHAIRMAN. You understood that all along?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. And you understood Mr. Mulhall was?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Was there anybody else connected with that association?
Mr. NEAL. Not to my knowing, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Was there anybody else that came about the Capitol with them that you carried to the galleries?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Or that you got any tips from?
Mr. NEAL. No.
The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever get any documents for him?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir; I never handled any documents.
The CHAIRMAN. You never handled any documents?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir; no more than the directory; I would get a Congressional Directory.
The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever give to them, or either of them, any information about who had been in and out of the Speaker's room?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever ask you to?
Mr. NEAL. No. They very often, most any gentleman—lots of them—has come and would say, "Who is in the Speaker's room?" and I would say So-and-so, and they would say, "Never mind, I won't go in now." A Member would come to me, you know, and say, "Who is in the Speaker's room, Neal?" and I would say, "I don't know,"

and he would say, "Well, I will come back." No more than that, you know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember in the case of Col. Mulhall whether he called very frequently at the Speaker's room?

Mr. NEAL. He never got in there very much.

The CHAIRMAN. He never came there very much?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. What did you understand that Mr. Mulhall was paying you for?

Mr. NEAL. He was not paying me anything any more than any other gentleman. He would only tip me once in a while when I would go in and bring a Member out for him.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is all you did for him, was to go in and carry a card and get a Member to come out and see him?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir; that is right, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you carry him to the gallery at any time?

Mr. NEAL. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. Or his family?

Mr. NEAL. No; I never carried them myself.

Mr. RUSSELL. The only service for him was to get Members he wanted to see?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was that almost every day?

Mr. NEAL. Well, once or twice a week, sometimes.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is what you understood, then, he was paying you for?

Mr. NEAL. I supposed he would tip me for doing that favor. Lots of gentlemen does the same thing. A friend of yours from Missouri might say, "Go in and bring Col. Russell out," and of course I would go in and bring you out.

Mr. RUSSELL. You understand, then, he was simply paying you for that service?

Mr. NEAL. That is all, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. And there was nothing else you did?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. And you did not understand you were on any pay roll, but just what he gave you was voluntary?

Mr. NEAL. If I was, I never received anything.

Mr. RUSSELL. You say the largest amount he ever gave you was $2?

Mr. NEAL. As big as I remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he ever give you as much as $5 at one time?

Mr. NEAL. I don't think so, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You have no recollection that on some occasions he left the money for McMichael to give to you?

Mr. NEAL. If he did, I never got it, sir,

Mr. RUSSELL. You never got a cent from McMichael?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir; not a cent; not a thing; no, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was McMichael working for the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. NEAL. I heard so; I don't know, sir. I heard it about this investigation, but I never knew it before.

Mr. RUSSELL. At that time you did not know it?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you frequently see McMichael in consultation with Mr. Mulhall out in the halls?

Mr. NEAL. I have on one or two occasions; yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. You say you can not remember but one Member of Congress——

Mr. NEAL. That is the last one I got for him. I got several for him, but I can't recall now. That is the last I brought out to him, is Mr. Gardner, of New Jersey. I have not seen Col. Mulhall since, except I have seen him coming in here.

Mr. RUSSELL. You can not think of any others at all, now?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir. I know Mr. Emery very well.

Mr. RUSSELL. I mean Members of Congress that you got for Col. Mulhall.

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he give you a tip about every day he sent you in the House?

Mr. NEAL. Oh, no; sometimes once or twice a month he would tip me.

Mr. RUSSELL. A dollar or two dollars?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. About how much a month, then, do you think you got?

Mr. NEAL. I have no idea, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. A dollar or two a couple of times a week, you think?

Mr. NEAL. Oh, about once a week; he might have once or twice a week, probably.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is as near as you recall?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You probably did not get over $10 a month then, you think, at that rate?

Mr. NEAL. I don't know. I didn't get much over that, if that; I don't know.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know whether Harry was paid tips the same way, or whether he was on the pay roll?

Mr. NEAL. I don't know, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know anything about his arrangement with Mulhall?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir; I don't.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know he sometimes did work for Mr. Mulhall?

Mr. NEAL. Only what he said. Harry said he had got documents, sometimes.

Mr. RUSSELL. Harry said he had gotten documents for him?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir; the same as he would for any other gentleman.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know whether Harry introduced Mr. Mulhall to Mr. McMichael?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir; only what I heard since the committee has been going on.

Mr. RUSSELL. Who told you that?

Mr. NEAL. I heard it through the committee he introduced him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Harry didn't tell you about introducing them?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know how much Harry got in tips?

Mr. NEAL. I did not, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you and he frequently talk about the tips you got from the colonel?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir; I never did.

Mr. RUSSELL. You never said anything to Harry about it?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Or he to you?

Mr. NEAL. I didn't want to be seen with Harry very much because they might think we were in a conspiracy, you know.

Mr. RUSSELL. You were afraid they might think you were in a conspiracy?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was there any fear about Col. Mulhall being in your conspiracy?

Mr. NEAL. No; I don't know anything about that part. Harry had told Mr. Underwood, I guess. I don't know anything about that.

Mr. RUSSELL. What conspiracy were you afraid of?

Mr. NEAL. Afraid they would think we knew something about this business, seeing us together all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean since this thing commenced, or before?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir; since this thing commenced.

Mr. RUSSELL. I mean at the time it was going on, while you were waiting on Col. Mulhall?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you and Harry talk about it?

Mr. NEAL. No, indeed; no, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You were right there near by Harry and saw him every day?

Mr. NEAL. Oh, I see him a dozen times a day; yes, sir; passing and repassing.

Mr. RUSSELL. And did you hear Harry say he was waiting on the colonel or getting documents once in a while?

Mr. NEAL. He said he got documents once in awhile; yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. He told you that at that time?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir; since this investigation commenced.

Mr. RUSSELL. Since this investigation?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir. I didn't know anything about it except hearing he got documents once in a while.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, that thing was going on a year or two; did you know Harry, then, was waiting on him and getting tips, too?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. RUSSELL. You frequently saw him talking to Harry, didn't you?

Mr. NEAL. I never saw him talking to him only once or twice. He used to ask for him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mulhall asked for Harry?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You only saw him with him a few times?

Mr. NEAL. I seen him talking to him once or twice; yes, sir; to my knowledge.

Mr. CLINE. Did you ever tell Harry that Mr. Mulhall was looking for him?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE. You never told him?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.
Mr. CLINE. You never told him?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir. Before I would see Harry he would see him himself, back and forwards in the Ways and Means Committee.
Mr. CLINE. In the hallways?
Mr. NEAL. Harry was; yes, sir.
Mr. CLINE. You never told Harry at any time Mr. Mulhall was looking for him?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir; he always managed to see him before I saw Harry.
Mr. CLINE. Did you know he also was getting some tips from Mr. Mulhall?
Mr. NEAL. I didn't catch that.
Mr. CLINE. You knew Harry was getting some documents for him occasionally?
Mr. NEAL. No; not until this investigation was on. He said he used to get documents for him.
Mr. CLINE. When he made frequent inquiries for Harry, wasn't your curiosity aroused?
Mr. NEAL. No, indeed. He would only go into the room to get a bill or a document, you know.
Mr. CLINE. That is what you thought?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
Mr. CLINE. You had good reason to suspect by his continuing to inquire for Harry that he was getting money?
Mr. NEAL. No. Every day, of course, several people ask for Harry.
Mr. CLINE. But he had been asking for him for a couple of years, right along.
Mr. NEAL. They ask every day.
Mr. CLINE. Who?
Mr. NEAL. Different people.
Mr. CLINE. Who had been asking for Harry?
Mr. NEAL. Different people.
Mr. CLINE. Give us the names of some of them.
Mr. NEAL. There were a lot of people this morning asking for Harry. They wanted to know where he was, where the Finance Committee was.
Mr. CLINE. That is only twice.
Mr. NEAL. Twice or three times this morning.
Mr. CLINE. You say it has been going on with the same people a year or two?
Mr. NEAL. Not the same people; different people.
Mr. CLINE. You say Mr. Mulhall was asking for a year or two, every once in a while?
Mr. NEAL. Every week or two; yes, sir.
Mr. CLINE. Weren't you curious to know what he wanted with Harry?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir.
Mr. CLINE. It never aroused any curiosity on your part to know what he wanted?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir.
Mr. CLINE. And you never talked with him about it?
Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE. You never mentioned to him that Mr. Mulhall was looking for him?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir. There is some one always looking for him.

Mr. CLINE. There certainly has been no one looking for him for two years, two or three times a week?

Mr. NEAL. Why, people look for him every day.

The CHAIRMAN. The same person he is talking about.

Mr. NEAL. Not the same person; no, sir; different fellows.

Mr. CLINE. It is a fact, isn't it, that Mr. Mulhall was looking for Harry two or three times a week?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. He was looking for him once or twice a week?

Mr. NEAL. Yes.

Mr. CLINE. And had been for a long time?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Wasn't your curiosity aroused to know what he wanted with Harry?

Mr. NEAL. No, indeed.

Mr. CLINE. When he was looking for him two or three times a week for a year or so?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE. You never mentioned that fact to him?

Mr. NEAL. No.

Mr. CLINE. You did not know whether any arrangement existed between he and Mr. Mulhall, or not?

Mr. NEAL. I did not, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Or whether Harry was getting money the same as you, or not?

Mr. NEAL. No.

Mr. CLINE. How many Members do you suppose you got out of the House?

Mr. NEAL. I could not recall now, sir. I used to get several of them sometimes a day.

Mr. CLINE. How?

Mr. NEAL. I used to get several of them sometimes a day.

Mr. CLINE. In the same day?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir; sometimes two or three a day, sometimes one.

Mr. CLINE. And you say he paid you once or twice a week?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And $2 is the highest amount at any one time?

Mr. NEAL. The highest I remember.

Mr. CLINE. It might have been more?

Mr. NEAL. Hardly that.

Mr. CLINE. You are not swearing it was not; it might have been $5 in one day?

Mr. NEAL. I never got $5 at one time from him; no, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Did you ever get any money from Mr. Emery?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir; Mr. Emery has tipped me.

Mr. CLINE. How much did you get out of him?

Mr. NEAL. I have got $5 from Mr. Emery at one time.

Mr. CLINE. How many times?

Mr. NEAL. Oh, two or three times.

Mr. CLINE. Is that all? You have gotten $5 from him?

Mr. NEAL. Yes; several times; I can't recall just now.

Mr. CLINE. Did he ever pay you more than $5 at any one time?
Mr. NEAL. I don't know, sir.
Mr. CLINE. Don't you remember at one time he paid you $10?
Mr. NEAL. I can't recall that; he might.
Mr. CLINE. He might have done so?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
Mr. CLINE. And what did he give you this for?
Mr. NEAL. I used to wait on him.
Mr. CLINE. What did you do?
Mr. NEAL. I used to wait on him, to bring Members out to him, and one time I got a couple of directories—Congressional Directories for him.
Mr. CLINE. Don't you know Mr. Emery never came to the House there and asked for Members?
Mr. NEAL. He never asked for no Members.
Mr. CLINE. Then, you did not get any Members for him, did you?
Mr. NEAL. No.
Mr. CLINE. What did you do for him that you got as high as $10?
Mr. NEAL. Oh, anything extraordinary. I would get him room in the gallery and get Mrs. Emery a gallery seat, you know.
Mr. CLINE. You took them in the gallery?
Mr. NEAL. I always waited on him; yes, sir.
Mr. CLINE. How often did he come?
Mr. NEAL. He never come very often.
Mr. CLINE. Wouldn't you think that $10 was a pretty large tip for taking a man in the gallery?
Mr. NEAL. Oh, no. I've gotten larger tips than that.
Mr. CLINE. Have you?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
Mr. CLINE. Who from?
Mr. NEAL. A long time ago, though. I have gotten tips from a nickel up to $50 since I have been here.
Mr. CLINE. Up to $50?
Mr. NEAL. Col. John W. Gates gave me $50 after staying here three weeks for waiting on him.
Mr. CLINE. John W. Gates, you know, probably has a different ability to pay you than our friend Mr. Emery over here. I am not discounting Mr. Emery's ability to pay, either, but I am assuming Mr. Gates had a little more ready cash than Mr. Emery.
You think $10 is as large a tip as you ever got out of Mr. Emery at one time?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
Mr. FERRIS. Neal, you understand you have been sworn here to tell the truth?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
Mr. FERRIS. You understand that and you know it would be wrong not to tell the truth?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
Mr. FERRIS. Are you sure that you and Harry and McMichael were not all on the pay roll?
Mr. NEAL. I don't know about the other two. I know I wasn't, or if I was I didn't know anything about it.
Mr. FERRIS. Are you sure, Neal, that when you met McMichael as he came out on the Democratic side there, of the Democratic cloak-

room, you would not ask him, "Have you seen the colonel yet," expecting to get your salary? Did you ever have that conversation with him?

Mr. NEAL. Yes.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you ask him about money?

Mr. NEAL. I saw him once and he said, "I got mine," and I said, "Where did he go?" He said, "I got mine."

Mr. FERRIS. And you told him you were after him to get yours, too?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. But you didn't get yours?

Mr. NEAL. I didn't get it then.

Mr. FERRIS. You did know McMichael was getting some money from the colonel.

Mr. NEAL. I judged so; he never told me.

Mr. FERRIS. Didn't he tell you in that conversation you just related there?

Mr. NEAL. He said he got his, and he didn't know where he was. He said, "I got mine," and I said, "Where is he?" and he said he didn't know.

Mr. FERRIS. You were looking for him to get your tip?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. As a matter of fact, did you finally see him and get your tip?

Mr. NEAL. No; not that time.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you see him the next week?

Mr. NEAL. I saw him the next week.

Mr. FERRIS. And you got your tip all right then?

Mr. NEAL. I think I got it from him.

Mr. FERRIS. You are sure, Neal, you never got more than two or three dollars at a time?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir; that I got at a time.

Mr. FERRIS. You are sure Mr. Mulhall never gave you as much as $5 or $6 at any one time?

Mr. NEAL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. FERRIS. You are sure about that, are you?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can you recall when you first received any tips or any pay from Mr. Mulhall?

Mr. NEAL. I think in 1909, sir; I am not sure on that.

Mr. STAFFORD. And then you would receive them regularly each week, or would you be paid occasionally?

Mr. NEAL. Oh, just sometimes when he come down. Sometimes he would and sometimes he wouldn't.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then you wouldn't have any regular payment by the week from Mr. Mulhall of any stated amount or certain amount?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. It would depend, as I understand from your testimony, as to whether you performed any favors for him or showed him any courtesies?

Mr. NEAL. Only when I would go in to bring Members out; that is all.

Mr. STAFFORD. Only when you did some service for him you would receive some return?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. It has been testified here that Mr. Emery gave Mr. Mulhall $50 just prior to his leaving for Europe in 1910, and Mr. Mulhall was directed to pay $25 to you and $25 to Mr. Parker. Do you recall positively that you never received that?

Mr. NEAL. I never did, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. You are positive about that?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir; I never heard of it until it came out before the committee.

Mr. STAFFORD. Have you seen Mr. Emery since his return from Europe?

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Emery; yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. Have you spoken to him?

Mr. NEAL. No. I talked to him, but have never spoken to him about it.

Mr. STAFFORD. If you had received $25 from Mr. Mulhall, upon your next seeing Mr. Emery would you have said anything to him about it?

Mr. NEAL. No; I would not, without he asked me about it; but I never got it; I never seen it.

Mr. STAFFORD. Had you received such a large tip, don't you think you would have thanked him for his courtesy?

Mr. NEAL. I would have been very apt to; sure.

Mr. STAFFORD. But you never spoke to Mr. Emery about it?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is all.

Mr. WILLIS. To, perhaps, refresh your memory and help you think about it, let me read this letter Mr. Stafford has just referred to. This is a letter Mr. Emery wrote to Mr. Mulhall, and here is what he said:

I left Washington on a hurried western trip that took me as far west as Chicago and St. Paul, and did not get back into Washington until the 7th. I found neither Neal nor Harry at the Capitol, but I know you will be able to locate them, so inclose herewith my check for $50, from which you can give them $25 each.

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. You would have known that, if he had given you $25?

Mr. NEAL. I would have remembered that, sure. [Laughter.]

Mr. WILLIS. You never got as much as $25 at any one time?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Twenty-five dollar tips are not coming around like they did?

Mr. NEAL. It has been a good while.

Mr. WILLIS. Here is another item:

Paid to Speaker's messenger for services rendered at request of Mr. Emery, $10.

Did Mr. Mulhall ever pay you as much as $10 at any one time?

Mr. NEAL. Not to my knowledge; no, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you sure about that?

Mr. NEAL. Pretty sure; yes, sir.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; you may, Mr. Emery.

Mr. EMERY. Neal, I will ask you if you recollect seating several ladies at my request, several times, in the Speaker's gallery through arrangements with Mr. Busby?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. EMERY. During the time when the fight over the rules was imminent?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir; that is right; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no idea how much you got all told, have you, from these men?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mulhall and Mr. Emery?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir; I know I got it in dribs, a little bit at a time. I don't know how much altogether it was.

The CHAIRMAN. You could not approximate it?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not keep any account of those things?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you, was it a pretty frequent matter for you to get tips here?

Mr. NEAL. It used to be back years ago, but not very many now, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any organizations then, or anything similar to this, that would give you tips?

Mr. NEAL. No, sir; not that I know of: no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were tips more liberal under the Republican administration than they have been under the Democratic administration?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did the bulk of your tips come from Members or come from outside people?

Mr. NEAL. Oh, outsiders. I never got anything from Members, only Christmas times and birthdays; that is all. I never took very much from a Member. I would rather have his vote, you know.

The CHAIRMAN. You would rather have his vote?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir. I might have to look to this patronage committee, and I would rather have his vote than a tip.

The CHAIRMAN. The Members do not have anything to do with that part; the Speaker is the one that does that.

Mr. NEAL. I don't know; that might change. [Laughter.]

Mr. CLINE. You say you knew Mr. Mulhall was in the employ of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. That is your testimony?

Mr. NEAL. I judge he was; yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. When did you find that out?

Mr. NEAL. I knew it by his cards.

Mr. CLINE. When did he show you his cards?

Mr. NEAL. Any time he would send for a Member.

Mr. CLINE. Any time he would send for a Member it would show he was an employee—the card?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Do you remember how the card read?

Mr. NEAL. "M. M. Mulhall, National Association of Manufacturers."

Mr. CLINE. Did he always present the same kind of card?

Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And you knew Mr. Emery and whom he was representing?

Mr. NEAL. I knew Mr. Emery; he used to come in that room.
Mr. CLINE. You would not know that simply by his coming into the room?
Mr. NEAL. Oh, I think I knew he was an attorney for them.
Mr. CLINE. How did you find that out?
Mr. NEAL. I knew him through a lot of gentlemen. Mr. Watson and lots of gentlemen knew him.
Mr. CLINE. How did you find out he was an attorney for the National Association of Manufacturers?
Mr. NEAL. I knew he was an attorney; the boys would tell me who he was when he would next come around there.
Mr. CLINE. Told you he was Mr. Emery?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
Mr. CLINE. Did not say he was attorney for the National Association of Manufacturers?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir; I think so.
Mr. CLINE. How often did that occur?
Mr. NEAL. He did not come there very often; only when there was anything extraordinary going on. He was there when there was a change of rules.
Mr. CLINE. Mr. Emery was there when they were changing the rules? That was the first time you found out that he was the attorney for the National Association of Manufacturers?
Mr. NEAL. I do not know whether that was the first time or not.
Mr. CLINE. You did not know it before?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. You mean when the fight was on in 1910?
Mr. NEAL. The change in the rules.
The CHAIRMAN. When the Norris resolution was up?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. That was a pretty warm time around the Speaker's room?
Mr. NEAL. Yes, sir; I think it was pretty hot.
Mr. EMERY. When he was there with the ladies, and you took them to the gallery, was he there for any other purpose?
Mr. NEAL. I do not know. Mr. Busby told me to show him to the gallery.

TESTIMONY OF HARRY PARKER (colored).

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)
The CHAIRMAN. Give your full name to the reporter.
Mr. PARKER. Harry Parker.
The CHAIRMAN. How old are you, Harry?
Mr. PARKER. Thirty-four.
The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?
Mr. PARKER. I live here in Washington at the present time.
The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived here?
Mr. PARKER. I have been here for quite a number of years.
The CHAIRMAN. Where did you come from when you came here?
Mr. PARKER. Mount Vernon, Va., Fairfax County.
The CHAIRMAN. You are a native of Virginia?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; born there.
The CHAIRMAN. What do you do?

Mr. PARKER. I am messenger for the Ways and Means Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been messenger for the Ways and Means Committee?

Mr. PARKER. About 15 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Who first appointed you as messenger there?

Mr. PARKER. Mr. Dingley.

The CHAIRMAN. What had you been doing before that?

Mr. PARKER. I used to be a shop boy, barber shop.

The CHAIRMAN. About the Capitol?

Mr. PARKER. About the Capitol; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you shine shoes?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never were a barber, were you?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have been with each succeeding chairman of the Ways and Means Committee since that time?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been reappointed all along, have you?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Harry, do you know Col. Mulhall?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; I know him. I seen him around the Capitol.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first meet him, do you know?

Mr. PARKER. That was in the year 1908 or 1909.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he do, do you remember?

Mr. PARKER. He used to come around for documents and things of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you happen to remember that 1908 was the first time you ever met him? Was there anything special which helped you to remember that?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir. There was a tariff hearing going on at that time and he used to want to send documents, and I used to get them and carry them to the east corridor.

The CHAIRMAN. Where would you get them?

Mr. PARKER. From the committee room, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the committee room in the Capitol then?

Mr. PARKER. The committee room was in the Capitol; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And was where the Speaker's room now is?

Mr. PARKER. The Speaker's room; yes, sir. They had a room here, too. In 1908 they had an office there and one in the Capitol.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were they holding the hearings?

Mr. PARKER. Over here.

The CHAIRMAN. You would get the hearings over here?

Mr. PARKER. They would have hearings at both sides of the Capitol; have hearings in this building.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the books, the documents containing the hearings?

Mr. PARKER. The books containing the hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. You would have the printed books at both places?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; he always would want a set of the hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean every day?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir. Sometimes he would come around and he would want them, and I would give them to him, the same as any other gentleman would call for the hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember how many times you gave him sets of these hearings, or how many sets you gave him?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the first time you ever met him?

Mr. PARKER. That was the first time I ever met him; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was beginning in 1908, and then in 1909?

Mr. PARKER. During the tariff hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. The tariff hearings which preceded the passage of the Payne bill?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what other documents would he call for, and did you get for him?

Mr. PARKER. He would want different kinds of documents. I do not know exactly what they were. I know they were tariff hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. You remember the tariff hearings. Do you remember any others?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember any other documents you got for him at that time?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever get some other documents for him?

Mr. PARKER. I did, because he used to give me a little slip of paper and ask me to have those for him.

The CHAIRMAN. Where would you get them?

Mr. PARKER. Sometimes from the committee room.

The CHAIRMAN. What committee room?

Mr. PARKER. The Ways and Means Committee room.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they all Ways and Means Committee documents you got for him?

Mr. PARKER. Most of them were.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever get any documents from any other committee room?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever get any from the document room?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any from the folding room?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All the documents you ever got for him were from the Ways and Means Committee room?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever ask you to get any from any other place?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever get any Congressional Records or directories for him?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember getting anything except those particular hearings? Those were the only specific ones you can remember? You know you got some other documents, but you do not know what they were? It that right?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct, is it? You did get other documents, but you do not know what they were?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you keep that up, Harry?
Mr. PARKER. Just during the hearings.
The CHAIRMAN. Just during the tariff hearings; that was the only time?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Not after they were over, for instance, after 1909?
Mr. PARKER. In 1909, just documents. After running into 1909 they were kind of bound, like that book there [indicating]. He wanted a couple of sets of that kind. I got them for him. We were sending them out all over the country.
The CHAIRMAN. How would you get those?
Mr. PARKER. Through the clerk.
The CHAIRMAN. Go to the clerk and ask him for them?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever get any documents for him without getting them from the clerk?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. You never got them yourself without having first spoken to the clerk?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; anything coming out of that room—we always got the permission of the officials of the office first.
The CHAIRMAN. You are certain that in every instance you had the consent of the clerk to give him the documents you gave him, are you?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, you say you gave him some bound sets after the hearings were over and the hearings had been bound?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. And those were given by the consent of the clerk, were they?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. And with his knowledge?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Did he know to whom they were going, or did you just ask for them without saying to whom they were going?
Mr. PARKER. I did not know Col. Mulhall from any other gentleman.
The CHAIRMAN. You knew him?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. You did not?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; not personally. He simply came to the office and said he wanted certain documents, the same as any other gentleman, and I would be glad to wait upon him.
The CHAIRMAN. When did you come to know him personally?
Mr. PARKER. During the hearings.
The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is what I am asking you about. Was it your custom to tell the clerk of the committee whom you wanted these things for, or did you just tell him you wanted them for a gentleman there?
Mr. PARKER. I would just say there is a gentleman who wants a set of hearings. Sometimes he would leave a little slip to have these things sent away.
The CHAIRMAN. Col. Mulhall would?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you fix them for mailing for Col. Mulhall?
Mr. PARKER. Sometimes I would.
The CHAIRMAN. And address them?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Put them in the envelopes and see that they were mailed?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Now, after you gave him these bound sets, that was about the time the tariff bill passed?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Then what other documents after that time did you get for him?
Mr. PARKER. Nothing else at all; no other documents.
The CHAIRMAN. When did you next see him after the tariff bill passed?
Mr. PARKER. I used to see him going through the corridors.
The CHAIRMAN. The tariff bill passed in 1909, August 5, 1909, did it not?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. And Congress adjourned that night?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you remember when you first saw Col. Mulhall after that time?
Mr. PARKER. After the bill passed?
The CHAIRMAN. Yes.
Mr. PARKER. I used to see him sometimes going through the corridor.
The CHAIRMAN. Where?
Mr. PARKER. Over in the Capitol, back and forward.
The CHAIRMAN. Congress adjourned on the 5th of August?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. And did not meet until the first Monday of December?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Did you see him between the 5th of August and the first Monday in December, 1909?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember seeing him in Dece[illegible] after you got back?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember seeing him during that session?
Mr. PARKER. I do not remember seeing him after 1909.
The CHAIRMAN. When was the last time you did see him, Harry?
Mr. PARKER. I used to see him going through the corridors in 1910, several times, passing through, the same as any other gentleman, passing through the corridors.
The CHAIRMAN. Now, you introduced him to McMichael, did you?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I did not.
The CHAIRMAN. That is a mistake?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; it is a mistake. McMichael used to bring him and ask me to get documents; say that he was his friend, McMichael's friend, Col. Mulhall.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you keep that up, Harry?

Mr. PARKER. Just during the hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. Just during the tariff hearings; that was the only time?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Not after they were over, for instance, after 1909?

Mr. PARKER. In 1909, just documents. After running into 1909 they were kind of bound, like that book there [indicating]. He wanted a couple of sets of that kind. I got them for him. We were sending them out all over the country.

The CHAIRMAN. How would you get those?

Mr. PARKER. Through the clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. Go to the clerk and ask him for them?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever get any documents for him without getting them from the clerk?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never got them yourself without having first spoken to the clerk?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; anything coming out of that room—we always got the permission of the officials of the office first.

The CHAIRMAN. You are certain that in every instance you had the consent of the clerk to give him the documents you gave him, are you?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, you say you gave him some bound sets after the hearings were over and the hearings had been bound?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And those were given by the consent of the clerk, were they?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And with his knowledge?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he know to whom they were going, or did you just ask for them without saying to whom they were going?

Mr. PARKER. I did not know Col. Mulhall from any other gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew him?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; not personally. He simply came to the office and said he wanted certain documents, the same as any other gentleman, and I would be glad to wait upon him.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you come to know him personally?

Mr. PARKER. During the hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is what I am asking you about. Was it your custom to tell the clerk of the committee whom you wanted these things for, or did you just tell him you wanted them for a gentleman there?

Mr. PARKER. I would just say there is a gentleman who wants a set of hearings. Sometimes he would leave a little slip to have these things sent away.

The CHAIRMAN. Col. Mulhall would?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you fix them for mailing for Col. Mulhall?
Mr. PARKER. Sometimes I would.
The CHAIRMAN. And address them?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Put them in the envelopes and see that they were mailed?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Now, after you gave him these bound sets, that was about the time the tariff bill passed?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Then what other documents after that time did you get for him?
Mr. PARKER. Nothing else at all; no other documents.
The CHAIRMAN. When did you next see him after the tariff bill passed?
Mr. PARKER. I used to see him going through the corridors.
The CHAIRMAN. The tariff bill passed in 1909, August 5, 1909, did it not?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. And Congress adjourned that night?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you remember when you first saw Col. Mulhall after that time?
Mr. PARKER. After the bill passed?
The CHAIRMAN. Yes.
Mr. PARKER. I used to see him sometimes going through the corridor.
The CHAIRMAN. Where?
Mr. PARKER. Over in the Capitol, back and forward.
The CHAIRMAN. Congress adjourned on the 5th of August?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. And did not meet until the first Monday of December?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Did you see him between the 5th of August and the first Monday in December, 1909?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember seeing him in Dece[illegible] after you got back?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember seeing him during that session?
Mr. PARKER. I do not remember seeing him after 1909.
The CHAIRMAN. When was the last time you did see him, Harry?
Mr. PARKER. I used to see him going through the corridors in 1910, several times, passing through, the same as any other gentleman, passing through the corridors.
The CHAIRMAN. Now, you introduced him to McMichael, did you?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I did not.
The CHAIRMAN. That is a mistake?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; it is a mistake. McMichael used to bring him and ask me to get documents; say that he was his friend, McMichael's friend, Col. Mulhall.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that often done?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; it was not.
The CHAIRMAN. It was not necessary for McMichael to accompany him in order to get the documents, was it?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; any gentleman had the right to do that.
The CHAIRMAN. If he had come there and asked for them the same as anybody else, you would have gotten them for him?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; it is always a pleasure to get them for any gentlemen.
The CHAIRMAN. So there was no real necessity for McMichael bringing him around; is that right?
Mr. PARKER. Not at all; no, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. But he did do so?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Did he do it more than once?
Mr. PARKER. Only once, as I remember.
The CHAIRMAN. Was that the first time you saw Mulhall?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir. The first time I saw him was over here at the 1908 hearings, at the Office Building, over here.
The CHAIRMAN. You had seen him before?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. But you did not know who he was then?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; only he used to bring this little slip for documents.
The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember when you came to actually know who he was?
Mr. PARKER. I actually do not know who he is now.
The CHAIRMAN. Would you know him if you were to see him?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. That is what I mean.
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. When did you know him by sight—know his name?
Mr. PARKER. It was in 1909 when I first knew his name, by seeing his card.
The CHAIRMAN. You knew him before Mr. McMichael brought [illegible] man.
The CHAIRMAN? Yes, sir; he used to be coming around in 1908 and to Mr. P[illegible]ings in 1908 and 1909.
The CHAIRMAN. But you say it is a mistake, as to you, that you introduced Mulhall to McMichael?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; indeed it is a mistake.
The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Mulhall never say to you that he wanted to get somebody to get documents for him?
Mr. PARKER. I never got anyone for him.
The CHAIRMAN. You did not recommend McMichael to him?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. As a good man to get documents for him?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. You knew McMichael pretty well?
Mr. PARKER. I know him from his being around in the cloakroom.
The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever associate with him any?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever do anything for him?
Mr. PARKER. He used to come for documents quite often, McMichael did.
The CHAIRMAN. Would you get them for him?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; I would always do that.
The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever do anything for you?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; not a God's thing.
The CHAIRMAN. What did Mr. Mulhall pay you for those services?
Mr. PARKER. Mr. Mulhall used to give me something now and then, 50 cents, or 25 cents, to get a smoke or something like that.
The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea about how much it was?
Mr. PARKER. I do not know; no, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea, approximately, how much he gave you?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever give you as much as $10 at any time?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. $5?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. $2?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I received $2 in 1908.
The CHAIRMAN. That was one of his first tips?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. How do you know it was 1908?
Mr. PARKER. I know it was 1908.
The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?
Mr. PARKER. It was in December, at Christmas time.
The CHAIRMAN. Because you used it for Christmas money?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Did you get many tips, Harry?
Mr. PARKER. Very seldom, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. So this tipping on the part of Col. Mulhall was rather unusual, was it?
Mr. PARKER. Well, it was unusual to me; yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is what I mean—to you.
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; because always it is a pleasure to do anything for any gentleman who comes around that room.
The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Emery?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever call on you for services?
Mr. PARKER. I used to get documents for him sometimes.
The CHAIRMAN. How would he call on you?
Mr. PARKER. I used to see him in the east corridor.
The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever telephone you, or his office ever telephone you?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; not that I know of.
The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever call up his office and ask if there was anything he wanted?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. When did you first come to know him, Harry?
Mr. PARKER. I think it must have been in 1909, about that time.
The CHAIRMAN. What character of documents would he get from you?

Mr. PARKER. I actually do not really know. I know there are so many different documents that I could not tell what they were.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever get any documents for him except what came out of the Ways and Means Committee room?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Never got any from the document room?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Never got any from the folding room?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Never got any from any other committee room?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. From the Judiciary Committee room?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. From the Labor Committee?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There are not very many documents that come out of the Ways and Means Committee room, are there?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Documents in relation to tariff bills?

Mr. PARKER. Tariff hearings and perhaps different bills presented in the House which might be referred to the Ways and Means Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You would get copies of bills for him?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But the Ways and Means Committee does not produce very many documents, except when they have a tariff bill on?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir. The most important documents were these tariff hearings, those large books.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did you get some of them for Mr. Emery, or do you know?

Mr. PARKER. I do not think I did; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. After that time, passing the year 1909, and taking up the year 1910, what did you do for Mr. Emery, in 1910; anything that you remember?

Mr. PARKER. I do not remember doing anything for Mr. Emery in 1910.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Emery very much about the committee room?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say he never called you up by telephone to ask for any documents?

Mr. PARKER. I never heard of it; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All the documents you ever got for him were in response to a personal request of his, made in your presence?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At the House, or over here?

Mr. PARKER. Over here.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us an idea about how many times you got documents for Mr. Emery?

Mr. PARKER. I do not really know; it has been so long. I do not really know how many there were.

The CHAIRMAN. You do feel absolutely sure he never did call you by telephone?

Mr. PARKER. I certainly do.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any sort of arrangement between you and McMichael whereby you were to notify McMicheal of any documents he might want?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know that McMichael was getting documents for him and for Mulhall also?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not know anything at all about that?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did Mr. Emery—did Mr. Emery ever pay you?

Mr. PARKER. He did sometimes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much would he give you?

Mr. PARKER. Just a little something; I do not know how much it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember any specific sum at any particular time?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever give you as much as $50?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or as much as $25?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As much as $10?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He never gave you as much as $10 at any one time?

Mr. PARKER. Never did; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or as much as $5?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or as much as $2?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I can not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Harry, you say it is not a matter of common practice with you to be tipped?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not get very many tips?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And yet you do not remember the tips given you by either of these men, the amounts of them, at any particular time?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about being on a regular pay roll and getting a salary?

Mr. PARKER. Not at all, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not get $20 a month?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to say that Col. Mulhall did not come down here about the 1st of each month—what times would he tip you?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I do not know anything about the times.

The CHAIRMAN. What times would he give you the tips; was there any regular time?

Mr. PARKER. Just now and then; no regular time.

The CHAIRMAN. For instance, about the 1st of the month he would give you money; it did not always occur just about the 1st or 10th of the month, or anything of that kind?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never got as much as $20 from him at any one time?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. A letter has been read here in your presence, addressed by Mr. Emery to Col. Mulhall?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Telling him to give you $25 and Neal $25. Did you not get that?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first hear about that?

Mr. PARKER. I saw the account of it in the paper. I read it in the New York World.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the first time you ever heard it?

Mr. PARKER. That was the first time I ever knew about it; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever asked Col. Mulhall anything about that since that article appeared in the New York World?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not seen him to talk to him since?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not seen Mr. Emery since the date of that letter, when he was to give you that money, nor had you seen Mr. Emery prior to the time that this investigation began?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had not seen him between the 10th—I believe it was the 10th—you had not seen him between that time when he made that western trip up to the time this investigation began?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So he never asked you anything about whether Col. Mulhall gave you the $25?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE. You were slightly surprised when you saw it in the New York World?

Mr. PARKER. Indeed, I was surprised; yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And Henry was surprised, too?

Mr. PARKER. I presume he was; yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Did you not have any talk with him about it?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; not a bit.

Mr. CLINE. Do you say you have not talked with Henry about this?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I have not talked with anybody about it.

Mr. CLINE. About this investigation?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; not at all.

Mr. CLINE. Not a word about what was in the New York World?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Never said a word to Neal about it?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And you see him every day?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And you knew that both of you were charged with taking money from Mulhall by the month?

Mr. PARKER. I certainly did; yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. You never said a word?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir. I thought it would be the proper place before this committee.

Mr. CLINE. You did not know there was going to be a committee appointed?

Mr. PARKER. I saw by the papers there was, and I wanted to come before this committee.

Mr. CLINE. But there was no committee appointed.

Mr. PARKER. At the time I saw this in the New York World there was.

Mr. CLINE. Are you sure about that?

Mr. PARKER. Yes. sir; I know there was.

Mr. CLINE. When had the committee been appointed?

Mr. PARKER. I do not know exactly when it was appointed.

Mr. CLINE. To make an investigation?

Mr. PARKER. To make an investigation; yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Of these charges in the New York World?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Was it appointed before the 29th of June, or was it appointed afterwards?

Mr. PARKER. I can not say what date.

Mr. CLINE. Was it appointed before this article came out in the newspapers?

Mr. PARKER. I do not understand.

Mr. CLINE. Was the committee appointed before this article came out in the newspapers?

Mr. PARKER. I do not really know whether it was or not. It must have been, because the investigation was going on at the time I read the paper.

Mr. CLINE. You read it as soon as it came out—as soon as it was published?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; I was very anxious to read it.

Mr. CLINE. How soon after it was published did you see the article in the New York World?

Mr. PARKER. There was a gentleman who showed me the newspaper, and I took it and read it.

Mr. CLINE. That was the 29th of June?

Mr. PARKER. I do not know exactly the date.

Mr. CLINE. Did you see it the same day it appeared in the World?

Mr. PARKER. The same day it appeared in the World was the day I got the paper.

Mr. CLINE. Who told you about it?

Mr. PARKER. A gentleman gave me the paper.

Mr. CLINE. Who?

Mr. PARKER. I do not know who it was, but he gave it to me at the committee room.

Mr. CLINE. You did not go right away and tell Neal?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE. You have not spoken about it to Neal, up to this time?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE. Why did you not?

Mr. PARKER. Well, I thought this was the proper place.

Mr. CLINE. You were associated together in the Capitol, saw each other every day, and the story had come out here. Why did you not talk with each other about it?

Mr. PARKER. I did not like to talk about it.

Mr. CLINE. You did not want to mention it?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I did not feel like mentioning it.

Mr. CLINE. You say you never got any money, except as Mr. Emery incidentally tipped you?

Mr. PARKER. Just a little something now and then.

Mr. CLINE. And Mulhall also tipped you occasionally, didn't he?

Mr. PARKER. Now and then; yes, sir.

Mr. CLINE. And you knew that Mulhall was representing the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. CLINE. I thought you said you knew it by his card?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; the card he gave me was a slip to send out documents from.

Mr. CLINE. Did you ever know what he was doing here?

Mr. PARKER. Why, he would give me a list of people he wanted these documents sent to.

Mr. CLINE. Did you ever know what his relationship was here?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. CLINE. Did you know what relationship Mr. Emery had here?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. CLINE. You saw both of them talking with McMichael occasionally, did you not?

Mr. PARKER. I never did.

Mr. CLINE. Did you ever see Col. Mulhall talking with McMichael?

Mr. PARKER. I saw him once or twice in the east corridor; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, about the 1st of the month, were you and Neal not on the lookout for the colonel?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I never was, only simply when he would come around and want these documents it was always a pleasure for me to give them to the colonel.

The CHAIRMAN. You never did watch for him?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever ask McMichael if he had seen him?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never did that?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you remember that time of which Neal spoke, when he asked McMichael if he had seen anything of the colonel?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you hear that?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I do not remember that time.

Mr. RUSSELL. You never did get a cent from McMichael at any time?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; thank God I did not; no, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are certain you did not introduce Mulhall to McMichael?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; I am certain I did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did McMichael introduce him to you?

Mr. PARKER. He brought him once to the committee room and asked me to give him some documents.

Mr. RUSSELL. That was the first time you had seen Col. Mulhall?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; that was not the first time he brought him to the committee room to ask me to give him some documents. As the chairman said a few minutes ago, it was not necessary for him to accompany him to the room at all.

Mr. RUSSELL. You could give them to him without that?

Mr. PARKER. Any gentleman could get documents there.

Mr. RUSSELL. You had already been giving documents to Mulhall before that?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. McMichael's coming with him was entirely unnecessary?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. About how many times a week would you get these tips?

Mr. PARKER. Well, it was very seldom I got them; now and then I got them, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Can you give your best judgment whether it was once a week, or twice a week, or three times a week that that tip would come?

Mr. PARKER. I think—I don't remember whether it was once a week or twice a month. The times was so long I would not just remember.

Mr. RUSSELL. Can you give us a guess about how much it would amount to a week? Would it amount to $10 a week?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; it did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. $5 a week?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. $2 a week?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You do not think it amounted to that much?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I don't.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you think it amounted to a dollar a week?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir. Sometimes he might have been there a week, and then it would be some time after before he would come around at all.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you think it amounted to $10 a month?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I know it didn't.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you think it amounted to $5 a month?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; it did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. You say you do not know how much it did amount to? How do you know it did not amount to that much?

Mr. PARKER. I know it didn't amount to that, sir, because it was just quarters and 50 cents sometimes.

Mr. RUSSELL. You say he gave you $2?

Mr. PARKER. $2 in 1908; yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was that the only time he gave you $2?

Mr. PARKER. He used to give me a little sometimes now and then.

Mr. RUSSELL. A dollar?

Mr. PARKER. Fifty cents, a quarter, or something like that.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he frequently give you as much as a dollar?
Mr. PARKER. One time I remember.
Mr. RUSSELL. Two dollars one time?
Mr. PARKER. 1908.
Mr. RUSSELL. He gave you that $2 you say, because it was Christmas?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. Well, you had a Christmas in 1909, too. Did he give you $2 that Christmas?
Mr. PARKER. I don't remember seeing him around that time; no, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. In 1910, did he give you $2 that Christmas?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; he did not.
Mr. RUSSELL. Just for that one Christmas?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; our documents got very low at that time and I never issued out any more.
Mr. RUSSELL. Your documents got very low?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. And your tips got low?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. How many years did this thing go on?
Mr. PARKER. 1908, 1909, most of the time when he was around the office.
Mr. RUSSELL. You know Col. Mulhall continued to stay there until the last of December, 1911, didn't he?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. And you never saw him in 1910 and 1911?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; only seen him through the halls and corridors, going backwards and forwards through the corridors.
Mr. RUSSELL. Did you see him going through the corridors in 1911?
Mr. PARKER. I never; no, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. Are you certain about that?
Mr. PARKER. I am sure; yes, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. But you knew he was at work there for the same people all through 1911?
Mr. PARKER. I didn't see him at all.
Mr. RUSSELL. But you were right there?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. You were right there some place?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. Why didn't you see him?
Mr. PARKER. Well, God knows. Sometimes I am in the room and out sometimes.
Mr. RUSSELL. You are certain you never did see him in 1911?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; I am certain.
Mr. RUSSELL. Wouldn't it be surprising if he was there two or three times a week in the hall and you never did see him?
Mr. PARKER. Well, there is thousands of people pass through that corridor I never do see; yes, sir; going backward and forward in that corridor.
Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever see Mr. Mulhall down in the basement, in the room they had down there?
Mr. PARKER. Basement?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; never.
Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know anything about his having a room down there?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. Did he ever send you in to get Members for him?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. You never did that sort of work for him?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; never done that kind of work.
Mr. RUSSELL. You have not the privilege of the floor, have you, when the House is in Session?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. So you could not do that?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I couldn't do that. The only thing he wanted around there was documents.
Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever go to his office down town for him?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. You never did?
Mr. PARKER. Never went to his office; no, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know where Mr. Emery's office was down town?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. And never knew?
Mr. PARKER. Never knew; no, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever get any telephone messages from Col. Mulhall?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
Mr. RUSSELL. Did you ever send him any?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir.
Mr. FERRIS. Harry, what salary do you get?
Mr. PARKER. A thousand dollars a year.
Mr. FERRIS. What do you do with your money? Keep it in the bank?
Mr. PARKER. I think it is.
Mr. FERRIS. What bank do you keep it in?
Mr. PARKER. I just turn it over to my wife.
Mr. FERRIS. Is she a pretty good banker?
Mr. PARKER. She is; yes, sir.
Mr. FERRIS. Have you any property here in town?
Mr. PARKER. No, sir; not a thing.
Mr. FERRIS. You live in a rented house?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.
Mr. FERRIS. And you use your money right up?
Mr. PARKER. Well, I always turn that right over to her, and she does the best she can.
Mr. FERRIS. Well, she puts it in a bank?
Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; she do.
Mr. FERRIS. And you kept some money in the bank while you and Neal and McMichael were operating with Mr. Mulhall?
Mr. PARKER. Well, if you leave that operating with Neal and McMichael out, I can say better.
Mr. FERRIS. Well, along about that time, when you were getting those tips from Mr. Mulhall?

Mr. PARKER. Well, I will say at that time I had a very sick wife, and 1910 my wife died.

Mr. FERRIS. What bank were you keeping your money in at that time, in 1908 and 1909, during the hearings on the Payne tariff bill?

Mr. PARKER. I wasn't keeping it in any bank at that time.

Mr. FERRIS. Who cashed your pay check for you?

Mr. PARKER. I cashed it in the Sergeant at Arms' office at the Capitol.

Mr. FERRIS. They did not let you boys cash your checks there, did they?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. In the Sergeant at Arms' office in the Capitol?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. Do they let you cash them there now?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. I thought you had to go down to the Treasury.

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I cashed it at the Sergeant at Arms' office.

Mr. FERRIS. You did not keep it in any bank at all at that time?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. Are you sure?

Mr. PARKER. I am pretty sure; yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. When did you begin to keep your money in the bank?

Mr. PARKER. It was after that.

Mr. FERRIS. What bank do you keep your money in?

Mr. PARKER. I don't know, sir. My wife——

Mr. FERRIS. Now, Harry, you know that, surely.

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; really I don't.

Mr. FERRIS. Harry, have you ever been on the witness stand before?

Mr. PARKER. Never in my life.

Mr. FERRIS. You know you held up your hand and swore.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; and I held it up to the truth, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. You say you do not know where your money is now?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. She talks to you about it, doesn't she?

Mr. PARKER. Well, I leave all that business to her.

Mr. FERRIS. You have been at work over there 15 years?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. You never put any money in any bank until 1911?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I am telling you the truth.

Mr. FERRIS. And you don't know what bank you have got your money in?

Mr. PARKER. I leave all that to my wife. I am telling you the truth; yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. And you say you never had any regular salary from Mr. Mulhall at any time?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; never.

Mr. FERRIS. And he never gave you over—how much at a time?

Mr. PARKER. Sometimes—1908, I did receive $2.

Mr. FERRIS. Is that the most you ever received?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. Now, how often did you receive that?

Mr. PARKER. Now and then; it might have been a week or a month—now and then.

Mr. FERRIS. Whom have you talked to about this since this World article came out?

Mr. PARKER. I didn't talk to no one.

Mr. FERRIS. Didn't you talk to the clerk of the committee and to Mr. Underwood, and want them to explain to you how you could get out of this trouble?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. Be careful, Harry; are you sure?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. And didn't you and Neal get off together and talk this over so you could fix up a story?

Mr. PARKER. No, indeedy.

Mr. FERRIS. You did not have a talk like that?

Mr. PARKER. No; because I felt when this article came in the paper it was my duty to see the honorable chairman.

Mr. FERRIS. And did you come to see the honorable chairman?

Mr. PARKER. I did; yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. What did you say to him?

Mr. PARKER. Well, I told him I would like to have a hearing.

Mr. FERRIS. And did you tell him what you were going to swear to?

Mr. PARKER. I did not; no, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. Then you did not talk this over with anyone?

Mr. PARKER. No one at all.

Mr. FERRIS. You talked it over with your wife?

Mr. PARKER. Oh, certainly; yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. You told her about it?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. You told her what you were going to testify?

Mr. PARKER. I told her I was going to testify to the truth.

Mr. FERRIS. Have you talked with any lawyer?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. Didn't you talk to the clerk of the Ways and Means Committee?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I haven't said anything about it; only I said I was sorry I was into this affair; that was all—sorry my name was mentioned into it.

Mr. FERRIS. Haven't you told them just what you were going to testify to there in the Ways and Means Committee room?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I haven't.

Mr. FERRIS. You never talked this over with anybody?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I told them I was going to come here and tell the truth. And it is my official duty and capacity as a servant to look after any gentleman that comes around there and asks for documents.

The CHAIRMAN. You talked to Mr. Underwood?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. You said a moment ago you did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew that Mr. Underwood had testified in the Senate?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. When was the last time you performed any service for Mr. Emery?

Mr. PARKER. It might have been 1909.

Mr. STAFFORD. Have you received any tips from him since that time?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. You never received any $25 from Mr. Mulhall that Mr. Emery gave him to turn over to you?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. When was it that you first saw Mr. Mulhall?

Mr. PARKER. 1908.

Mr. STAFFORD. Where was that?

Mr. PARKER. Over in the hearings. They had hearings on the tariff bill—1908.

Mr. STAFFORD. Before the Ways and Means Committee?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you not at that time know who he was?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. How many times did you see him at the tariff hearings?

Mr. PARKER. Well, I only saw him now and then; yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. At that time you did not know it was Mr. Mulhall?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. When did you first know who he was?

Mr. PARKER. Well, he used to come and give me a little slip that he would have and want to get some hearings, the daily hearings, filed out at some place for him.

Mr. STAFFORD. When was it that Mr. McMichael accompanied him and introduced him?

Mr. PARKER. Mr. McMichael came over at one time and asked me to give him some documents.

Mr. STAFFORD. At that time had you previously given Mr. Mulhall any documents?

Mr. PARKER. I had; yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. What did you say at that time?

Mr. PARKER. I told him I would always wait on the colonel the same as I would any other gentleman.

Mr. STAFFORD. You are positive that the last time you performed any service for Mr. Mulhall was in 1909?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. During the tariff hearings?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. What is your position? What is your work?

Mr. PARKER. Messenger to the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. STAFFORD. I mean what is your work?

Mr. PARKER. Messenger and janitor.

Mr. STAFFORD. Where are you assigned?

Mr. PARKER. I am located in the House Office Building and in the Capitol also.

Mr. STAFFORD. Are you located in the Ways and Means Committee room, which is north of the Speaker's room, or are you connected with Mr. Underwood's private room?

Mr. PARKER. Both of them, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. How long has Mr. Underwood occupied the private room where he now may be found?

Mr. PARKER. Since the last chairman give it up, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. And prior to that time was it used by the chairman?

Mr. PARKER. The chairman used it, but the whip of the House taken it from him at that time.

Mr. STAFFORD. So that you have been most of the time since March, 1911, in the Speaker's lobby attached to that room?

Mr. PARKER. In fact, I goes backwards and forwards to the House Office Building and the Capitol; yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. But prior to that time, before Mr. Underwood became chairman, were you ever located at that private room which was formerly the Speaker's room?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir; I were.

Mr. WILLIS. You heard this letter read a little bit ago?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. You got your $25 out of that all right, didn't you?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you sure about that?

Mr. PARKER. Sure.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you sure you did not get $25 from Mr. Mulhall?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. You never got that much from him?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. In fact, you remember now that Mr. Emery said he would have Mr. Mulhall pay you $25, or make some arrangement like that? You remember that, don't you?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. In one of Mr. Mulhall's letters it says:

Paid to the messenger of the Ways and Means Committee——

Mr. PARKER. That's me, sir.

Mr. WILLIS (reading):

At the request of Mr. Emery, $5.

Did you get that $5?

Mr. PARKER. Haven't received a cent of it.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Emery had not promised you he would have Mr. Mulhall pay you?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Over here at another place it says:

Paid to messenger of Ways and Means Committee.

Who is that?

Mr. PARKER. Me.

Mr. WILLIS (reading):

For services rendered, $5.

You say you did not get that?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. The most you ever got from Mr. Mulhall at one time was how much?

Mr. PARKER. 1908, I received $2.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you sure that is the most you ever got?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. You never got this $5?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. You did not get the $25?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; I didn't get the $25.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do for Mr. Emery in 1910 that would have caused him to give you as large a tip as that, Harry?

Mr. PARKER. God knows; there is so many gentlemen comes around there, and I do for them all——

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember any particular service? This was in 1910 that Mr. Emery wrote to Mr. Mulhall saying that he inclosed $50, and to give you $25 and Neal $25. Do you remember what you did for Mr. Emery during that time that he would have been willing to give you a tip like that?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you never got a $25 tip over there in your life, did you?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; not in my life.

The CHAIRMAN. That would have been a surprise to you——

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And a very welcome one?

Mr. PARKER. Indeed it would; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what you really did for Mr. Emery that would have caused him to be willing to give you that much?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you done anything more for him than you had for a great many other people?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir; nothing more; no, sir.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the witness a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. EMERY. Harry, during the course of your service in 1909, during the hearings, did you frequently have requests from manufacturers who were appearing before the committee for copies of the hearings to be sent to their home addresses?

Mr. PARKER. It was a mailing list at that time, and hundreds of the gentlemen would give me their cards for different things to be sent out, and I would see that everything was sent out in the evening, and every morning the list would be taken up again.

Mr. EMERY. Since this investigation began has anyone, representing the National Association of Manufacturers, or any of its officers, ever talked to you about this matter?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir.

Mr. EMERY. Have you, since this investigation began, been invited to join the staff of the New York World?

Mr. PARKER. No, sir. [Laughter.]

Mr. EMERY. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may go, Harry.

Mr. PARKER. I want to thank the honorable chairman for allowing me the privilege of appearing before this honorable committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned.

(Thereupon, at 2.15 o'clock p. m., the committee stood adjourned to meet Monday, September 15, 1913, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBY INVESTIGATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, September 15, 1913.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Finis J. Garrett (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Cline, Russell, Ferris, Stafford, Willis, and MacDonald.

TESTIMONY OF HON. RALPH D. COLE.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cole, will you please state your profession?

Mr. COLE. Lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you a Representative in Congress?

Mr. COLE. Six years.

The CHAIRMAN. From Ohio?

Mr. COLE. The eighth Ohio district.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cole, I will ask you now to proceed, in your own way, to make whatever statement you desire to make to the committee.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Chairman, I wish first to thank the committee for the privilege of appearing before it at this time. As soon as the committee was organized I asked for a hearing. You notified me that when the opportunity came I would be informed. You notified me that I could be heard a week ago, but on account of my engagements you courteously deferred the hearing until to-day, for which I am very grateful.

Now, Mr. Chairman, yesterday was the first opportunity I had had to see the copies of the testimony, the evidence that had been submitted by Mr. Mulhall. I went over it as thoroughly as I could, and there is such a great mass of stuff there, some of it true, some of it false, some a misrepresentation, some a false and fraudulent construction upon a tissue of fact, that it is utterly impossible to go into it in detail, to refute the various letters that he has placed in the record. So, if your honor please, I shall content myself with a mere statement of all my relations, of all my connections with Mr. Mulhall and the National Association of Manufacturers.

In 1908 I was a candidate for Congress from the eighth congressional district of Ohio. My distinguished and handsome friend, Mr. Willis, was a candidate against me, as usual. We have been fighting

each other out there in that district for many years, and finally he conquered. But in that campaign I was successful. We had two conventions. There was never a more bitterly contested nomination than that was in 1908 in Ohio. We held two conventions, one called on the 21st day of February at Marysville, Ohio, lasting for four days, and there were over 1,000 separate ballots cast. We adjourned sine die without making a nomination. We called a new convention and went into the district and selected delegates to that convention, which met at Kenton on the 1st day of April, I think, 1908, about six weeks after the first one. I came back to Congress after the first convention, and about that time Mr. Mulhall came to my office—the first time I had ever seen him or knew anything personally about the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. FERRIS. That was in April, 1908?

Mr. COLE. Let me see. It would be about the 1st of March, 1908, that he came to my office. He informed me that he had been sent there by Mr. Loudenslager. He sat down and began to talk. He told me of his relations with Mr. McKinley and Mr. Herrick and Mr. Hanna and all the great men Ohio has produced for the past 25 years. He told me that he had been instrumental in the nomination of McKinley and in his election. I felt sure, "here is a great man."

He said, "I have been organizing the manufacturers of the United States, and I have organized the manufacturers in your district. I am in a position to do you great good." He produced a list of manufacturers; almost every manufacturer in the district was on that list. Many of my most intimate friends in the district were on that list. He said they were organized and that they were going to take an active part in politics, and that they had headquarters here in the city of Washington.

I went up to see Mr. Emery about this purported organization of manufacturers. Mr. Emery in his testimony stated that he had forgotten me. I talked with him about two minutes—the first, last, and only time I ever saw or talked to Mr. Emery until this morning. I asked Mr. Emery about this organization in the district. He got down his lists, and my recollection retained the impression that there were 5, 8, or 10 manufacturers in the district that Mr. Emery showed me belonging to the National Association of Manufacturers. A few weeks ago I wired to the National Association of Manufacturers and inquired how many members they had in my district in 1908. Here is their response:

NEW YORK, *July 9, 1913.*

Hon. R. D. COLE:

This association has no members in eighth Ohio district now. In 1908 we had Champion Iron Co., of Kenton, resigned June, 1912, and Davis Chair Co., Marysville, resigned November, 1912.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS.

At that time they had two members in that district, one at Marysville and one at Kenton. That was the extent of their influence in that district at that time, and then and there I dismissed Mr. Mulhall as far as any influence on that nomination was concerned.

Now, he has mentioned about a half dozen names in connection with that campaign. He says that he obtained the influence of Mr. Vorys. Mr. Vorys was then the Taft manager in the State of Ohio.

The fight in my district was between the two elements and the Vorys element was backing me, and that is the way I happened to have the support of Mr. Vorys.

He mentions Mr. Mannington. Mr. Mannington assisted in my nomination six years before by throwing the delegation of Champaign County to me. He mentions Mr. Herrick. Mr. Herrick took absolutely no part in that convention; he would have been powerless had he attempted to do so, because he never took an active part in the details of Ohio politics.

Mr. STAFFORD. Now, you are referring, Mr. Cole, to the third convention, at which there was a deadlock?

Mr. COLE. The second convention; there were two conventions. This was the convention where he claims to have been influential.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to make this statement: There were only two members of that association in my district—one in Union County and one in Hardin County. I never got a vote out of either county in either convention. They voted against me 1,492 times, and never voted for me once. That is how much influence the National Association of Manufacturers had on my nomination.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean there were only two counties in which there was a member of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many counties are there in your district?

Mr. COLE. Six counties.

The CHAIRMAN. And in the other four there was not among the manufacturers a single one a member of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. COLE. Not one member of the National Association of Manufacturers. I received the support of Champaign County, Logan County, and my own county of Hancock. There was not a single member of the National Association of Manufacturers in either county.

Mr. Chairman, I have written to the leaders in the various delegations. There are only three men in that district that ever saw or talked with Mr. Mulhall. Mr. Mulhall stopped off at my home town and called on my two brothers in their office one time. He also saw the barber at the Phoenix Inn, and the barber told me the other day that he impressed him like he did me. He said he had that district in the hollow of his hand, and could nominate or defeat me at his will. I have a letter here from my brother——

The CHAIRMAN. At the time you had that conversation with Mr. Mulhall, do you mean for the committee to understand that you really believed him, or that he made that sort of impression on you?

Mr. COLE. I believed a good part of it until I had that two-minute interview with Mr. Emery.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I dislike to impose on the time of this committee in this way in submitting this evidence and reading letters, but the poison has been poured into the public ear of this Nation for several months now, and I have writhed in agony under it. Here is the chairman of my delegation, Dr. N. L. McLachlan, of Findlay, Ohio, chairman of every delegation where I ever received a nomination to Congress. He is up in the State of Washington now, and without any supplication on my part he wrote me this letter.

(The letter referred to was read by the chairman, as follows:)

WILLAPA HARBOR STATE BANK,
Raymond, Wash., July 22, 1913.

Hon. R. D. COLE, *Findlay, Ohio.*

MY DEAR MR. COLE: Having seen a great deal in the papers recently about statements made by Mr. Mulhall before the investigating committee in Washington, in connection with your nominations. I think it is my duty to you and the people of the eighth congressional district of Ohio to contradict these statements. I believe I can say that I was as conversant with the influences that brought about your nomination in the three conventions in which you were a candidate, and in which you were successful, as any person in the eighth congressional district of Ohio.

As I had the honor of being the chairman of the Hancock County delegation, I therefore became one of the leaders in trying to secure your selection. I was consulted in all things pertaining to and connected with these conventions and I never heard of Mr. Mulhall or the Manufacturers' Association, and I can say without fear of successful contradiction that no such influences entered into any of these conventions, and Mr. Mulhall's statements are utterly false in every particular as far as your campaigns were concerned.

I am sending you this letter because I deem it just that I should contradict these statements of Mr. Mulhall, who admits that he is willing to do anything for the price. Anything I can do for you in this matter I will gladly do.

Mr. COLE. The rest of that, Mr. Chairman, is merely personal.

Mr. STAFFORD. A few minutes ago I directed a query as to whether this was the third convention. I meant your third nomination.

Mr. COLE. That was my third nomination; yes, sir.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have a letter here from my brother, who now resides in Albuquerque, N. Mex., as to his interview. The first part of the letter is purely personal, and I shall not inflict that on the committee, but here is what he says about his interview with Col. Mulhall:

We met him at the hotel and he introduced himself as a representative of the National Association of Manufacturers. The colonel inquired about the contest you were having for renomination and probably asked if he could render you any assistance. I know the fight was canvassed in a general way and the nature of the opposition was divulged to the colonel. He was told of the unwritten law of the district, that no Congressman from this district had ever been able to succeed himself for a third term and that you had the bitter opposition of the Foraker faction. Probably some other phases of the contest was mentioned. My recollection of the conclusion, after the talk, is that Mulhall and his association, as such, could have no special beneficial effects in your behalf. And this because of the character of your constituency. The remainder of the evening was spent in pleasant conversation with the genial colonel, and this is the last I knew or heard of him till I noticed the press reports of the colonel's very interesting contribution to current literature.

If the colonel, or anyone on his initiative, ever done anything to assist you in your contest I never knew of it, and I think I was in a position to know just what work was being done. In what way a sinister construction could be placed on what was said and done by the trio that night is beyond my powers of comprehension. If the colonel had unrighteous motives, he certainly kept them well under cover. As the colonel retraces his steps in his testimony before the committee it would seem that he is courting a corrupt construction by the public to be placed upon his work and acts, and he displays an utter disregard as to where his malicious shafts may fall. God save our country from the hysteria with which it is now afflicted. Is there a man in public life who can say in his conscience that he is secure against the poisoned shafts of the calumniator? If he thinks so, let him beware.

I have just briefly sketched my recollection of the incident, and if you should want it in the form of an affidavit I will gladly subscribe to the same.

The rest is personal.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have a number of letters here from the leaders in the district that I will place on file, but will not read.

The CHAIRMAN. You would like to have them printed in the record?

Mr. COLE. I should like to have them printed in the record, if you will.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection that will be done.

Mr. COLE. Here is an affidavit by Mr. Core S. Ireland; here is a letter from Mr. Benton, who was chairman of the delegation from Delaware County; and here are letters from the only two manufacturers that were in the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the only two members of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. COLE. No; they were not members of the National Association of Manufacturers; they were just manufacturers.

(The affidavit and letters referred to are as follows:)

AFFIDAVIT.

STATE OF OHIO, *County of Champaign, ss:*

Core S. Ireland, being sworn, says that in politics he is and has been a Republican, and that in the year 1908 he was regularly elected as a delegate at a primary election in Champaign County, Ohio, to the Republican congressional convention that was held in the eighth district of Ohio, at the village of Marysville, Ohio, beginning on the 18th day of February, 1908.

Affiant says that he attended all the sessions of said convention and mingled freely with the thirty-three delegates that were elected from Champaign County, and with the other delegates that represented five other counties in the district; that said convention was in session for the period of four days, and cast over a thousand ballots, and at the end of the fourth day no choice was made by the convention for a candidate, and said convention adjourned sine die and the congressional committee was empowered to draft a call for another convention. The committee did draft a call for another convention, but the delegates from Champaign County were chosen at a mass convention held at the City Building in the city of Urbana, on the 30th day of March, 1908, whereupon thirty-three delegates were chosen at said convention to represent Champaign County at the congressional convention, which convened in the city of Kenton, Ohio, on the first day of April, 1908.

Affiant says that he was also a delegate to the second convention and that said convention was in session for the period of three days, and that the Honorable Ralph D. Cole, on the evening of the third day was nominated as a candidate for Congress on the Republican ticket, to represent the eighth Ohio district.

Affiant says that during the progress of electing delegates to both of the foregoing conventions, and during the sessions of the congressional conventions, that he did not come in contact with any person or persons who represented or claimed to represent in any manner or form the National Association of Manufacturers.

Affiant says that he does not know and never knew one M. M. Mulhall, and that no such a man or anyone representing him, to his knowledge, attended either of the above conventions; and that no money from Mr. Mulhall or any one representing him was received by affiant or any of affiant's friends to further the interests of the Honorable Ralph D. Cole in receiving said nomination.

Affiant says that the delegates from Champaign County were all representative men, the same being farmers, merchants, and but one manufacturer was chosen as a delegate from said county, and affiant further says that the majority of the delegates from Champaign County were farmers.

Affiant further says that if any money was used to influence the delegates for or against Mr. Cole at said convention, he has absolutely no knowledge of the same.

And further affiant saith not.

CORE S. IRELAND.

Sworn to before me by the said Core S. Ireland and by him subscribed in my presence this 8th day of July, 1913.

[SEAL.] GEO. WENTO, Jr.,
Notary Public in and for Champaign County, Ohio.

B. P. BENTON,
SUCCESSOR TO JEWELL & BENTON,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW,
Delaware, Ohio, July 5, 1913.

Hon. RALPH D. COLE,
Attorney at Law, Findlay, Ohio.

MY DEAR RALPH: Your request of the 3d instant at hand and I hasten to comply.

I am inclosing herewith the list of delegates and alternates to the Kenton congressional convention of 1908. I have added to each name the occupation.

I trust that you will be able to show Mulhall up in the proper light.

All your friends, especially those who were in the Kenton convention, know how little truth there is in Mulhall's statement and charge.

Paraphrasing the words of our late lamented friend, William H. Taft: Any man in public life, who has been or expects to be, must expect to be the object of the venom of the "muckraker."

Trusting that what I send you will be of service, and hoping that I can serve you further, I remain,

Sincerely, your friend, B. P. BENTON.

THE KENTON MARBLE & GRANITE CO.,
123-127 SOUTH LEIGHTON STREET,
Kenton, Ohio, July 9, 1913.

To the Hon. R. D. COLE, *Findlay, Ohio.*

DEAR SIR: I have seen by the papers that a Col. Mulhall has made the statement that he controlled all manufacturing delegates of the congressional convention at which you were nominated, manipulating them in the interests of the Manufacturers' Association.

I want to say to you that I was a delegate at both the Marysville and Kenton conventions, and although I am a manufacturer I am not a member of the Manufacturers' Association, but as a delegate I was not approached by Mr. Mulhall nor any of his agents, nor have I any recollection of having met him or knowing that any such person was in attendance.

Believing you will have no trouble to prove your innocence of the charge he makes against you, I beg to remain,

Yours, truly, CARL PRICE.

A. J. MILLER & CO.,
Bellefontaine, Ohio, July 10, 1913.

Hon. RALPH D. COLE, *Findlay, Ohio.*

DEAR SIR: I see by the papers that it is being claimed that money was used to further your interests in a certain campaign, same having been donated by the Manufacturers' Association. I was a delegate both to the Marysville and also Kenton conventions, and if there was any money used, I must say that I never saw anything of it in any way, shape, or form.

Yours, truly, A. J. MILLER.

Mr. STAFFORD. What was the personnel of that convention, Mr. Cole?

Mr. COLE. Never a grander body of men assembled in convention, or they would not have nominated me for Congress. [Laughter.]

Mr. STAFFORD. I mean as to the character of their vocations.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Chairman, I am glad Mr. Stafford has asked me that question. Here is a list of every delegate to that convention, and of most of them I received their addresses. I ask this committee to address a letter to every one of those delegates, and if they find a single man that ever heard of Mulhall I will concede that much that he says is so, although I know it is not. Here is a list of every one of those delegates.

(The list referred to was handed to the chairman.)

Mr. FERRIS. What was the size of that convention?

Mr. COLE. Let me see. How many votes did it take to nominate?

Mr. WILLIS. A lot of them; I have forgotten.

Mr. COLE. It took more than I could get in six weeks' time—it took 1,492 ballots, so there must have been 200 to 225 delegates in that convention.

Mr. FERRIS. So it required 75 or 80 for the nomination?

Mr. COLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, this will be filed as an exhibit in Mr. Cole's testimony, but I hardly think we care to print this list in the record, Mr. Cole, unless it is especially desired.

Mr. COLE. If your honor please, the only object I have is to make a record for the future. I do not want this thing to come up at some future time and hit me in the face. I am a comparatively young man, and I have business yet to do in this world, and I do not want anything like this staring me in the face in the future.

Mr. WILLIS. This is simply a list of the delegates?

Mr. COLE. It is a list of the delegates to that convention.

Mr. WILLIS. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that that be printed in the record.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will you please state, Mr. Cole, the counties that compose the eighth congressional district and the counties which you had the delegates from at the time of the nomination?

Mr. COLE. The district is composed, or was composed, of Hancock, Hardin, Logan, Union, Delaware, and Champaign Counties. The counties that supported me were Hancock, Logan, and Champaign.

The CHAIRMAN. If there be no objection, this list of delegates to this convention will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The list referred to is as follows:)

These are the delegates who took part in the Kenton convention; our delegation was never quite filled at that time:

W. F. Galbreath, Urbana, Ohio; A. J. Bright, Christiansburg, Ohio; Asa Rust, Thackery, Ohio; C. O. Kiser, St. Paris, Ohio; Anson Ireland, Urbana, Ohio; Emmet V. Rhoades, Columbus, Ohio; W. M. Gehman, Urbana, Ohio; Carl Robinson, Urbana, Ohio; Levi Kidder, Woodstock, Ohio; Henry Ellsworth, Woodstock, Ohio; Louis Spain, North Lewisburg; B. F. Gauson, Urbana, Ohio; W. R. Wilson, Urbana, Ohio; D. J. Hull, Urbana, Ohio; Bert Williams, Urbana, Ohio; C. S. Ireland, Urbana, Ohio; L. H. Todd, Urbana, Ohio; F. A. Downs (don't know address); G. W. Poland, Urbana, Ohio; Loran L. Harner, Urbana, Ohio; O. L. Dunn, Urbana, Ohio; Don P. Runkle, Mingo, Ohio; C. H. Duncan, Urbana, Ohio; Robert Haen (don't know); M. R. Talbot, Urbana, Ohio; Wm. Schieff, Urbana, Ohio; Bert Johnson, Urbana, Ohio.

These are the delegates who were elected to the Marysville convention:

C. H. Espey, Rosewood, Ohio; George W. Kiser, Urbana, Ohio; J. L. Kingsley, Mechanicsburg, Ohio; T. B. Ware, Mechanicsburg, Ohio; Oscar Eby, Urbana, Ohio; J. R. Marshall, Christiansburg, Ohio; George West, St. Paris, Ohio; Jason P. Kite, St. Paris, Ohio; B. M. Norman, St. Paris, Ohio; M. H. Guthridge, St. Paris, Ohio; J. H. Stevens, St. Paris, Ohio; E. V. Rhodes, Columbus, Ohio; V. B. Guy, North Lewisburg, Ohio; George Hann, Woodstock, Ohio; Henry Ellsworth, Woodstock, Ohio; Sherman Thompson, Urbana, Ohio; James R. Todd, Urbana, Ohio; E. M. Thompson, Mingo, Ohio; Jacob Dagger, Cable, Ohio; M. B. Saxbe, Urbana, Ohio; E. P. Middleton, Urbana, Ohio; Link Burnham, Urbana, Ohio; W. W. Rock, Urbana, Ohio; C. G. Kennedy, Urbana, Ohio; J. W. Rock, Urbana, Ohio; C. B. Heiserman, Urbana, Ohio; C. H. Duncan, Urbana, Ohio; C. S. Ireland, Urbana, Ohio; F. A. Zimmer, Urbana, Ohio; J. G. Wallace, Urbana, Ohio; F. A. Downs (don't know); Charles Stevens, Thackery, Ohio; Lewis Spain, North Lewisburg, Ohio.

DELEGATES FROM HARDIN COUNTY TO MARYSVILLE CONVENTION.

John L. Clark, L. A. Ansley, W. A. Norton, Carl Price, Forest Tipton, Joseph Timmons, G. J. Carter, Justin Brewer, J. B. Pumphrey, J. S. Campbell, Morris Myer, Guy Kingsbury, James Lydick, John Ewing, J. J. Rumbaugh, Henry Harvey, Frank Given, H. E. Dickinson, W. J. Mathews, H. M. Porter, C. G. Southern.

DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION, 1908.

J. L. Campbell, Forest, Ohio; C. M. Riegel, Forest, Ohio; James Lydick, Dunkirk, Ohio; Charles Fulks, Dunkirk, Ohio; Lon. Richeson, Ada, Ohio; W. H. McClelland, Ada, Ohio; W. F. Huffard, Ada, Ohio; Justine Brewer, Ada, Ohio; Frank Given, Roundhead, Ohio; C. B. Mithell, Kenton, Ohio; John Williams, Ridgeway, Ohio; Pearl Johnson, Mount Victory, Ohio; James Lingo, Hepburn, Ohio; Albert Kraft, Kenton, Ohio; W. C. Ewing, Kenton, Ohio; L. A. Ansley, Kenton, Ohio; H. E. Hoge, Kenton, Ohio; O. P. Blue, Kenton, Ohio; Joe. Timmons, Kenton, Ohio; F. B. Wilson, Kenton, Ohio; Otis Hopkins, Kenton, Ohio; J. R. Stillings, Kenton, Ohio; J. L. Clark, Kenton, Ohio; C. F. Southard, Kenton, Ohio; W. F. Roby, Dola, Ohio; C. C. Clark, Alger, Ohio; James Fulton, Kenton, Ohio; W. A. Norton, Kenton, Ohio; H. H. Harvey, Kenton, Ohio; Paul Sieg, Kenton, Ohio; Guy Demming, Ada, Ohio; A. M. Rice, Kenton, Ohio; Carl Price, Kenton, Ohio; H. R. Butler; J. B. Pumphery, Kenton, Ohio.

LOGAN COUNTY DELEGATES TO MARYSVILLE CONVENTION, FEBRUARY 18, 1908.

Marion S. Hill, Ell Dally, P. M. Keller, Peter Dow, George A. Henry, Don C. Bailey, James E. Milroy, D. E. Strayer, Price Castle, Mack Thomas, Ell Dickinson, Newton Archer, Joseph Hannah, W. O. Wickersham, David Lawson, Lee McCormick, Will Newell, William Plum, Louis Norviel, R. P. Kennedy, E. P. Humphreys, C. S. Hockett, George Wonders, Duncan Dow, John C. Hover, A. R. Kerr, F. O. Batch, W. S. Plum, I. N. Zearing, W. S. Roebuck, Allie J. Miller, J. M. Hamilton, E. P. Chamberlin, R. P. Dickinson, James S. Boyd, Ray Albaugh, I. C. Miller.

LOGAN COUNTY DELEGATES TO KENTON CONVENTION, APRIL 1, 1908.

Marion S. Hill, Ell Dally, P. M. Keller, George A. Henry, Don C. Bailey, James E. Milroy, Mack Thomas, Ell Dickinson, Newton Archer, David Lawson, Lee McCormick, E. P. Humphreys, C. S. Hockett, Duncan Dow, I. N. Zearing, W. S. Roebuck, Allie J. Miller, E. P. Chamberlin, James S. Boyd, Ray Albaugh, I. C. Miller, Frank Hamer, S. K. Kinsinger, Charles Humphrey, T. C. Myers, Joseph B. Cost, Lawrence Wonders, W. B. Ramsey, George Brugler, Frank Hayes, Arthur Hamer, Lee Traul, Fred C. Spittle, George T. Brandon, J. S. Deemy, A. R. Filson, Fred Starr.

UNION COUNTY DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES TO CONGRESSIONAL CONVENTION, APRIL, 1908.

Delegates: C. W. Smith, Raymond; B. F. Carmean, Marysville; Thomas Parish, Richwood; Elmer Freeman, Marysville; E. T. Jones, Richwood; R. L. Cameron, Marysville; J. W. Monroe, Marysville; Tracy Hicks, Richwood; Phi Smith, Raymond; J. H. Shearer, Marysville; George C. Edwards, Marysville; Hile Eckelberry, Richwood; G. M. Wilber, Marysville; Thomas Lockwood, Raymond; R. L. Plotner, Broadway; J. E. Robinson, Marysville; O. W. McAdow, Milford Center; A. Burnham, Milford Center; D. B. Edwards, Marysville; C. S. Chapman, Marysville; W. P. Beightler, Marysville; Lester Cline, Marysville; George Harris, Unionville Center; Fred Kile, Plain City; William King, Magnetic Springs.

Alternates: Preston Jolly, Richwood; Carl Hoopes, Marysville; J. B. Galloway, Marysville; E. G. McCann, Marysville; Robert Guy, Marysville; J. R. Taylor, Marysville; R. C. Lentz, Marysville; Len McAllister, Marysville; John Longbrake, Marysville; C. Zimmerman, Unionville Center; E. C. Ashbaugh, Plain City; Jasper Graham, Marysville; Dave Ogan, Richwood; Nate Moffitt, Peoria; Ed Freshwater, New Dover; Sewell Watts, Broadway; Dr. D. J. Jenkins, Broadway; Guy Robinson, Milford Center.

LIST OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES TO THE CONGRESSIONAL CONVENTION, SELECTED BY A MASS CONVENTION OF REPUBLICANS OF DELAWARE COUNTY, HELD AT THE CITY HALL IN THE CITY OF DELAWARE, OHIO, ON SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1908.

Delegates: William McK. Vance, superintendent of Delaware city schools; A. S. Conklin, cashier of Deposit Banking Co.; Ross Beard, farmer; John Edwards, farmer; Charles Bricker, merchant; C. N. Metzger, farmer; H. W. Stone, barber; John Day, laborer; R. G. Dickerson, farmer, now county commissioner; John Boylan, employee at Girls' Industrial Home; A. N. Gillette, farmer; George Cleveland, farmer; Robert R. Davis, farmer; S. T. Carr, farmer; Harry Gardner, brick and stone mason; Anson James, farmer; Howard Pumphrey, farmer; Ray Longwell, farmer; Walter Cox, farmer; Watt Powell, farmer; John Lloyd, farmer; E. T. Humes, attorney at law, now probate judge; E. N. Arthur, farmer; James Driver, dealer in stocks, etc.; E. I. Pollock, cashier Delaware National Bank; W. B. Campbell, grocer; W. A. Hall, attorney at law; James Ousey, liveryman and farmer; W. B. Jones, postmaster and attorney at law; B. P. Benton, attorney at law.

Alternates: Howard Domigan, farmer; Ben. James, grocery clerk; W. D. Thomson, associate editor Delaware Gazette; Lewis McLain, insurance agent; Dan Roth, employee in railroad shops of Big Four; Robert Powers, assistant cashier First National Bank; Orrie Kingman, farmer; Guy Dilsaver, farmer; James Bailey, farmer; S. A. Moore, farmer; H. C. Clippinger, secretary People's Building & Loan Co.; Richard Rice, farmer; H. C. Young, farmer; Frank White, farmer; Charles Rose, clerk, now county recorder; J. G. Shoemaker, farmer; C. N. Hall, farmer; Herbert Thrall, farmer; Frank Hall, farmer; O. W. Bonner, physician; Eugene Nash, groceryman; J. K. James, physician; W. H. Kyrk, farmer; George Seese, farmer; M. W. Battenfield, dealer in lumber and coal; D. F. Rust, retired oil man; M. L. Wolff, dry goods merchant.

Mr. COLE. Now, Mr. Chairman, that is all I care to say on the nomination. I wish to sum up in this way, that Col. Mulhall or the National Association of Manufacturers did not have the slightest influence on a single delegate to that convention.

Now, as to the election, he does not contend that he did anything in the election, but he says that they contributed to my campaign fund. Now, I never received a contribution from the National Association of Manufacturers or any other association. The first campaign for Congress I was ever in did not cost me over $150. The second campaign for Congress did not cost me over $150. And although this nomination took two conventions and lasted over two months, it did not cost me $1,000 to get that nomination all told.

But I did receive a little contribution from the national committee in the campaign for election. I do not know whether any other Member of Congress ever did that or not, but I did. I did not know where that money came from. I got it from Mr. Charles Dawes, of Chicago, who was treasurer of the national congressional committee. I went up to see Mr. Dawes after this matter came out and asked him where he got that contribution that he gave me. He looked over his books and said that not one single penny of that came from the National Association of Manufacturers. He further stated that the N. A. M. made no contribution to the campaign fund. If you want the testimony of Mr. Dawes or an affidavit it will be forthcoming, but as far as that charge is concerned I never received a single penny.

Now, if I had been the subservient tool of this organization that he contends, I do not know how I could have had the support of the labor organizations in my district at that time. Here are several letters from labor organizations that supported me in that district and fought for me, from the national chairman of the organization clear down to the local organization in the State of Ohio, and I ask to have these included among my exhibits.

(The letters referred to are as follows:)

THE ORDER OF RAILROAD TELEGRAPHERS,
C., C., C. & ST. L. SYSTEM, DIVISION, No. 138,
Degraff, Ohio, February 15, 1908.

Hon. RALPH COLE, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: As local chairman, representing over 300 railroad telegraphers in your district, I am asked by them to thank you most heartily for your loyal support during the last session of Congress and vote for the Federal nine-hour bill for railroad telegraphers; also your influence at Washington in the last few weeks in keeping this law from being extended or repealed, as this law means very much to us, also to all organized labor in the United States. Knowing that all your actions while in Congress have been on the side of labor, especially with the railroad boys in their interests in all branches, we feel that we can not thank you enough for your endeavors for the cause, and wish you success upon success.

Respectfully,

R. B. COOK,
Local Chairman, Division 138, O. R. T.

NATIONAL HOTEL,
Washington, D. C., February 29, 1908.

To members of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers:

I am free to state that my personal observations of the public career of the Hon. Ralph D. Cole enables me to assure our membership of that gentleman's constant friendly attitude toward the Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

I also take pleasure in adding the remark that his reputation bears out my personal impression of his cordial feeling for our organization.

Very sincerely,

H. B. PERHAM,
President Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

THE ORDER OF RAILWAY TELEGRAPHERS,
DIVISION No. 118,
Findlay, Ohio, February 17.

Hon. R. D. COLE, *Findlay, Ohio.*

DEAR SIR: We, the telegraphers of the United States, commend and highly approve and appreciate your record in Congress and in your labor toward passing into a law the railroad nine-hour law. You have our heartfelt thanks for your support in requesting the Interstate Commission in requiring that the law be strictly enforced. Little does the general public know the importance of our duties in safeguarding their lives while speeding over the rails. If they had the faintest idea of the duties required of us for the safety of their lives, they would solidly support and elect the man who has worked as you have worked for the safety of the public in behalf of bettering our working hours.

Sincerely, yours,

C. F. SAYRE,
Chairman O. R. T., Division 118.

Washington, D. C., April 15, 1908.

To the honorable Members of the House of Representatives:

We desire to express to you our keen appreciation of your support to the amendments offered by Mr. Goldfogle and Mr. Maynard to the naval appropriation bill, providing for the building of at least two of the new ships in the Government navy yards, and to further request that you be in attendance early to-morrow, as an effort will be made to perfect the succeeding paragraphs of the bill to harmonize with the action of the committee to-day.

It is probable that when the committee rises and reports to the House an effort will be made to strike out these amendments, and as Congress has provided for an 8-hour day in the Government service, in recognition and encouragement of an economic principle, while the private yards work 10 hours per day and under conditions repugnant to the American workingman, we hope

that every friend of and believer in the 8-hour day, with fair conditions, will be present when the final vote is taken Thursday morning, April 16.

Respectfully,

EMMETT L. ADAMS, *President.*

Approved:

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS.
BROTHERHOOD OF BOILERMAKERS AND IRON SHIP BUILDERS OF AMERICA.
INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BLACKSMITHS.
IRON MOLDERS UNION OF NORTH AMERICA.
PATTERN MAKERS LEAGUE OF NORTH AMERICA.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS,
OFFICE OF SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., March 17, 1908.

Hon. R. D. COLE, *Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: On behalf of the letter carriers of the United States, I desire to express their thanks and appreciation for the interest you took in getting the amendment to the post-office appropriation bill passed, which provides for the promotion of the carriers in the $1,100 grade to $1,200 during the next fiscal year. I will make known to our friends the interest you have taken in our welfare and know it will be appreciated by the carriers, their families, and friends throughout the country.

Very truly, yours, ED. J. CANTWELL.

Now, there is one thing further that is of real interest in this matter, and that is a charge that Mr. Mulhall came to my office one day in 1910, got me by the nape of the neck, and sent me down to see Mr. Emery. Now, I wish to lay that thing plainly before this committee at this time. I searched through the record for the letter of Mr. Mulhall, and here it is, dated February 3, 1910, No. 3541, of the Senate confidential print:

FEBRUARY 3, 1910.

Mr. JOHN KIRBY, Jr.,
504 Reiboldt Building, Dayton, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. KIRBY: For the past few days things have been astir here, particularly among the Ohio delegation. On the advice of Mr. Watson and Mr. McKinley and others I have been working among that delegation on account of the stand they have taken against Speaker Cannon. Over a year ago, on the advice of Mr. Sherman, I went out to the eighth Ohio district (Ralph D. Cole's). Cole had no possible chance before I went there of securing a third term in Congress, for it has been the custom of that district to only give two terms to their Members, and when Cole tried to get a third term he found a strenuous opposition against him. Through good work there, with the aid of several friends in Columbus, we got Cole the nomination and election, and he has always stated in Congress that he owed his nomination to your humble servant.

For the past few months Cole has been leading a revolt in the Ohio delegation against the Speaker, so I called on him before I went East and read him the riot act, and he promised he would stop his agitation, but said that he found a strong opposition in his district against the Speaker. I advised him if he wished to be returned to Congress next year that he had better call at our office and explain to Mr. Emery the nature of this agitation among the Ohio delegation. Mr. Cole did so, as directed, and Mr. Emery told me on my return to the office last Monday that he had Cole on the carpet in our office and gave him a long lecture, so I find for the past couple of days that this has had a good effect among several Members of the Ohio delegation, for they are beginning to believe that the manufacturers are aroused now in Ohio on account of the fight that they are making against the Speaker, and some of the gentlemen of this delegation will not get into print as often as they have been doing for the past six weeks.

That is one version of that incident. I will give you another version by Mr. Mulhall of the same incident. In this letter he says he

came to see me, and I went and got the lecture; here he says he went along with me.

Mr. FERRIS. What are you reading from?

Mr. COLE. I am reading from the approved version of the New York World.

Mr. STAFFORD. Not the revised version?

Mr. COLE. Well, no; this was the original.

One of the most humiliating spectacles I have witnessed in the way of discipline was during the spring session of Congress in 1909. Congressman Ralph D. Cole, of the eighth Ohio district, who was one of the most trusted of the N. A. M. agents in Congress, joined the first insurgent move against Cannon in in 1908.

Emery sent me to the Capitol to tell Cole to come to his (Emery's) office at once. Cole was dictating when I entered his office. He immediately ceased and left for Emery's office. He got there about the time I did. Emery, sitting at his desk, gave Cole a good talking to. Cole walked the carpet and took his medicine like a little man. Emery said to him in substance.

"Now, see here, Cole, there is too much kicking in the Ohio delegation against the Speaker and our friends, and I can see from the Congressional Record that you are up to your neck in it. Now, this has got to be stopped. Our organization did not go out to Ohio last year to renominate you and elect you when you had no chance of coming back and then allow you to come to Washington here and fight our friends."

Cole began to splutter an explanation to the effect that he was backing the President's friends in Ohio, but before leaving the office he promised, in the presence of Emery and myself, that he would quit his activities along those lines and help us as directed by Emery to do. From that time on there was no fault to be found with Cole. He did everything he was told to do.

That is the second version. He took a circuitous route there and met me at Mr. Emery's office. Now, here is the third version, in the Senate Hearings, part 46, page 3918:

Mr. MULHALL. Extremely so—subservient; so subservient that Mr. Emery sent for him on one occasion. He told me that Mr. Cole had not been acting good toward the Ohio delegation or with the Ohio delegation—they were opposing Speaker Cannon and the Cannon rules—and I went to the Capitol and brought Mr. Cole; and I brought him to Mr. Emery's office, and Mr. Emery gave him a scolding there on the carpet in his own office in this city.

The first time I went alone, and Mulhall heard about it later; the second time he took another route and got there about the same time I did; the third time he got me literally by the nape of the neck and walked me up to Mr. Emery's office.

What was the Ohio delegation doing at that time? I will show you what the Ohio delegation was doing. Fortunately my good little wife kept a scrapbook during those troublous days. President Taft called Mr. Taylor and myself into the White House one morning along in the latter part of January, and he said that on account of the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy and other matters that were pending before Congress his legislative program was not receiving the attention it deserved. He asked Mr. Taylor and me if we could not do something to bring his recommendations to the attention of the country. Mr. Taylor and I came back and got the Ohio delegation together, and we passed this resolution on the 19th day of January, 1910:

The Republican members of the Ohio delegation are of the opinion that the President's recommendations, as contained in his several messages, are the most important matters for discussion and action by the present Congress. We recognize President Taft as the leader of the Republican Party, and submit that under his leadership all Republicans should unite.

Now, if you care to take a look at those newspaper clippings from the State of Ohio and elsewhere, you will find that that opinion of the Ohio delegation was given circulation throughout the entire country. It was the nearest approach to being the mouthpiece of an administration that ever came to me, and I was somewhat proud of being honored in that way.

About a week later, or perhaps 10 days, Mr. Mulhall came to my office. He called me behind the screen—those little screens that stand in the middle of the room—and he said, "I come here to protest against the activity of the Ohio delegation and the way you are leading in it." And he said, "Furthermore, Speaker Cannon has sent me here to protest."

He never got any further with that protest. I ordered Mr. Mulhall out of that room, and I told him if he ever returned I would throw him through the window, and I have never seen Mulhall from that day to this. That is the way I went to the office of the National Association of Manufacturers. That is the last and only time I ever talked with Mulhall on matters pertaining to legislation.

Fortunately there was a witness to that scene. I thank God, in the light of subsequent events, that I was not alone at that time, but that a man of the most rugged integrity was there, from the State of Ohio, a friend who served with Mr. Willis and me four years in the Legislature of Ohio. I wish to pause to remark that Mr. Emery in his testimony before the Senate committee has denied that I ever came to his office at any time, but he has forgotten the time that I asked him for the list of delegates.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this man is Mr. Clyde Painter.

Mr. STAFFORD. For a list of delegates or for a list of members?

Mr. COLE. For a list of members in the association in my district. C. R. Painter, of Bowling Green, was here to get one of his friends appointed as postmaster at Bowling Green and another at North Baltimore. There was a Democrat, Gen. Sherwood, representing his district, and consequently, being a friend of mine, he called on me and lived with me in my rooms at the hotel during that time. He was in my office when Mr. Mulhall came in, and a few days ago he came to me in Findlay and said, "I remember when Mr. Mulhall came into your office and will make affidavit to it." If you want him here to testify, I will have him here to-morrow, but this is his affidavit [indicating]. It reads:

THE STATE OF OHIO, *Hancock County, ss:*

C. R. Painter, being first duly sworn, says near the 1st day of February, 1910, he was in Hon. R. D. Cole's office in Washington, D. C., when Mr. Mulhall entered said office and engaged in conversation with Mr. Cole, representing that he had a message from Mr. Cannon. Mr. Cole became very angry and ordered Mr. Mulhall from his office. Mr. Mulhall left, and Mr. Cole and this affiant spent the rest of the day together, and this affiant says that Mr. Cole did not on that day go to Mr. Emery's office, nor did he go on that night.

C. R. PAINTER.

Sworn to before me and signed in my presence this 9th day of September, 1913.

E. T. DUNN,
Notary Public, Hancock County, Ohio.

Now, against the unsupported statement of Mulhall we have the statement of Mr. Emery that I did not go to his office. I am not

going to invoke my own authority; you can take that for what it is worth; but here is another witness to that scene from the State of Ohio, and if there is any doubt in the mind of this committee as to the integrity of that witness I ask Mr. Willis to testify.

Now, gentlemen, that is the sum of my sin and the magnitude of my offense, and for that my name has been bandied up and down this Nation among all my friends from Maine to California as a man who was not true to his trust in Congress. You gentlemen have that issue to try. It is a serious one and I have not a particle of doubt about the outcome. I did no wrong in this respect or in any other respect in Congress, and if I had been the subservient tool of the National Association of Manufacturers, why did they not help me in 1910? Ah, there was a fight to a fare you well. [Laughter.] And I got licked to a frazzle. But it never occurred to the National Association of Manufacturers or to Mr. Mulhall to come out and help. It never occurred to me to ask them for their help.

I think that, my friends, is about all I care to say. Oh, one thing more. My good faith and integrity with the Government has been challenged, and therefore I beg your indulgence to go outside of the record and submit one fact. After I was defeated for Congress, about a year after, President Taft appointed me legal adviser to the Comptroller of the Currency. The President wanted me to campaign for him. I traveled from Maine to California, made 25,000 miles, 300 speeches, spoke in 18 different States, and carried all but 17. [Laughter.] When I started out on that campaign I had my name stricken from the salary roll of the Government, and I never drew $1 of Government money while I was out campaigning. I believe that is a precedent in the history of the Republic, and I desire to call that to the attention of the committee at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. The matter you have just been talking of is not involved in the Mulhall statement in any way?

Mr. COLE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is an independent matter?

Mr. COLE. That was just bringing a little additional light upon my relationship with the United States Government.

Now, if there are any questions from the committee, I would be glad to answer them.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a statement in letter 3412, Mr. Cole. I do not think it is of any consequence to you or to the committee, but I call attention to it in order if there is anything you care to say about it you may do so. It is a letter written by Mr. Mulhall to Mr. Bird, in which he speaks of having made arrangements with you and Mr. Fairchild that either of you would take a Mr. Wuest to the White House and present him to the President and introduce him also to such Members of the House and Senate as he, Mulhall, desired him presented to.

Has your attention been called to that letter?

Mr. COLE. I never saw it before.

Mr. EMERY. What is the date of that, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not remember the date.

Mr. STAFFORD. December 9, 1909.

Mr. COLE. I simply have this to say, this is the first time I ever saw or heard of the name Wuest. I never made arrangements of any kind to introduce anybody to the President for Mr. Mulhall.

The CHAIRMAN. You have given the interview there which was given out to the Ohio papers after the President had sent for you and Mr. Taylor and the other gentlemen?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And had asked you about giving a little more prominence to the President's legislative program, or asked you if you could not obtain a little more prominence for the President's legislative program, and you were giving your efforts toward doing that. You say Mr. Mulhall came to your room and protested against that?

Mr. COLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What particular thing in that program was there that he protested against?

Mr. COLE. The anti-injunction bill and the employers' liability bill. I do not know of any other basis, but I remember one was the anti-injunction bill. He never got far enough to outline his specific objections. But I take it for granted that inasmuch as that was embodied in the recommendations of the President and he was opposed to it, that was the reason why he came there.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as the rules fight was concerned, that is referred to in this letter of March 19, 1910, that was when the Norris resolution was before the House for consideration?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, how did you vote on that?

Mr. COLE. I voted in favor of the rules.

The CHAIRMAN. You voted against the Norris resolution?

Mr. COLE. I voted against the Norris resolution and I voted against unseating Speaker Cannon. In other words, I was a regular Republican and am still.

The CHAIRMAN. You are still with the organization?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. You were not fighting Cannon, then, on any occasion?

Mr. COLE. I simply made this statement, that if I was returned to Congress (I made this statement to some people out in my district) I would not vote for Speaker Cannon again. I will show you my statement right there; it is right on that same page, if you care to look at it.

The CHAIRMAN. Had that been made prior to this time?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir; it was made practically at the same time.

The CHAIRMAN. There were some other members of the Ohio delegation that did the same thing?

Mr. COLE. Yes; practically at the same time they made the same statement.

Mr. RUSSELL. You say Mr. Emery did not, when you talked with him, say anything about the Cannon matter?

Mr. COLE. I never discussed any matter of any kind except—that was in 1908, two years before the Cannon fight. I never saw him after that one time in 1908 until this morning.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you ever have any communications from the N. A. M. or any officer of it concerning legislation?

Mr. COLE. I have looked over my files personally, and I can not find any communication with the National Association of Manufacturers, and I never knew a single officer until last year. I met Mr.

Kirby last year in the White House, and was introduced to him in the President's office, I should judge the middle of the winter—two or three years after this is all supposed to have occurred.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is another letter, No. 2539–2541, under date of March 11, 1909. It is a long letter, and I find this statement in it:

After leaving Senator Nelson's rooms I met Ralph D. Cole, of the eighth Ohio district. Mr. Cole wished me to see Mr. Watson in his behalf, as he is attempting to get a chairmanship at the next session of Congress of some of the prominent committees. He stated to me that he would be very glad to get the chairmanship of the Committee on War Claims, and is anxious to have us help him out. He also recommended to me that we should try to get Mr. Edward L. Taylor, jr., of the twelfth Ohio district, upon the Judiciary Committee, he stating that Taylor was very anxious to secure a place upon that committee. I promised Mr. Cole I should do anything I possibly could for him with Mr. Watson or the other leaders with whom I was acquainted; so I left Mr. Cole's office about 12 m. and met Mr. Watson in the Speaker's room by appointment.

I believe that is the last reference to you until it reaches a paragraph down below, in which it says:

After leaving Mr. Watson I called again on Mr. Cole and told him to see Watson, Watson telling me to send Cole to him, and saying that he would do anything that lay in his power for Cole; and besides that, the Speaker was extremely friendly to Mr. Cole and that he thought he would appoint him as chairman of some prominent committee. This pleased Mr. Cole very much, and he was also pleased to know that Mr. Taylor would be appointed on the Judiciary Committee. Mr. Cole pledged Taylor would be all right upon any measures we wanted, and seemed to be very much pleased with what I had learned from Mr. Watson.

Mr. COLE. I remember Ned Taylor did give me custodianship of his character about that time, but I do not recall I had him placed on the Judiciary Committee. I think at that time perhaps he was on the Appropriations Committee. Now, a man would hardly care for a transfer from the Appropriations Committee to the Judiciary Committee. What is more, I was never on the Committee on War Claims. I was on the Committees on Territories, Agriculture, and Irrigation of Arid Lands. I was eligible to the chairmanship of one of those, and my ambition was to be made chairman of the Committee on Agriculture. I was the ranking member of that committee, I think, when the large frame of Willis loomed on the horizon and I was eclipsed. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. So far as the chairmanship was concerned, it would not have mattered anyway, in view of subsequent events, even though your friend Willis had contrived to get it. [Laughter.]

Mr. COLE. That was 1909, you understand.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you ever know that Mr. Taylor at any time was a candidate for appointment on the Committee on Judiciary?

Mr. COLE. I never heard of it, and I was as intimate with him as anybody.

Mr. STAFFORD. At that time he was on the Committee on Appropriations?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then it is not probable, as you say, that a man being on the Appropriations Committee would ask to be appointed on a subordinate committee like the Committee on Judiciary?

Mr. COLE. No, sir; I would not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is letter 1327. I believe you have already stated the circumstances under which Mulhall came to your district at the time he came. Has your attention been called to this? This is a letter of Mr. Sherman.

Mr. COLE. No; I have not seen it.

The CHAIRMAN. It reads:

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., March 5, 1908.

Hon. RALPH D. COLE, *Findlay, Ohio.*

MY DEAR MR. COLE: This note will introduce to you Col. M. M. Mulhall, which will be presented by the colonel in person.

I have known the colonel for a great many years, and can say to you that he is in every way absolutely reliable and discreet. He is coming to Findlay at my request for the express purpose of rendering you what service he can in your present contest for renomination.

You can talk freely to him and depend upon his doing well whatever you ask him to—that is, in his line.

Very sincerely, yours, J. S. SHERMAN.

Mr. COLE. I never saw that letter. He evidently presented that to my brother when he went to Findlay.

Mr. STAFFORD. There were other instances in the testimony, Mr. Cole, where Mr. Mulhall obtained letters of introduction which he never presented.

Mr. COLE. I have been informed of that fact.

Mr. STAFFORD (continuing). But which are printed in his multifarious correspondence.

Mr. COLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Another letter is under date of March 10, 1908. It simply says, "I am leaving this afternoon for Findlay, Ohio." It does not mention your name or give any statement as to why he was going, or anything of the sort. I just want to get such letters as there are, in order that you may have an opportunity, if your attention has not been called to them, to make any statement you desire. This is a letter dated March 14, 1908, addressed to the Hon. Myron T. Herrick, Society for Savings, Cleveland, Ohio, and reads:

MY DEAR GOVERNOR: On my brief interview with you of yesterday over the phone I tried to make it plain to you the importance to our people of keeping Hon. Ralph D. Cole of the eighth Ohio district (Findlay) in Congress. Mr. James S. Sherman, chairman of the Republican national committee, especially requested me to go to Findlay and see what we possibly could do to help out Mr. Cole. When I got to Findlay I found that Mr. Cole's district had very few of the manufacturing class in it. It is almost altogether comprised of farming industries. For that reason our people have but very little influence in the district.

While there I called on Mr. Cole's brothers, R. C. Cole and Hon. John J. Cole, and they told me that Mr. Ed. Fullington, the candidate at the present time for State auditor of Ohio, was one of the parties that was blocking Mr. Cole's return to Congress. Mr. Fullington has a candidate by name of William Hooper. We know that he can control Hooper and get him out of the race if he wishes to do so. Both Mr. Cole's brothers told me that they thought you could help out and manage this affair for them if you wished to do so, and that was the reason I went to Cleveland to see you.

Mr. COLE. Suffice is to say, Mr. Hooper, who was Hoopes, by the way, was in the convention when the last ballot was counted, a very live candidate.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he have any votes?

Mr. COLE. Twenty-nine votes for Hoopes. They sat there for days, 29 votes for Hoopes. [Laughter.] By the way, Mr. Herrick was a good man as governor of Ohio, but he knew very little about Ohio politics. The first time I ran for Congress, to show you how utterly impossible it was for Gov. Herrick to help me, when I asked him he said, "Certainly, Cole, I'll be glad to do anything I can for you." I went away feeling good. About a week later, Mr. Willis went down to see Gov. Herrick and asked him to help him, and Gov. Herrick said, "Certainly, Willis, I'll be glad to assist you in anything I can do. By the way, Willis, there is another young man in Ohio I would like to see go to Congress." Willis says, "Who is that?" and Herrick said, "Ralph Cole."

Mr. WILLIS. I wish to say, Mr. Chairman, that incident occurred exactly as Mr. Cole has related it, much to my amusement and consternation. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose he was a hung jury from that time on.

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir; he was suspended. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I read further from this letter:

I also learned while in Findlay that Senator Foraker's friends are opposed to Mr. Cole and that is the main reason that there are candidates in every county in the district at the present time.

There is another gentleman we would like to have you look after, provided you can do anything with him, and that is Judge J. H. Huzerman, of Urbana, Ohio. Judge Huzerman has a candidate in his county by the name of Thomas Owen. I was given to understand that Mr. Owen was simply running to block Mr. Cole, and that if Judge Huzerman wishes he can have him taken out before the next convention.

I need not, I suppose, call your attention to the fact that the combined organizations of capital at the present time have a large following at the present time in Ohio. You know well enough the National Association of Manufacturers is strongly intrenched there, and I hope for that reason Mr. Fullington will give us some consideration. I shall leave here this afternoon and will call on Mr. Cole in Washington, D. C., on Monday morning.

Trusting, dear governor, that you will take hold of this matter and help us, believe me to be, very faithfully, yours.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Huzerman, who was Judge Heiserman, of Urbana, was against me because I had not appointed his candidate for postmaster at Urbana. Judge Heiserman is one of the best men. He is a man of brilliant intellect, commanding ability, and splendid presence, and one of the most active, energetic, and versatile men in a political convention I have ever seen. He led the fight against me not only at Marysville but at Kenton, and I am sorry to say he did not stop until after the election.

The CHAIRMAN. You say he was opposed to you because you did not recommend his man for postmaster?

Mr. COLE. That is the only reason I know of, and that is sufficient in Ohio. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Do they entertain that sort of feeling in Ohio?

Mr. COLE. They did at that time. The spirit is a little more altruistic now. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a letter under date of March 21, 1908, addressed to Mr. Schwedtman by Mr. Mulhall from Columbus, Ohio. It says:

MY DEAR FERDINAND: I came to this city yesterday morning, on a telegram from Mr. R. D. Cole, the Congressman of the eighth Ohio district, the friend Mr. Sherman wanted us to help out here. I did this on the advice of Mr. Emery, for after having a conference with Mr. Emery on Thursday afternoon

we came to the conclusion that I could be spared out of Washington for the next couple of weeks with the understanding that matters would be so arranged that Mr. Emery could get me by telegram any time that was necessary.

That is all the reference there is to you. Did you telegraph him to come out?

Mr. COLE. I did not. I only sent him two telegrams, one a little later than that, and one bearing date about the 14th day of August, 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. There is in this letter a further reference:

I arrived in this city yesterday noon and found Congressman Cole waiting for me and he and I went to the office of the State railroad commission and saw Mr. H. D. Mannington, secretary of the commission, and several others of Mr. Cole's friends. There was a conference there which lasted for about an hour and it gave me a splendid opportunity to tell to a number of prominent Ohio politicians what our organization is, and what it has accomplished since it has been organized. I showed those gentlemen a copy of a letter of Mr. Sherman's stating that I was especially requested by the chairman of the national congressional committee to come out here and help Mr. Cole in any way we possibly could. After this meeting was over Mr. Cole stated while on our way to another office that the talk I gave to those people had done him a lot of good, for I plainly told those people the influence that Mr. Cole had with Mr. Sherman and other leaders of Congress, and they were all very desirous to have Mr. Cole returned. After this meeting was over, Mr. Cole was very anxious to have me meet Mr. Arthur Vorys, Secretary Taft's political manager. I went to Taft's headquarters with Mr. Cole and had an interview with Mr. Vorys for about an hour and a half. We talked over Secretary Taft's anti-injunction legislation, and so on.

How long did he spend out there in that campaign, Mr. Cole?

Mr. COLE. I only saw him that one day at Columbus.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the day to which he refers in this letter?

Mr. COLE. He met Mr. Vorys and Mr. Mannington. I do not know whether he met anyone else or not. I have seen everybody who possibly could have been in Columbus that day, and I have not found one who recalls him. He may have induced Mannington to support me; and Vorys, I do not know; but I was rather under the impression that a letter Secretary Taft sent to Mr. Vorys was the moving consideration in Mr. Vorys's activity for me.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a letter dated March 22, 1908, or, rather, a telegram, dated at Findlay, Ohio, and reads:

Col. M. M. MULHALL,
170 Broadway, New York.

Important that H. should go east at once. Don't fail in this.

R. D. COLE.

Mr. COLE. Will you please read that again?

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

Important that H. should go east at once. Don't fail in this.

Mr. COLE. H.? I never sent that telegram. I can not imagine who H. would refer to. I sent one telegram, and that was to get the New York address, I think it was, of Mr. Mulhall. Mr. Mannington was going down to New York on business and he was going to call on Mr. Mulhall, I think in relation to a manufacturer that was fighting him in that district. I am sure Mr. Mannington has forgotten (I saw him just the other day). He asked for Mr. Mulhall's New York address. That was the only telegram I ever sent to Mr. Mulhall at New York.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter from which I read a moment ago is dated March 21, 1908. That was from Columbus, Ohio. Then, there are other letters following that, written on March 21, one to Mr. Boudinot, one to Mr. Watson; and then this telegram purports to be dated March 22, 1908, "Important that H. should go east at once. Don't fail in this."

You have no recollection of this?

Mr. COLE. I have not; not the slightest.

The CHAIRMAN. I presume you know of no expenditures that were made in your district by Mr. Mulhall of any character?

Mr. COLE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, in connection with your campaign?

Mr. COLE. No, sir. He said in one of his letters, I notice, that he has sent paid workers into my district. That is absolutely false, because if there had been any paid workers sent in there I would have known it and somebody else would have known it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did I understand you to say you only saw him in Columbus?

Mr. COLE. During that campaign I saw him here——

The CHAIRMAN. I mean in Ohio. That is the only place you saw him in Ohio?

Mr. COLE. That is the only place I recall.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not see him in Findlay?

Mr. COLE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. He was there?

Mr. COLE. He was in Findlay; but Columbus was the only place I can recall ever having seen him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know how long he was in the district?

Mr. COLE. I think the only time he was in the district was the day he was in Findlay.

Mr. RUSSELL. Just the one day?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir. I have written to the hotels of the various county seats and do not find any record of his having been at any of the hotels.

Mr. STAFFORD. Columbus is not in your district?

Mr. COLE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is No. 1400, purporting to be a letter addressed to you, or a carbon copy of a letter. It is dated Philadelphia, March 28, 1908:

Hon. RALPH D. COLE, *Findlay, Ohio.*

MY DEAR MR. COLE: Your telegram of yesterday was forwarded to me to this city. I have been here for the past few days fighting on your case. It seems that your friend in Urbana has been putting up a fight to remain home until after the convention.

I called up the offices of the Pennsylvania people twice yesterday, and I was told that Mr. J. J. Brooks, general counsel for the Pennsylvania Lines west of Pittsburgh, has charge of your matter. It appears that Mr. Brooks has had a good deal of correspondence with the Philadelphia office here. They did not tell me what the nature of the correspondence was any further than to say that there were certain influences brought to bear on Mr. Brooks at Pittsburgh to have that man remain at Urbana until after April 10. I will remain here to-day to see a man higher up, and will telegraph you this afternoon what the result will be.

Hoping that things are going well with you, believe me to be ever sincerely, yours.

Mr. COLE. That was relative to Judge Heiserman. Judge Heiserman had lived in Champaign County, and he had been transferred by the Pennsylvania Co. to Pittsburgh, and he was to come back there to lead the fight against my renomination.

The CHAIRMAN. What was Col. Mulhall trying to do in Philadelphia? What about that?

Mr. COLE. He was protesting to the Pennsylvania Co. against Judge Heiserman going back there to lead the fight against me in that district, as I understood it.

The CHAIRMAN. Might that not throw some light on the other telegram, "It is important that H. should go east at once"? Might that not possibly refer to this matter in some way? Is there any possibility that this telegram of March 25 from Col. Mulhall in Philadelphia might refer to that in some way?

Mr. COLE. I do not know what relationship that had to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Judge Heiserman had removed from one county to another?

Mr. COLE. He had gone from Urbana to Pittsburgh.

Mr. STAFFORD. Out of the State?

Mr. COLE. Out of the State; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He was going back there to try to defeat you for renomination?

Mr. COLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Naturally you wanted him out of there?

Mr. COLE. Yes; I wanted him out of there in the worst way in the world.

The CHAIRMAN. I was just wondering whether or not this might suggest to you whether or not you had telegraphed to Mulhall that it was important for Judge Heiserman to be kept at Pittsburgh and that this telegram might be explained in that way.

Mr. COLE. I do not recall having sent that telegram.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do your brothers ever have authority to sign telegrams in your name, and do they send telegrams in your name?

Mr. COLE. They frequently do.

Mr. STAFFORD. They were looking after your interests in this campaign?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The next letter is a letter from Mr. Boudinot written under date of April 6, 1908.

Mr. STAFFORD. What are the initials of your brother who was most active in the campaign, or the initials of both of them?

Mr. COLE. R. C.

Mr. STAFFORD. Your initials are R. D.?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir. My brothers' initials are R. C. and J. J.

Mr. WILLIS. If either one of them had sent a telegram for you he would probably have signed your name?

Mr. COLE. He would probably have signed my name; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter which I have just referred to is under date of April 6, 1908, and is addressed to Mr. George S. Boudinot, assistant secretary National Association of Manufacturers, 170 Broadway, New York City, in which he says, among other things:

The principal object I have in writing you this letter is to inform you that we have won another victory in the political field by renominating for the third

time the Hon. Ralph D. Cole, of the eighth Ohio district. I met Mr. Cole and Mr. Vorys, the Taft manager, and several other Ohio leaders here to-day, and they all complimented us on the work we did for Mr. Cole out here. They gave us credit in a large measure for his renomination.

Then there is a report, dated Columbus, Ohio, April 6, 1908, addressed "My Dear Ferdinand," in which he mentions the same matter, and in which he also says, among other things:

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to report to you that the Hon. Ralph D. Cole, of the eighth Ohio district, has been renominated for the third time. This is breaking all precedents in this district, for heretofore they never gave their Congressman over two terms, and when Cole was nominated at the last convention he stood upon the two-term platform, so that was the reason he had such a hard job this time. I met Mr. Cole here yesterday, and he told me all about the convention that was held in his district on Saturday, and he gives to me the credit, to a large extent, for his renomination. He said it was the talk that I gave to the leaders of the organization here on my previous visit, along with the work that Mr. Herrick and the Pennsylvania people did and the good talk that I gave to the Taft people, that brought around his nomination. Certainly this will please Mr. James S. Sherman hugely, and it will be another feather in our cap with the people in Washington.

There is another reference to this matter in a letter dated St. Louis, April 7, 1908, from Mr. Schwedtman, in which he says:

I am glad to see conditions right in Cole's district, and doubly glad to see that credit is given to you and to us for the greater part of the work.

Was there anything else?

Mr. COLE. He wrote me a letter in Indianapolis——

Mr. RUSSELL (interposing). Did you ever pay his expenses when he went out on that trip?

Mr. COLE. I never did.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you invite him to take the trip out there?

Mr. COLE. I did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he ever ask you to pay any of his expenses?

Mr. COLE. He did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know who paid his expenses?

Mr. COLE. I did not.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know who sent him there?

Mr. COLE. I believe the National Association of Manufacturers; I do not know who else would send him.

Mr. RUSSELL. Upon any solicitation from you?

Mr. COLE. He came voluntarily, absolutely. He came to me—the first time I ever saw him was the morning I saw him in my office.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know he was coming before he did come?

Mr. COLE. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cole, did you ever, at any time, understand from Mr. Sherman, the late Vice President, that he had requested Mulhall to go out there or to be sent out there?

Mr. COLE. Mr. Sherman never spoke to me in regard to that. I believe that Mulhall said that Mr. Loudenslager had sent him.

The CHAIRMAN. That was here?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk with Mr. Loudenslager about it?

Mr. COLE. No; I never did. After I saw Mr. Emery and he said they could not do anything in that district anyway, if they wanted to, I dismissed that man from my mind. I had dismissed him from my mind. If you knew the district as I know it, you would know how impossible it was for an organization of manufacturers, in that

district, to do anything. I knew how I could get the nomination and how I could not. I knew all the forces in the district; I had studied them for years. I knew every element there and I knew how it could be obtained, if it could be obtained, and I knew it could not be obtained through the instrumentality of Mulhall or his association. I had to have the support of Mr. Taft, and if I had not had that I would not have been nominated. I went into the first convention without the assistance of anybody or anything, except the record I had made in Congress and my friends. I failed. I could not be nominated.

I came back to Washington and went to see President Taft, then Secretary of War, and told him the circumstances. I told him I was the second Congressman in the State of Ohio who ever came out for him as against Foraker, and that I was licked unless he came to the rescue. He sat down right there and dictated a letter to Mr. Vorys, and told him that under no circumstances should he allow Cole to be defeated. Mr. Vorys went into the fight and had every man under his control fighting for me in my district, and as a result I was nominated, and had it not been for that you would have been encumbered with Mr. Willis two years before. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mulhall, as I understand it, did seek to aid you to the extent of going to Philadelphia and trying to bring influence to bear upon the Pennsylvania Railroad to get them to take Judge Heiserman out of there—he was the attorney for the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Mr. COLE. He is located at Pittsburgh now; he was transferred from Urbana to Pittsburgh.

The CHAIRMAN. He tried to get him taken out of there?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir; in which he failed.

The CHAIRMAN. In which he failed. That was the only effort which you know of that Mulhall made in your behalf?

Mr. COLE. He got Herrick for me, and tried to line up my brother and Mr. Mannington and Mr. Vorys and the barber at the Phoenix Inn, Mr. Ed. Ludy. Those are the only parties mentioned in the letters, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. He succeeded in all that?

Mr. COLE. Yes; he succeeded in all these.

Mr. FERRIS. You did make one call on Mr. Emery?

Mr. COLE. I did.

Mr. FERRIS. And conferred with him?

Mr. COLE. I did.

Mr. FERRIS. Only one?

Mr. COLE. That is all.

Mr. FERRIS. What was the date of that call?

Mr. COLE. The date of that call was sometime I should judge after the 25th day of February, 1908.

Mr. FERRIS. In 1908?

Mr. COLE. In 1908. It was between the Marysville and Kenton conventions, sometime. I should judge about 10 days after the Marysville convention adjourned.

Mr. FERRIS. You did, at that time, have a conversation with him about the election of Mr. Cannon, did you?

Mr. COLE. Oh, no; I never talked about that election; just about the organization of manufacturers in my district. I had known

those fellows for years, and never knew they were in an organization, and if they were in an organization, and fighting out there, I wanted to know it.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you ever have a conversation with Mr. Emery or with Mr. Mulhall at any time during the early part of 1910 in regard to the Cannon rules?

Mr. COLE. I never did.

Mr. FERRIS. Never had a conversation with them about that at any time?

Mr. COLE. I never did.

Mr. FERRIS. You did make some sort of a poll of your district, early in 1910, to gather the sentiment with reference to the Cannon rules fight?

Mr. COLE. I never did take a poll.

Mr. FERRIS. You wrote a lot of letters?

Mr. COLE. I do not recall that I wrote letters, but I know that I ascertained the sentiment in some way.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you not send out a lot of letters asking how your people felt at the reelection of Cannon, that being an issue in your district?

Mr. COLE. No; I never sent out letters. I heard nothing about sending out letters.

Mr. FERRIS. You did issue an open statement, which was published in a local paper out there under date of January 11, 1910?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. And that statement shows upon its face that it is based upon letters sent out and an investigation made.

Mr. COLE. Does it say that?

Mr. FERRIS. I think so. Did you make an investigation in regard to that matter at that time?

Mr. COLE. Yes; I made an investigation. I do not recall any letters.

Mr. FERRIS. This statement says:

FINDLAY, OHIO, *January 11, 1910.*

To the people of the eighth congressional district of Ohio:

Some days ago I stated in an interview to the Ohio State Journal that I would state my attitude on the speakership question in the press of the district. In accordance with that promise, I desire to say that I have canvassed the sentiment of the district and find the people strongly opposed to the reelection of Mr. Cannon. Therefore if I am chosen to succeed myself I will follow out that mandate and vote against him. I will support a Republican in complete accordance with the progressive policies of the national administration. I have been an ardent advocate of the great policies of Theodore Roosevelt. I still believe in those policies. The great work of this administration, as outlined by President Taft, is to incorporate them into law and make them secure.

I will do all in my power for the success of this program. During the progress of the campaign I shall declare my attitude on all matters of vital concern to the people of the district.

RALPH D. COLE.

Now, the fight over the Cannon rules became acute in March, 1910, did it not?

Mr. COLE. Yes. The vote was taken on the 19th, I believe.

Mr. FERRIS. You did not vote on that occasion in accordance with your open statement, did you?

Mr. COLE. I did, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. Did you not vote for Cannon and for the rules?

Mr. COLE. I did.

Mr. FERRIS. Is that not in direct antagonism to your own statement?

Mr. COLE. Absolutely not.

Mr. FERRIS. How do you reconcile the two?

Mr. COLE. I made the statement there that if I was reelected to Congress I would not support Speaker Cannon again. I did not say that I would join hands with the Democrats to split the Republican Party in two, as it has been rent asunder ever since, and I did not say that I would join hands with the Democrats outside of a Republican conference. I believed in party conferences, and the Republican Party had met in conference and had adopted those rules, and made Mr. Cannon their Speaker. Until a Republican conference met and rescinded that action, I considered myself bound, and there is not one scintilla or one line in that statement in conflict with my subsequent course.

Mr. FERRIS. You do not deny issuing this statement on January 11, 1910?

Mr. COLE. I do not.

Mr. FERRIS. You do not deny that you voted for Cannon and the Cannon rules in March of that same year, about three months afterwards, and you reconcile your action by the explanation you have given?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. FERRIS. You still say that you had had no conversation with any of the National Association of Manufacturers' people or with Mr. Mulhall, except the one referred to, in 1908?

Mr. COLE. I never did.

Mr. EMERY. I would like to ask Mr. Cole one or two questions.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Emery.

Mr. EMERY. I wanted to ask, Mr. Cole, what your memory was as to the duration of the conversation you had with me in my office.

Mr. COLE. I do not think it lasted two minutes, Mr. Emery.

Mr. EMERY. Do you recollect whether, at that time, there was any offer or suggestion on my part concerning the giving of support to you by the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. COLE. My recollection is that you got down the list, and there were only two members in my district, and that you said you could exercise no influence in that district. That is my recollection of the conversation. I never saw you or talked with you at all except that one time.

Mr. EMERY. Neither before nor since?

Mr. COLE. Neither before nor since. That is the only conversation I had with you.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did Mr. Emery remember you when he saw you this morning?

Mr. COLE. I do not know whether he did or not. I did not recognize him. Some one introduced us.

Mr. WILLIS. I introduced Mr. Cole to Mr. Emery, but neither one seemed to recognize the other.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned until half past 7 o'clock this evening, when we will hear Mr. Emery.

(Thereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, the committee took a recess until 7.30 o'clock p. m.)

EVENING SESSION.

The committee reconvened pursuant to the taking of recess.

TESTIMONY OF HON HENRY T. RAINEY, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM ILLINOIS.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rainey, how long have you been a Member of the House of Representatives?

Mr. RAINEY. From the Fifty-eighth Congress to the present time—11 years.

The CHAIRMAN. What committees have you served on during that time?

Mr. RAINEY. I served on the Labor Committee. At present I am on the Ways and Means Committee, and have been since the commencement of the Sixty-second Congress, which does not permit me to serve on any other.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you become a member of the Labor Committee during your first term?

Mr. RAINEY. I think I did; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you served right up to the beginning of the Sixty-second Congress?

Mr. RAINEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been some testimony before this committee relative to quorum breaking in the Labor Committee, concerning certain legislation—I think, particularly, the so-called eight-hour legislation. Will you be kind enough to give the committee such information as you have about that matter?

Mr. RAINEY. In the Fifty-ninth Congress the eight-hour bill was reported out with a favorable recommendation. At that time the committee consisted of five Democrats and eight Republicans.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was chairman of the committee?

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Gardner was the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gardner, of New Jersey?

Mr. RAINEY. Yes. The five Democrats voted in favor of reporting it out. There were three Republicans present. One of them—Mr. Gardner—voted for it and the other two did not vote at all. The bill was reported out. That was late in the Fifty-ninth Congress. Nobody left the room; there was no breaking of any quorum.

In the Sixtieth Congress the Democrats at one time had all five Democrats present and there were three Republicans present, including Mr. Haskins, of Vermont. Whenever we got a quorum, a majority of those present being Democrats, we tried to get the bill out. This gave the Democrats an opportunity to get it out, and it would have been reported out in the Sixtieth Congress if it had not been for the fact that Mr. Haskins, of Vermont, left the room, breaking the quorum.

In the Sixty-first Congress the Democrats made a special effort to get the bill reported out. We insisted upon the committee being called together—or I did, being the ranking Democrat. The committee was called together and all the Democrats were present; there were no Republicans present except the chairman. We waited quite

a while and finally a Republican member, Mr. Allen, of Maine, came into the committee room. He came as far as the table where we were all sitting, noticed that there was only one Republican present, and that all the Democrats were there, and turned around and left. I tried to get him to stay and he made some remark about having another committee meeting, which was all he said. He left the room——

The CHAIRMAN. Was that a public meeting?

Mr. RAINEY. Yes, sir; that was a public meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember what spectators were there?

Mr. RAINEY. No; I do not remember. There were spectators there, but I do not recall who they were.

As soon as he left the room I denounced the chairman, and charged that he was against his own bill, and denounced the Republican members of the Labor Committee and charged that they were killing the bill by having hearings which were cumulative in their character and had been doing that for years and years; that now they were killing the bill by breaking quorums, and said that I proposed on the first opportunity, unless there was a full meeting of the committee, to rise to a question of personal privilege in the House and denounce the whole thing, to charge the chairman with being unfriendly to his own bill, that the Republican Members were all against it and by unfair methods were preventing even a vote on it.

Mr. Gardner replied by regretting that Mr. Allen had left, explaining that Mr. Allen had another committee meeting, and promised to try to get the committee together soon, which he did at the next meeting of the committee, which occurred within the next 10 days, as I remember it. All the Republicans were present, and every Democrat was present. On motion of one of the Republican Members—I have forgotten which one—the question of the eight-hour bill was referred to a committee of lawyers—three lawyers to be appointed by the chairman of the committee—they to examine into its constitutionality and report back to the committee as to whether or not the bill was constitutional. The chairman appointed the committee of three lawyers and the committee never reported, and that was the last of the eight-hour bill in the Sixty-first Congress.

Mr. CLINE. Do you remember who the three were that constituted the committee?

Mr. RAINEY. No; I do not remember. They were three lawyers. Of course, there were two Republicans and, of course, the ranking Democrat, if he was a lawyer——

Mr. STAFFORD. You mean three lawyers members of the committee?

Mr. RAINEY. Three lawyers of the committee. The ranking Democrat, if he was a lawyer, would be a member, and I, being the ranking Democrat and being a lawyer, my recollection is that I was one of the committee. The other two Members I do not remember, except I know they were Republicans. I know I tried to get them to meet and told them I was ready to make up my report as to the constitutionality of the bill, but it was never done, and they never met and there was no further consideration of it, and the bill was killed in that way in the Sixty-first Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rainey, do you remember of what subcommittee you were a member?

Mr. RAINEY. No; I do not remember. I was a member probably of two or three subcommittees.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the appointment of the subcommittees?

Mr. RAINEY. Not a thing, except that they were appointed by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know when they were appointed in the Sixty-first Congress?

Mr. RAINEY. No, sir; I do not remember about that.

The CHAIRMAN. The Sixty-first Congress convened on the 15th of March, 1909, according to my recollection.

Mr. RAINEY. Yes; I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. The committees were not appointed until the latter part of that session, and no legislative work was done except the tariff bill. The committees really did not begin work until the beginning of the regular session in December.

Mr. RAINEY. No committees were appointed at all at that first session of the Sixty-first Congress, except the working committees of the House; and, of course, at that first session of the Sixty-first Congress, inasmuch as the Labor Committee itself was not appointed, there could be no subcommittees appointed.

The CHAIRMAN. They were appointed right at the close of the session—all the committees?

Mr. RAINEY. I think they were; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But I suppose they were not organized—the Labor Committee was not organized was it?

Mr. RAINEY. I am quite sure, not until the second session.

The CHAIRMAN. And you do not remember at what time in the regular session the subcommittees were appointed?

Mr. RAINEY. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you have no information as to any influences that were exerted in any sort of way in regard to the appointment of the subcommittees, I take it?

Mr. RAINEY. None whatever; no, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. This special committee was appointed soon after the time that the quorum was broken by Mr. Allen leaving?

Mr. RAINEY. Yes, sir; it was broken at the next meeting of the committee, which was a considerable time before the expiration of the life of that Congress, but the committee never did anything.

Mr. CLINE. Have you any knowledge of what influences, if any, were exerted to keep a quorum from being present?

Mr. RAINEY. No, sir; I do not know anything about that.

Mr. CLINE. Or to keep the bill from being reported out?

Mr. RAINEY. I think we did usually have a quorum present, but it was such a quorum that the Republicans had the majority and there was no chance to get the bill out. And whenever we had a quorum present and a majority of the quorum were Democrats the policy was to break the quorum. At any rate, that is what they did.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rainey, on the particular occasion you mentioned when the quorum was made by the appearance of Mr. Allen, I think you said—it was made by his appearance and then was broken by his retirement?

Mr. RAINEY. He would not have made a quorum, because my recollection is that five Democrats were present and the only Republican member was the chairman. Mr. Allen by himself would not have completed the quorum. I think it would have taken another Republican.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember whether Mr. Covington, of Maryland, was present?

Mr. RAINEY. Yes; Mr. Covington was present.

Mr. CLINE. There has been some evidence before the committee, Mr. Rainey, to the effect that on one or two occasions the discussion of questions or bills before the committee was so manipulated as to occupy all the time, and that the committee did not get to the discussion of the eight-hour bill or labor legislation until about the hour for adjournment. Have you any recollection of anything of that kind?

Mr. RAINEY. That happened in the Fifty-ninth Congress, the only time during the period I was a member of the committee when the Democrats had the majority of a quorum. At that time the Democratic members of the committee were William Randolph Hearst, of New York; Mr. Hunt, of Missouri, a member of the Marble Cutters' Union; Mr. Stanley, of Kentucky; Mr. Davis, of West Virginia; and myself. Judge Payson was present, representing the Newport News Shipbuilding Co. and perhaps also the Pacific railroads. Judge Payson was a former Member of Congress from Illinois, but at that time lived in Washington, and had been living here some time, and was an attorney. We had been having hearings for a long time. I remember at the beginning of the session Mr. Gompers protested against hearings, saying that the evidence being produced was merely cumulative, and insisted that he had no evidence to produce at all, and wanted the committee to pass upon the merits of the bill—either to report it out or not to report it out.

On this particular occasion all the witnesses were gone. They did not have any witnesses to take up the time, but Judge Payson, in order to occupy fully the time until 12 o'clock, commenced to read from the hearings of some years prior to that, and was taking up time reading from those hearings. We did not have a quorum of the committee present, and along about half past 11 o'clock Mr. Stanley, of Kentucky, a Democratic member, came into the room. This gave us five Democrats and three Republicans—a quorum, the Democrats being in the majority.

On motion of Mr. Hunt, of Missouri, the committee went into executive session at once to consider the eight-hour bill. I think Mr. Gompers was also in the room, and I do not remember who else. At any rate, we put them all out and closed the doors, and as soon as the doors were closed I moved that the bill be reported out with a favorable recommendation. Mr. Hearst strongly supported the motion, and started to speak in favor of it, and I called his attention to the fact that it was approaching the hour of 12, and we did not have permission to sit during sessions of the House. He thereupon quit making his speech, and the chairman of the committee commenced to make his speech.

I moved the previous question, and he spoke until it was nearly 12. I interrupted and demanded that the question be put, and he dis-

cussed it at some length even after that, opposing the motion to report out the bill. Finally he put the motion and it carried, all the Democrats present voting for it, and the bill was ordered out.

That was five or six weeks before the expiration of that session, which was the last session of the Fifty-ninth Congress. The report, however, was not drafted by the chairman for a considerable length of time, and the bill was not reported out and did not get on the calendar until very near the end of the session. I understood—either the clerk of the committee told me or he told somebody else who did tell me—that if we succeeded in forcing the bill to a vote in the House they proposed to insist that the hour of 12 had passed when the vote was taken and therefore the committee having no right to sit when the House was in session the bill was not properly reported out and could not be considered by the House. However, those were days when it was impossible, without the consent of the Speaker, to get anything up, and the bill, of course, never came up and died on the calendar.

Mr. MACDONALD. I should like to ask Mr. Rainey if he knows anything about a member trying to break a quorum by forcing the door open?

Mr. RAINEY. Oh, no; I never heard of anything of that kind; nothing of the kind ever occurred while I was a member.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Mr. Chairman, will you allow me to ask Mr. Rainey a question?

The CHAIRMAN. What is the question, Judge Davenport?

Mr. DAVENPORT. If this occasion he spoke of was not the day before Decoration Day, on which occasion Mr. Bartholdt had gone to Lake Mohonk; if Mr. Connor, of Iowa, was away also, and a day or two before that action was taken—at the previous hearing—it was understood they would not take any vote that day, but would discuss the question, and when Mr. Payson stood at the foot of the table and Mr. Hearst came in if they did not then proceed to take that action under those circumstances. I do not know whether the Congressman remembers that or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, Judge Davenport, without recognizing your right to make an inquiry, not being formally entered here in any way, I see no objection.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Perhaps the Congressman remembers it and perhaps he does not.

Mr. RAINEY. I remember all about it. I do not think the day was Decoration Day.

Mr. DAVENPORT. The day before Decoration Day.

Mr. RAINEY. I do not think it was the day before Decoration Day. I do not remember anything about Decoration Day in that connection. I do know, however, that Dr. Bartholdt was attending a peace conference at Lake Mohonk, which, I think, met that year later than Decoration Day. I do know that other Republican Members were absent. There was no understanding about a vote being taken or not being taken at all. It was not anticipated—I have not the slightest idea it was anticipated on the part of Dr. Bartholdt or Mr. Connor or anybody else that a vote would be taken. But we considered, inasmuch as the bill was being killed by hearings and had been killed so long by hearings, it was perfectly fair if we ever got a

majority of the Democrats present to force a vote on the bill, which we did. There was no understanding that no vote would be taken.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Was not one of the Republicans present—the present Senator from Nebraska, Mr. Norris?

Mr. RAINEY. I do not remember whether he was or not; very likely he was. Judge Norris at that time was a member of the committee, and I know there were at least three Republicans present.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, Mr. Rainey, you may be excused. We thank you for your attendance.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES A. EMERY—Resumed.

Mr. EMERY. Do you wish me to take the stand, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. If you will, for a moment; I have one or two questions I want to ask you as a witness. The questions that I desire to propound are not so much perhaps questions that go to the merits of this matter as they are designed to get at the history of the National Association of Manufacturers. I understand it was organized in 1895. Is that correct?

Mr. EMERY. I would not be sure, Mr. Chairman, whether it was 1895 or 1897.

The CHAIRMAN. But about that time?

Mr. EMERY. About that time.

Mr. KIRBY. It was 1895.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was then a voluntary association?

Mr. EMERY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you happen to remember how many members it had?

Mr. EMERY. I do not. It is possible, Mr. Chairman, if you will permit me, Mr. Kirby might be able to give you the information.

The CHAIRMAN. I am just wondering whether or not it has been given.

Mr. KIRBY. I think it has.

The CHAIRMAN. We are having to dig through so much of this record that I was anxious, if I could, to get a consistent and consecutive story of it, if possible. Passing that then, if you do not know——

Mr. EMERY. I, unfortunately, do not know its history at that period.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not incorporated until 1905?

Mr. EMERY. 1905.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, just when did it first begin to engage in political activities? Do you remember that, historically? Of course, I understand you have no personal knowledge.

Mr. EMERY. No; but I should point out, Mr. Chairman, that by the terms of its charter it expressed its determination and its desire to engage in certain forms of political activity.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it, before that time, to your historical knowledge?

Mr. EMERY. I remember, of course, the letters that have been read in this investigation, and I gather from the correspondence of Mr. Cushing that it did so.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you know what committees of this association are in existence at the present time?

Mr. EMERY. I can only tell you that, Mr. Chairman, from the record of the proceedings of 1912, which I hold in my hand, and give you a list of the standing committees of the association at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give that, please, so that we may have it in the record?

Mr. EMERY. I find here in the index, committee on banking, a statement of the report of the committee on banking and currency, committee on bankruptcy, committee on resolutions, committee on consular reform, committee on credentials, committee on immigration, committee on industrial education, committee on industrial indemnity insurance, committee on interstate and foreign commerce, committee on Federal corporations, committee on legislation, committee on merchant marine, committee on nominations, committee on patents, committee on Representatives, and committees on resolutions, rules and order, nominations, and uniform State laws. Now, of course, Mr. Chairman, there are obviously some committees created during the convention to perform its work and its work alone——

The CHAIRMAN. I meant standing committees.

Mr. EMERY (continuing). Such as the committee on arrangements, which obviously refers to the convention; the committee on resolutions, and the committee on rules and order. I assume that with those exceptions the others are standing committees, and with the exception of the committee on nominations, which of course refers to the selection of officers for the ensuing term.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I desire to ask.

Mr. DAVENPORT. Mr. Chairman, I think I can answer your question. They first began to take action in regard to those matters in 1902, in regard to legislation here, and Mr. Parry related the history of it. After he was elected president he came down here and you recall he mentioned the controversy with Mr. Gompers, or the interview and colloquy. They came down here for the purpose of getting a Department of Commerce elected, or created, and Mr. Parry, it seems, appeared before one of the committees in opposition to Mr. Gompers. But I know their activities began in 1902.

The CHAIRMAN. I remember Mr. Parry's testimony.

Mr. DAVENPORT. It was a year before I had any personal connection with it.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Chairman, the committee asked the other day for a list of the associations comprising the National Council for Industrial Defense. I was under the impression that that list had been supplied to this committee from the records in the possession of the Senate. It appears, however, that the records which we turned over to the Senate have been misplaced from the file, and some of the records which should have come to my office have gone to the New York office, and vice versa; but this record or list of the associations was made in the spring of this year and is approximately correct at the present time. It was filed with the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate at the time I made an argument before it in opposition to the eight-hour law then pending, and it is approximately a correct list of the National Council for Industrial Defense at the present time, saving such changes in associations as may have taken place in that time, either in gain or loss.

The CHAIRMAN. This will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The list referred to is as follows:)

LIST OF ASSOCIATIONS REPRESENTED BY MR. JAMES A. EMERY IN OPPOSITION TO H. R. 9061.

National Association of Manufacturers.
Merchant Tailors' National Protective Association of America.
National Association of Builders' Exchanges.
National Association of Box Manufacturers, Chicago, Ill.
National Association of Master Bakers, Chicago, Ill.
National Confectioners' Association, St. Louis, Mo.
National Association of Master Sheet Metal Workers.
National Clay Machinery Association.
National Erectors' Association, New York City.
National Slack Cooperage Manufacturers' Association.
Association of Master Plumbers, St. Louis, Mo.
Baltimore Metal Trades Association, Baltimore, Md.
Battle Creek Industrial Association, Battle Creek, Mich.
Board of Trade of Camden, N. J.
Metal Trades Association of Baltimore.
Builders' Exchange of Baltimore, Md.
Builders' Exchange of Cleveland, Ohio.
Builders' Exchange of Pittston, Pa.
Builders' Exchange of Worcester.
Business Men's Association, Ithaca, N. Y.
Business Men's Club of Frankfort, Ky.
Business Men's League, Rock Springs, Wyo.
Building Trade Employers' Association of New York City.
Boston Typothetæ.
Chicago Brass Manufacturers' Association, Chicago, Ill.
Chicago Lighting Fixtures Association, Chicago, Ill.
Citizens' Association of Dallas.
Citizens' Alliance of Beloit, Wis.
Citizens' Alliance of Fremont, Ohio.
Citizens' Alliance of Grand Rapids, Mich.
Citizens' Alliance of Houston, Tex.
Citizens' Alliance of Peoria, Ill.
Citizens' Alliance of Portland, Oreg.
Citizens' Alliance of San Francisco, Cal.
Citizens' Industrial Association of Scranton.
Citizens' Industrial Association of St. Louis.
Citizens' Industrial Association of Toledo, Ohio.
Citizens' Industrial Association of Jersey City.
Cincinnati Boot and Shoe Manufacturers' Association.
Clarksville Tobacco Board of Trade, Clarksville, Tenn.
Commercial Club of Spokane, Wash.
Columbus Industrial Alliance.
Contracting Bricklayers' Association, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Electrical Contractors' Association of Texas.
Employers' Association of Buffalo, N. Y.
Employers' Association of Chicago, Ill.
Employers' Association of Cleveland, Ohio.
Employers' Association of Dayton, Ohio.
Employers' Association of Detroit, Mich.
Employers' Association of Columbus, Ind.
Employers' Association of Indianapolis, Ind.
Employers' Association of Kansas City, Mo.
Employers' Association of Marion, Ohio.
Employers' Association of Massachusetts.
Employers' Association of Quincy, Ill.
Employers' Association of Springfield, Mass.
Employers' Association of Minnesota.
Employers' Association of Vermont.
Employers' Association of Building Trades of the District of Columbia, Washington, D. C.
Employers' League of Auburn, N. Y.

Erie Business Men's Exchange, Erie, Pa.
Fort Dodge Commercial Club, Fort Dodge, Iowa.
Founders and Employers' Association, Los Angeles, Cal.
Fox River Valley Manufacturers' Association, Aurora, Ill.
Georgia Industrial Association, Toccoa, Ga.
Houston Manufacturers' Association, Houston, Tex.
Illinois Lumber Dealers' Association.
Indiana Retail Lumber Dealers' Association.
Interstate Association, Maryland and District of Columbia.
Interstate Association, New York and Connecticut.
International Association of Master House Painters and Decorators of United States and Canada.
Kansas State Retail Merchants' Association, Leavenworth, Kans.
Lynn Shoe Manufacturers' Association (Inc.), Lynn, Mass.
Manufacturers' Association of the City of Bridgeport, Conn.
Manufacturers' Association of New York.
Manufacturers' Association of the Northwest, Portland, Oreg.
Manufacturers' Club, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Manufacturers' and Shippers' Association, Rockford, Ill.
Manufacturers' Bureau of Indiana.
Manufacturers' Association of Chattanooga, Tenn.
Manufacturers' and Merchants' Association, Kansas City, Mo.
Manufacturers' Association of Evansville, Ind.
Manufacturers' and Producers' Association, Knoxville, Tenn.
Massachusetts Association of Heating and Ventilating Engineers and Contractors, Boston, Mass.
Master Builders' Association, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Master Builders' Association of Boston, Mass.
Master Painters' and Decorators' Association, Utica, N. Y.
Memphis Industrial League, Memphis, Tenn.
Merchants' Association of Catskill, N. Y.
Merchant Tailors' National Protective Association, St. Louis, Mo.
Merchant Tailors' Protective Association, Binghamton, N. Y.
Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles, Cal.
Metal Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia, Pa.
Missouri Manufacturers' Association.
Ohio State Association of Builders' Exchanges.
New York Team Owners' Association.
New York State Association of Master Bakers.
Merchant Tailors' National Exchange.
Palo Alto Citizens' Alliance, Palo Alto, Cal.
Printers' Board of Trade of New England.
St. Louis Furniture Board of Trade, St. Louis, Mo.
Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast.
Retail Lumber Dealers' Association of Indiana, Indianapolis, Ind.
Springfield Branch National Metal Trades Association, Springfield, Mass.
Syracuse Metal Trades Association, Syracuse, N. Y.
Master Painters' Association of Denver, Colo.
The Wholesale Grocers' Association of the District of Columbia, Washington, D. C.
Wichita Commercial Club, Wichita, Kans.
Wisconsin Retail Lumber Dealers' Association.
Western Painters' Association.
Business Men's League, Helena, Ark.
Merchants & Manufacturers' Association, Santa Ana, Cal.
Citizens' Alliance, San Diego, Cal.
Colorado Manufacturers' Association, Denver, Colo.
Colorado & Wyoming Lumber Dealers' Association, Colorado Springs.
Manatee River Board of Trade, Palmetto, Fla.
Tampa Board of Trade, Tampa, Fla.
Western Georgia Retail Druggists' Association, Villa Rica, Ga.
Manufacturers' Association of Belleville, Belleville, Ill.
Building Managers' Association, Chicago, Ill.
National Show Wholesalers' Association of the United States, Chicago, Ill.
Western Paper Box Manufacturers' Association, Chicago, Ill.
Tri City Manufacturers' Association, Moline, Ill.
Employers' Association, Peoria, Ill.

Employers' Council, Marion, Ind.
Commercial Club, Fort Dodge, Iowa.
Sioux City Industrial Association, Sioux City, Iowa.
Arkansas City Commercial Club, Arkansas City, Kans.
Kansas Master Plumbers' Association, Kansas City, Kans.
Beverly Board of Trade, Beverly, Mass.
Employers' Association of Boston, Boston, Mass.
National Association of Merchant Tailors of America, Boston, Mass.
New England Confectioners' Club, Boston, Mass.
New England Stove Manufacturers' Association, Boston, Mass.
Cotton Manufacturers' Association, Fall Fiver, Mass.
Master Expressmen's Association, Springfield, Mass.
National Metal Trades Association, Springfield, Mass.
National Machine Tool Builders' Association, Worcester, Mass.
Battle Creek Industrial Association, Battle Creek, Mich.
Employers' Association of Detroit, Detroit, Mich.
Michigan Manufacturers' Association, Detroit, Mich.
Citizens' Alliance of Saginaw, Saginaw, Mich.
Saginaw Valley Lumber Dealers' Association, Saginaw, Mich.
Citizens Alliance, Minneapolis, Minn.
Draymen's Protective Association of Minneapolis, Minneapolis, Minn.
Master Sheet Metal Workers' Association, Minneapolis, Minn.
Kansas City Team Owners' Association, Kansas City, Mo.
Liverymen Undertakers' Mutual Benevolent Association, Kansas City, Mo.
Master Bakers' Club, Kansas City, Mo.
Association of Master Plumbers, St. Louis, Mo.
St. Louis Board of Trade, St. Louis, Mo.
Travelers' Protective Association, St. Louis, Mo.
Union Club, St. Louis, Mo.
Commercial Club, Fremont, Nebr.
Board of Trade, Jersey City, N. J.
Broad Silk Manufacturers' Association, Paterson, N. J.
Commercial Club, Las Vegas, N. Mex.
Buffalo Foundrymen's Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Buffalo Metal Trades Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Builders' Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
Typothetæ of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y.
Carriage Builders' National Association, Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Railway Business Association, New York, N. Y.
Silk Throwsters' Association of America, New York.
Employers' Association of Niagara Falls, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Business Men's Association, Norwich, N. Y.
Business Men's Association, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
Merchant Bakers' Exchange, Syracuse, N. Y.
Syracuse Typothetæ, Syracuse, N. Y.
Employers' Association, Utica, N. Y.
Northern New York Paper & Pulp Manufacturers' Association, Watertown, N. Y.
Waverly, Syre & Athens Pharmaceutical Association, Waverly, N. Y.
Greensboro Chamber of Commerce, Greensboro, N. C.
Employers' Association, Akron, Ohio.
National Gas and Gasoline Engine Trades Association, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Ohio Manufacturers' Association, Columbus, Ohio.
Dayton Chamber of Commerce, Dayton, Ohio.
Employers' Association, Portsmouth, Ohio.
National Machine Tool Builders' Association, Springfield, Ohio.
Business Men's Exchange, Erie, Pa.
Oxford Board of Trade, Oxford, Pa.
National Association of Hosiery & Underwear Manufacturers, Philadelphia, Pa.
American Association of Flint & Lime Glass Manufacturers, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Manufacturers' Association of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Pittsburgh Typothetæ, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Employers' Association of Wilkes-Barre & Wyoming Valley, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Master Builders' Exchange, York, Pa.
Manufacturing Jewelers' Board of Trade, Providence, R. I.
Nashville Board of Trade, Nashville, Tenn.
Fort Worth Board of Trade, Fort Worth, Tex.
Professional Photographers of Texas, Gainesville, Tex.

United Metal Trades Association, Seattle, Wash.
Janesville Manufacturers' Association, Janesville, Wis.
Wisconsin Lumber Dealers' Association, Milwaukee, Wis.

FEBRUARY 10, 1913.

Mr. EMERY. Mr. Chairman, before leaving the witness stand, if you will permit me, in view of the testimony of Mr. Cole this morning, I should like to state, if I may, that I have no recollection of the interview which Mr. Cole referred to this morning. It doubtless occurred, because his memory of the particulars is better than mine, but I did not recall that Mr. Cole had ever been in my office. Mr. Mulhall did not visit Mr. Cole at my direction or request or suggestion, and Mr. Cole did not come to my office, nor did I ever address him on the subject of his opposition to the Cannon rules or any other subject. If Mr. Cole did come to my office and have the short interview which he stated, it is the only time I ever met him. I did not know him even by sight when I saw him this morning.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you know whether your association took any action whatsoever in the contest for nomination in which Mr. Cole was a candidate?

Mr. EMERY. To the best of my knowledge, Mr. Stafford, I did not know of any relationship of the association to it until it was referred to in the correspondence here produced. And I should like to add to that statement, Mr. Chairman, since it has been referred to, that I have no recollection of but two Members of Congress ever having visited me in my office during its existence here. One was a personal friend, who came to me on a matter that referred in no way to legislation—to discuss a hunting trip. The other conveyed to me an invitation from an association in Philadelphia. I refer to Mr. Difenderfer, of Philadelphia. I may have the name slightly wrong, but he was a member of the Philadelphia Credit Men's Association and conveyed to me an invitation to make an address at the annual gathering of that association at Philadelphia, but I was not in the office when he called and acknowledged his invitation by letter.

(At this point the committee proceeded to hear the argument of Mr. James A. Emery.)

SELECT COMMITTEE ON LOBBY INVESTIGATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, September 19, 1913.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Finis J. Garrett (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Cline, Russell, Ferris, Stafford, Willis, and MacDonald.

TESTIMONY OF HON. CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not know, Mr. Chairman, just exactly what your order may be, or your method of procedure, but if it is agreeable to the committee I think I should personally prefer to start with what rather strikes me perhaps as the beginning of any connection I may have had with the matters under investigation, and go along and follow it through. Meanwhile, if the committee desires to interrogate me as I go along, that is agreeable to me; or, if they prefer to wait until I have finished, that also is agreeable to me.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the committee, after one or two questions of a formal character, would desire that you make your statement in your own way. Will you give the length of your service in the House, etc.?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I would like first to say, Mr. Chairman, that I would like to have the committee feel that I appreciate their courtesy in accommodating themselves somewhat to my professional engagements and my own time about being able to appear. The chairman was nice enough to call my attention by telegraph to the fact that I could be heard something more than a week ago, but meanwhile I had professional engagements in Maine which it was almost impossible for me to turn aside, and I did not get through with those until Tuesday afternoon about half past 2 or 3 o'clock. Under the circumstances, while I appreciate the fact that it has been somewhat of an inconvenience to the committee, I should like to have the committee feel that I appreciate the courtesy.

I was elected to the House of Representatives some time in June, 1899, to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Nelson Dingley, jr., of the second district of Maine, he having been elected the preceding fall. My services in the House of Representatives continued until September 30, 1908, at which time my resignation took effect. I had resigned somewhere in March, I think, 1908. My active service in the House began with the beginning of the December session in 1899,

and ended, so far as its active connection with the House was concerned, with the adjournment of the long session in 1908.

I should like to say before going further that so far as I have had the time and so far as I have been furnished with printed copies of your hearings, both here and in the Senate, I have run through them and know what apparently relates to myself, but it is quite possible that there may be more or less matter in the hearings, both in the Senate and here, to which my attention has not been called. As I understand it, the Printing Office was some four or five days behind in the case of both committees, and until I reached here last night and had a conference with Mr. Emery at my hotel—the Hamilton—there were some of the hearings I had not had an opportunity to see. I imagine there may be some yet I have not seen. So, while I may refer to items as I go along, it is quite possible that there may be matters to which I might make reference if my attention had been called to them and to which I do not refer for that reason.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the last House print you have seen? Do you remember?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The last I have seen, I think, was No. 26, of September 9.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think anything has appeared in any record since then concerning you.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Then it is quite possible I have had everything that has appeared. There were some of the hearings that crossed me on my way from Rockland to New York. That is, I had my office, as fast as they came, send them to me at Rockland, so that I could keep up with my examination. But the last installment they sent down was sent to Rockland about the time I was leaving Rockland, and had not been returned to New York when I left there. But I imagine there is not very much in them, probably, to which my attention has not been directed.

I was appointed at the first session, perhaps it is proper for me to say, a member of the Committee on the Judiciary on the part of the House, and I held that position as a member of the Judiciary Committee during my whole service in the House. Now, with reference to matters in controversy, to which——

Mr. STAFFORD. What other committees were you on during your service in the House?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not remember, Mr. Stafford, what other committees I had at that time. Later on, either in the next or the succeeding Congress, at the request of Gen. Grosvenor, I was placed on Merchant Marine and Fisheries against my own objection and contrary to my own wishes. I served continuously after being appointed on the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries until my resignation. The only other committee I now remember was the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture——

Mr. STAFFORD. The two main committees were the Committees on the Judiciary and on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; the Committees on the Judiciary and Merchant Marine and Fisheries were the only committees of any consequence. I will also say, inasmuch as I have called attention to the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture, that

the chairmanship of that committee is the only chairmanship that I ever requested of the Speaker. My object in getting it mainly was to get a room, as the chairmen of all committees had, where I could do my work. I think I had that during my last two terms; I am not quite certain. It was, I think, during the last session of the first term of holding that committee that I made the investigation of the Department of Agriculture, covering 800, 900, or 1,000 pages, and accompanied by a report of from 40 to 50 pages. With those two exceptions those are all the committees I served on while a Member of the House, so far as I remember.

When I came here in 1899 I found here on the spot—although I had not at that time any active controversy with it—a very active, energetic, effective, and aggressive lobby on the part of the American Federation of Labor and some other allied labor organizations. Mr. Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, was, of course, leading that organization in its activities with regard to Members of the House and legislation they desired.

A gentleman by the name of Fuller represented, if I remember correctly, some labor organizations—either the railroad trainmen or the railroad conductors, I am not quite sure which. He took a very active and energetic interest in legislation of that character. A gentleman by the name of Andrew Furuseth represented those organizations in connection with legislation pending before the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and was very much interested and energetic and active in producing results.

I have had my attention called to Speaker Clark's letter to President Gompers, written some time after the campaign in 1906, in which he discusses somewhat the question of whether or not Mr. Gompers was or was not useful to me in the election of 1906. I shall not stop to discuss that, but the Speaker makes this statement:

> I am sure that I can prove by Brother Littlefield that President Gompers has influence in the House, for when Brother Littlefield forced his pilotage bill to a vote the other day, on the stand-up vote he had a substantial majority for his bill; but on roll call, where every man's name goes down in history, there was an overwhelming majority against the bill. Why that remarkable and sudden change in the minds of Representatives? President Gompers was against it; that's all; and that's fact No. 1 as to the influence of President Gompers.

In the same letter he calls attention to some legislation proposed by Mr. Hunt, of St. Louis—legislation that I do not have any recollection about—and he says:

> When Hon. John T. Hunt, Democrat, of St. Louis, called up his bill to prevent interstate carriers from carrying convict-made goods into States prohibiting the sale of the same, the opposition to it was pitiable in its weakness, only half a dozen speaking against it in a half-hearted manner and only three voting against it. The wherefore of that unusual approach to unanimity was the fact that President Gompers and all the millions of unionized labor were in favor of the bill. Hunt was the father of the bill, and he made a strong, conservative, and convincing speech in its behalf.

Now, it is true that the Speaker can prove those facts by me, because I think this statement of his understates rather than overstates the dominating influence that Mr. Gompers and his people had at that time and, so far as I know, during the whole period of my connection with the House, from 1899 up to 1908.

I will just read a short extract from Senator Beveridge's letter, written in 1908, as indicating his view and tending to show what, in my judgment, to a greater or less extent existed. He says:

The result is that every measure they propose, while at first received with coldness and hostility, finally assumes the proportions of a movement and great numbers of Senators and Congressmen vote for such measures through fear.

I do not propose to undertake to analyze the motives of any Member of the House or Senate in voting for legislation. I have no question but that the influence of these organizations produced the result described, but whether it was influence or fear I do not undertake to say. My own opinion is, as I have already said, that these statements rather understate than overstate the effect of influences that were then being exerted and continued to be exerted.

If I were to state it another way I would perhaps say that whenever any question arose as to opposition to a measure supported by Mr. Gompers and his people, as a rule the tall timber was rather densely populated and there was plenty of room in the open. I do not want to go further than that. The men I have served with in the House of Representatives were almost invariably gentlemen of character, and personally I do not propose to make any reflection upon any of them. But I have not any doubt that that condition of things was true.

The first experience I had with the gentlemen interested in this legislation—and I would like to say here that with the exception of Mr. Gompers, who has taken occasion several times to make remarks about me that might be characterized perhaps as somewhat mean and nasty, I never have received from any man connected with the American Federation of Labor or any labor organization an improper, discourteous, or unkind remark. I never have met any of them when I have not been treated by them as a gentleman.

During this whole period, as I shall explain a little later, I did my best to hold up some of the legislation they insisted upon; and it was not only well known to them, but to everybody. There was no concealment about it and no misunderstanding. I never received, so far as I know, any improper censure from any of them except Mr. Gompers. Of course, he had considerable personal feeling about the matter, but I never had any personal trouble with Mr. Gompers at any time, either in personal conversation or otherwise.

Then, perhaps, I may go further and say, which may seem somewhat surprising, that during my whole service in this House, although during a part of it I was more or less successful in preventing the passage of the legislation these people insisted upon, I never received one single anonymous letter of an improper character, and I do not remember receiving any letter that one gentleman could not write to another upon a subject of that character.

I am not undertaking to give these things by the card, because I have not had the opportunity of examining the Congressional Record in order to be sure about them, but in 1900, my recollection is, toward the latter end of the long session, which was my first session, beginning December, 1899, and the House adjourning some time in the spring of 1900 prior to the congressional elections in 1900—my recollection is that for the first time the questions in which the Federation was interested came up upon the floor of the House for discussion.

I did not take very much part in the discussion, although I did to some extent, of the measure that was then being discussed which had come from the Judiciary Committee. I opposed an amendment, if I remember correctly, and I think there was a yea-and-nay roll call upon that proposition which disclosed, I think, 7 votes in opposition. I remember them fairly well, because I remember seeing them printed in black-face type in the newspapers, not only then, but for a number of years afterwards. I think there were 7 votes in opposition to the American Federation of Labor. My recollection is that that proposition was to exempt them from the operation of the Sherman antitrust law.

Of course, the committee does not expect me to discuss the legal features of this question, but my attitude was then, continued to be, and is now that, so far as I was concerned, I would not stand for any legislation that did not give every man the equal protection of the law. I would not give labor organizations any legislation that would not apply equally to other organizations.

That was in 1900. The next thing I remember in connection with this, without going over the record carefully, was that the matter came up in the Judiciary Committee in 1900 or 1901. I think that was in the long session in 1901.

Mr. STAFFORD. Pardon me, but the long sessions are those in the even numbered years.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; I know. Of course, the short session ended March, 1901, and the long session began December, 1901, and ended in the spring of 1902. I have not had time to examine the data so as to give you exactly the day and date, but I have here a speech I made at the conclusion of my term, and in that speech I included, as Appendix B, the minority views that I filed as a member of the Judiciary Committee in 1901. That will be found in Report 1522, part 2, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session. With the consent of the committee I should be glad to have this go in at this stage without reading it.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that will be done.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. This stated the attitude that I then took upon the bill. The Judiciary Committee had taken this bill, introduced by Mr. Grosvenor, and reported it to the House. I shall not go into the details before the committee, except to say that when I came to draw my minority views the only two men on the committee—the committee then consisting, I think, of something like 17; I think it has since been enlarged to 21—who joined in the minority were Mr. Robert Nevin, of Ohio, and myself. That I desire to have inserted in the record as showing my position in relation to that.

(The report referred to is as follows:)

APPENDIX B.

[House of Representatives, Report 1522, part 2, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.]

LIMITING THE MEANING OF THE WORD CONSPIRACY.

Mr. Littlefield, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the following as the views of the minority (to accompany H. R. 11060):

The undersigned, a member of the Judiciary Committee, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 11060) to limit the meaning of the word "conspiracy" and the

use of "restraining orders and injunctions" in certain cases, which bill has been reported by the Judiciary Committee without amendment with a favorable recommendation, begs leave to submit herewith views giving reasons why the bill should not become a law without certain amendments materially modifying its provisions and narrowing its scope. It is a bill to define the meaning of the word conspiracy and regulate the use of restraining orders and injunctions. It defines conspiracy as follows (leaving out the language not involved in the definition):

"That no agreement, combination, or contract by or between two or more persons to do or procure to be done, or not to do or procure not to be done, any act in contemplation or furtherance of any trade dispute between employers and employees * * * shall be deemed criminal, nor shall those engaged therein be indictable or otherwise punishable for the crime of conspiracy, if such act committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime."

It is further provided in the act as follows:

"Nor shall such agreement, combination, or contract be considered as in restraint of trade or commerce."

This last clause is intended to exempt employers and employees contemplating or engaged in the furtherance of any trade dispute from the operation of the Sherman antitrust act. Following the definition and this clause is the general provision, "nor any restraining order or injunction be issued with relation thereto." It is submitted that the bill ought not to become a law until it is amended in two important particulars:

First. By striking out the words "nor shall such agreement, combination, or contract be considered as in restraint of trade or commerce."

EXCEPTION TO SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT.

The only statute of the United States that prohibits contracts and agreements in restraint of trade and commerce is the Sherman antitrust act, approved July 2, 1890.

That statute makes such contracts and agreements criminal and imposes upon the parties making them penalties of fine and imprisonment. It makes no discrimination between classes or individuals. In its application it is not a respecter of persons. It does not select, as it ought not, persons engaged in any particular business or occupation, as distinguished from other kinds of business or occupation, as subject to its penalties. It operates equally and alike upon all. If the results legislated against are properly the subject of criminal legislation, all agencies through which such results are produced must be equally within the penal provisions of the act, as otherwise the restraint of trade and commerce could not be effectually prevented. If the result is injurious, all acts producing the results should be under the ban of the statute.

It is certainly conceivable that acts may be done in "contemplation or furtherance of any trade dispute between employers and employees" that would not be "in restraint of trade or commerce," and it is undoubtedly true that acts might be specially directed to or necessarily involve the "restraint of trade or commerce" for the purpose of furthering such dispute. It can hardly be insisted that a set of acts done to accomplish a particular purpose, and which as a part thereof necessarily restrain trade or commerce, should be held innocent and harmless when intended to produce results denounced as criminal, while other acts of the same general character, not involving this particular purpose, but producing the same result, should be held criminal.

No reason is perceived why the law should discriminate as to the purpose for which trade or commerce should be restrained. We do not think it proper to discriminate between the classes of persons or the acts in which they may be engaged when such acts equally tend to and bring about the same criminal result. It is not within the proper province of the lawmaking power to make fish of one and fowl of the other. A State with its recognized power of sovereignty is impotent to obstruct interstate commerce, but this bill without amendment would in effect authorize persons engaged in the furtherance of a trade dispute, employers and employees, to make contracts and agreements, do acts that would obstruct interstate commerce, and thus exercise powers not possessed by a sovereign State.

We can not feel that the proponents of the bill would desire this result. With the language stricken out as proposed by the amendment it will be seen that the language of the bill is sweeping and far-reaching, and it would be

difficult to say just how far the court would go in holding under it that parties to combinations between employers or employees for the furtherance of a trade dispute would be excepted from the operations of the Sherman antitrust act. It is quite possible that its operation will prove to be more extensive than is contemplated by conservative judgment. When the friends of the bill have the full benefit of such extremely general language, with its inherent possibilities of judicial construction, it would appear to be as far as they ought to ask the legislative power to go.

Second. The broad and comprehensive scope of the definition of the word "conspiracy" under the terms of this proposed act should be narrowed and confined within at least reasonable limits.

THE ENGLISH LAW.

An examination of the origin of the legislation which is relied upon as the precedent for this bill will, perhaps, be instructive. Jackson H. Ralston, Esq., an attorney at law and counsel for the Federation of Labor, drew this bill and appeared before the committee during the last Congress in advocacy thereof. As to the precise language of the bill and the precedents therefor he used this language at the hearing:

"I want to say that upon examination of the statute law of other jurisdictions I found that the Parliament of England had met the very condition that seemed to be confronting the labor organization here, and in the act known as the 'Trades-union act of 1875' Parliament had provided that where an act could be committed by an individual and not be criminal, the same act, if committed by a number of individuals in combination, could not be made the subject of the criminal-conspiracy law or could not be deemed a criminal act.

"The CHAIRMAN. What was the date of that act?

"Mr. RALSTON. That act was passed in 1875.

"Mr. PARKER. Does it apply to all acts, no matter what they are?

"Mr. RALSTON. In relation to trades disputes.

"Mr. PARKER. It would not, therefore, apply to a boycott?

"Mr. RALSTON. Yes; it would apply there absolutely.

"The CHAIRMAN. Even if they starved the man to death?

"Mr. RALSTON. Yes, sir; it would apply to an act of that kind, and for this reason: That any man has a legal right to purchase from any other man that he chooses, and there is a correlative right in every man to refuse to sell him his goods. That is right."

Very clearly giving to the committee the impression that the language which he quoted as being the substance of the English law was a correct statement of the scope of that legislation. And upon this same point, more effectively impressing the committee with the idea that he was simply asking in substance a reenactment of the English statute, and leaving upon their minds the impression that its scope, operation, and effect had been accurately stated by him, he said further:

"Continuing the argument I had in mind, I have stated, I think correctly, the law under this act of 1875. Now, the trades-union act was followed in Maryland in the act of 1884. I have here the Maryland act as it was incorporated in the code of 1888. The language is as follows:

"'An agreement or combination by two or more persons to do or procure to be done any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workmen shall not be indictable as a conspiracy if such act committed by one person would not be punishable as an offense. Nothing in this section shall affect the law relating to riot, unlawful assembly, breach of the peace, or any offense against any person or against property.'

"That is, as I say, the language of the Maryland act of 1884.

"Mr. PARKER. And that was the language of the English act of 1875?

"Mr. RALSTON. Almost identically the language of the English act and the language which has been followed in the bill now before the committee."

Thus very clearly leaving upon the mind of the committee the impression that he had accurately stated the scope of the English statute. The quotation which Mr. Ralston made from the Maryland statute is accurate, and the effect of making the quotation is only to intensify the impression that he had also accurately stated the scope of the English statute. This presentation of the English statute, with the idea that Congress was to accept it as a legislative precedent in legislating upon this subejct, was a very serious misconception of

the scope of the English law. The fact is, as the brief analysis of the English statute which is given below will show beyond all possible peradventure, that the English statute when accurately stated is very much narrower in its scope than the language used by Mr. Ralston in stating the English law, and is in fact, by numerous limitations and restrictions upon its operation, not only practically innocuous, but extremely oppressive in its operation upon laboring men, as it creates offenses theretofore unknown in the English law and never yet made nor attempted to be made criminal in any American jurisdiction.

What Mr. Ralston did was to take one section of a chapter nearly word for word, disconnect it from at least eight distinct and specific provisions which narrowed and limited the scope of its operations. The section which he quoted as a legislative precedent for our action reads as follows, and is a part of the conspiracy and protection of property act of 1875:

"An agreement or combination by two or more persons to do, or procure to be done, any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workmen shall not be indictable as a conspiracy if such act committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime."

The first exception reads as follows:

"Nothing in this section shall exempt from punishment any persons guilty of a conspiracy for which a punishment is awarded by any act of Parliament."

Just what the scope of this exception is could not be stated in detail without an examination of the statutory law of England to ascertain as to what particular subjects the law of conspiracy applies.

The second exception is:

"Nothing in this section shall affect the law relating to riot, unlawful assemblage, breach of the peace, or sedition, or any offense against the State or the Sovereign."

The third exception provides:

"Where any person willfully and maliciously breaks a contract of service or of hiring, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the probable consequences of his so doing, either alone or in combination with others, will be to endanger human life or cause serious bodily injury, or to expose valuable property, whether real or personal, to destruction or serious injury, he shall, on conviction thereof by a court of summary jurisdiction or indictment, as hereinafter mentioned, be liable either to pay a penalty not exceeding £20 or to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three months, with or without hard labor."

The scope of this exception will be appreciated when it is considered that it is not infrequently the "probable consequence" of a strike to expose valuable property—a man's business is certainly "valuable property"—to serious injury, and wherever there is reasonable cause to believe that such consequences are probable it is very clear that a single individual, independent of conspiracy, who "willfully and maliciously" violated his contract of service or hiring with that end in view, would be punishable under the English law by fine and imprisonment. Such an act, it is believed, is not made a crime in any jurisdiction in this country, and it is thought that the Federation of Labor, which desires this legislation, would protest with great vigor, and properly so, against the enactment of a statute which would make such an act on the part of a single individual punishable by fine and imprisonment. We only call attention to the exceptions which would affect laboring men, as this legislation is requested and urged principally by the labor organizations for the purpose of ameliorating their condition.

The fourth exception limiting the scope of this provision of the English law provides that every person who uses violence to or intimidates any other person, or his wife or children, or injures his property with a view to compel such other person to abstain from doing or to do any act which such other person has a legal right to do or abstain from doing, wrongfully and without authority, "shall, on conviction thereof by a court of summary jurisdiction, or on indictment as hereinafter mentioned, be liable either to pay a penalty not exceeding £20, or to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three months, with or without hard labor."

The fifth exception provides that whoever for the same purpose persistently follows such other person about from place to place should be punished in the same manner.

The sixth exception provides that whoever for the same purpose "hides any tools, clothes, or other property owned or used by such other person, or deprives him of or hinders him in the use thereof," shall be punished in the same manner.

The seventh exception provides that whoever for that purpose "watches or besets the house or other place where such other person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, or the approach to such a house or place," shall be punished in the same manner.

The eighth exception provides that whoever, for the same purpose, "follows such other person with two or more other persons in a disorderly manner in or through any street or road" shall be punished in the same manner.

All of these provisions, with the possible exception of some phases of that included in the fourth subdivision creating new and additional criminal offenses upon the part of laboring men, and especially laboring men engaged in the familiar methods universally employed for the purpose of alleviating their condition by strikes. In no instance in any jurisdiction in this country are any of those acts, except possibly some included in the fourth subdivision, made punishable as crimes. It may be safely said that legislation of that sort would not be tolerated for a moment by any of the organizations who are interested in the passage of this bill.

Instead of ameliorating the condition of the laboring man who desires to avail himself of the right of the strike or the boycott provisions of the law, such as exist in the English statute, they narrow and restrict the scope of the operation of the general provision which was, presumably under a misapprehension, cited to us as a precedent for this bill. The enactment of such drastic and oppressive provisions would place every laboring man in a strait-jacket and practically destroy the efficiency of every labor organization in the country. Yet when fairly stated the provision relied upon as a precedent for this bill should have been stated, and should be stated with all of these qualifications and restrictions.

It is not credible that the Federation of Labor would advocate the adoption of the English statute from which this extract upon which they rely as a precedent was made, creating as it does so many new offenses aimed explicitly and expressly against laboring men and labor organizations. When considered in connection with Federal legislation the application of these suggestions is necessarily confined to their effect upon interstate trade and commerce. A bill similar to this was reported by the Judiciary Committee in the last Congress (H. R. 8917, Rept. No. 2007), but at the time of making the report the attention of the committee had not been called to the provision above referred to in the English statute, but had, in fact, as the result of the partial statement of the counsel, been diverted therefrom. For that reason no allusion was made to it in that report.

The operation of this law in England, as might well be expected, has proved to be entirely satisfactory to the employers of labor. A short extract from a very able and instructive review of the legislation and its operation, made by A. Maurice Low, Esq., who went to England under the auspices of the Department of Labor and made an exhaustive and thorough investigation of the subject, may prove instructive:

"EFFECT OF THE ACT OF 1875.

"The passage of the act of 1875 was hailed by the workmen with great satisfaction. It was regarded by them as conceding all for which they had so long contended—the right to enter into a legal combination to thwart or restrict the efforts of their employers, to more narrowly define their rights, and to lighten the punishment which they might incur in case of any violation of the law. The employers did not regard the law without apprehension.

"How far these hopes on the one side and fears on the other have been realized is a striking commentary on the effect of judicial interpretation of statute law. Dealing for the time being with the law as viewed from the standpoint of the employer, the fact stands forth in bold relief that the law which the employers dreaded 25 years ago they would not to-day repeal had they the power. This is not the opinion of a single employer. It is the composite opinion of what may fairly be termed the representative employers of labor in the United Kingdom, men speaking for the basic industries on which must rest all commercial prosperity. The reason given by employers why they are satisfied with the existing law is that it is easier now to prosecute and convict men endeavoring to interfere with their business or their employees than it was prior to the passage of the act, and that the rights of both parties being more narrowly defined, both know precisely what they may or may not be permitted to do, and generally endeavor to keep within those limitations.

"The right of workmen to do in combination that which they might do legally as individuals, feared by the employers at the time of the passage of the act and hailed by the workmen as placing a powerful weapon in their hands, has, in practice, not been either so dangerous or as beneficial as was imagined at the time. That men can strike, either as individuals or in combination, and do other things in combination which would have been illegal under previous laws, does not apparently cause the employers much concern. So long as men go on strike and do not by intimidation or violence prevent other men from taking their places, employers feel able to cope with the situation. It is in dealing with this question that employers believe they have been distinct gainers by the passage of the conspiracy and protection of property act."

His general conclusions, which we quote below, are also instructive, but should be read in connection with the fact that the law relating to boycotts and strikes had been construed very much more oppressively against labor organizations than is the case in this country.

"GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

"What effect the passage of the law of 1875 has had in improving the relations between capital and labor is a question so difficult of exact determination, or of mathematical demonstration, that it can only be answered in the most cautious manner and by inference rather than by direct statement. Despite the frequent reference which has been made in this article to litigation—which, perhaps, is always the natural corollary of any legislative action or a complete change from the old-established order—and the admitted discontent with some of the phases of the law, that these relations have been improved must be conceded, and the acknowledgment is frankly made by the representatives of both capital and labor.

"One of the chief causes for this improvement is the power given to the workmen to do in combination that which they were before permitted to do as individuals only. That permission has removed one source of friction; it has with exactness limited the rights of the men, and there has been no attempt on the part of employers to interfere with this legal right. On the other hand, section 7, as judicially interpreted, enables the employers to prevent intimidation or coercion or interference with the carrying on of their business in their own way, and when an attempt is made to interfere with them a ready means is provided for obtaining relief. Perhaps the answer to the question as to the effect of the law on the relations between capital and labor can be best given in the words of two men—one entitled to speak as the representative of federated capital, the other as the representative of federated labor." The representative of capital said:

"We are satisfied with the law. We would not change it if we could, except to make clearer the definition of intimidation and coercion. Before the law came into effect we were harassed by picketing and besetting, and it was extremely difficult to secure a conviction. Now we are far less troubled by these forms of violence, and when it becomes necessary to appeal to the protection of the law it is quickly given us, and, where the case is a just one, we can rely on securing a conviction. But there is another reason why we think the law is a good thing and why it is mutually advantageous both to capital and labor. Prior to 1875 the relations between masters and men were vague, indefinite, barbaric, archaic. The men were denied the right to improve their condition, to obtain an increase of wages, to reduce their hours of labor. I mean, they were denied the right to attempt to do these things by peaceful means, a right which certainly belonged to them. These restrictions have been removed.

"We are often, I admit, dictated to by trade unions, often severe and burdensome restrictions are imposed upon us in the conduct of our business; still, I concede that the men have a right to try and obtain an amelioration of their condition provided they do not resort to illegal methods. Nor can it be denied that what we now recognize as legitimate was in the old days regarded as illegal; prosecutions were frequently instituted on frivolous grounds. The law has removed this cause of complaint. It has brought the relations between capital and labor into greater harmony. These relations are not yet perfect, but they are better than they were."

From the standpoint of the representative of labor the following:

"Speaking broadly, I have no hesitation in saying that the relations between capital and labor are better to-day than they were 25 years ago. I do not attribute all of this improvement to the passage of the law of 1875. I attribute part of that improvement to the law of that year, part to the better understanding which now exists between employer and employed, to the recognition that both have equal rights, to the recognition that both are mutually dependent on each other, that nothing can be to the advantage of the one without being to the advantage of the other, and, conversely, if one side is dissatisfied the other is sure to be, with the results that the consequences are injurious to both. Referring more directly to the law of 1875, its advantages to labor have been these:

"It has permitted us to do in combination what we were permitted to do as individuals, but which we were prohibited from doing in association before that law came into effect; it has more particularly established our rights; it has given us certain privileges and restrictions, and at the same time has laid equal privileges and restrictions upon employers; it has made us feel that we are not in a class by ourselves, but stand equal in the eye of the law with other men, which has had the effect of removing much of the bitterness, much of the feeling of injustice and inequality which formerly existed between capital and labor. The law is not to be regarded as perfect. It has not quite fulfilled all of our expectations. The courts, in the opinion of labor, have been to prone to construe the law in favor of capital. Some of the convictions under section 7 we regard as unwarranted by the law and the facts.

"The decision in Allen *v.* Flood was a great victory for us, but the limitation of the power to picket, the restrictions which are imposed upon us, the restraint under which we are held, the fact that we can only do certain negative things and have no power to act affirmatively have weakened instead of strengthened us when we are engaged in a conflict with capital. We should like to see the law amended. Its amendment has often been discussed by us, but I am frank to say I do not see any prospect of the law being modified to make it more acceptable to the workmen. Still, if the question were put to a vote, if we were asked whether we would have the law repealed or let it stand as it now is, faulty although we know it to be, I have no hesitation in saying that a majority of the intelligent workmen of Great Britain would vote in favor of the law being retained on the statute books."

That the English law, if adopted as it reads in the act of 1875, would be very much more restrictive and oppressive than any law that now exists in this country with reference to labor organizations is undeniable. That it would authorize the issuance of injunctions in a great many of the instances about which the most serious complaint is made is also true. It has been complained bitterly that injunctions have been issued to prevent laboring men from approaching a place of business, when the English law makes the mere watching of the approach to such house for the purpose indicated, although done by an individual, a crime. The walking delegate could not exist when the law made it a crime on the part of the single individual for said purpose to either watch or beset the house or other place where any person resided or where he carried on his business or happened to be. An injunction against a single individual persistenty following another about from place to place without any reference whatever to the place of business where he might be engaged or his own house, with a view to compel him to do or abstain from doing an act wrongfully and without legal authority, would be, if an injunction was issued in reference thereto, considered a gross abuse of the power of injunction, but in England no individual could thus follow a person from place to place, no matter where the place might be, without being punishable by fine or imprisonment.

It would no doubt be thought oppressive if the court punished by fine or imprisonment a single individual, to say nothing of a combination of individuals, for willfully or malicously breaking a contract of service or hiring, even though it was intended thereby to expose a business to injury. The business of an individual or corporation is valuable property. It would be purposely and designedly exposed to serious injury, or at least there may be reasonable cause to believe that would be the probable result, when the object of breaking a contract of service is to paralyze the business and bring it to an absolute standstill until what are not infrequently the reasonable demands of the laboring man are properly adjusted. If, however, a single individual in England saw fit to break his contract of service willfully and maliciously for the purpose of exposing to serious injury the business of his employer, or aiding

in that purpose, he would be punished by fine and imprisonment, and a combination could be restrained by injunction from carrying such purpose into effect.

It is thought that such an exercise of the power of injunction, which would be possible in this country if we took the English statute with its limitations, so far as applicable to interstate commerce, would be considered oppressive and dangerous to the last degree by the labor organizations. In short, under this statute, with its limitations and restrictions, it is difficult to see how laboring men could successfully and safely assert their rights and protect their interests. Yet this is the statute which we were led to believe furnished an adequate precedent for the pending bill.

We suggest, therefore, as a second amendment to this bill, the proviso which was reported as an amendment by the committee in the last Congress, which reads as follows:

"*Provided*, That the provisions of this act shall not apply to threats to injure the person or the property, business, or occupation of any person, firm, association, or corporation, to intimidation or coercion, or any acts causing or intended to cause an illegal interference, by overt acts, with the rights of others."

This proviso does not, we think, go as far in limiting the scope of the operation of the bill as do the various exceptions and limitations found in the English law. In other words, it leaves the bill with a wider field within which to operate than is covered by the precedent which is relied upon to justify it. Unlike the English exceptions, it does not make criminal or restrainable what was not before criminal or restrainable.

The bill provides that "any act in contemplation or furtherance of any trade dispute between employers and employees" shall not "be deemed criminal, nor shall those engaged therein be indictable or otherwise punishable for the crime of conspiracy, if such act committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime, nor shall any restraining order or injunction be issued with relation thereto."

This bill, as it reads, without amendment, would authorize a large number of persons engaged in the "furtherance of a trade dispute" to orally threaten personal violence and injury to persons, property, business, and occupations—to intimidate and coerce by oral threats—as such an act, when committed by one person, is not punishable as a crime. The only remedy for a threat to do personal injury in nearly every State jurisdiction is a proceeding to place the party making the threat under bonds to keep the peace, and thus prevent the commission of an act that would "be punishable as a crime." If such threat is ever punishable as a crime, it is an exception to which attention has not been called, and certainly is not the rule. This being the case, the bill would certainly authorize a combination of any size to orally threaten injury—to intimidate and coerce by oral threats—acts which we assume no one would desire to have permitted, much less authorized, by the provision of any public statute. We have been advised by some of those urging its passage that such a result was neither desirable nor desired.

The bill was evidently drawn under the misapprehension that oral threats to injure as aforesaid were "punishable as a crime." The object sought to be obtained by this act, as we understand it, is to prohibit the punishment of combinations organized to do or doing acts that would be lawful and proper if done by an individual, and to prohibit the use of injunctions to restrain the doing of such acts by any combination, acts which are not intended to and do not injure persons or property. We do not understand that anyone seriously contends that authority should be given, either directly or indirectly, by a public statute to any combination to orally threaten injury to persons or property, business or occupations, or intimidate or coerce by such threats, or to interfere with the legal rights of others, or that the courts should be prohibited from restraining such acts. It is for the purpose of preventing such an undesired and unwarrantable operation of the act and confining it to what its friends admit to be its legitimate scope that the adoption of the second amendment is recommended.

Moreover, it will be observed that this bill by its terms applies as well to employers as to employees, and whether that result is intended or not undoubtedly places the employers with reference to employees where they can take any kind of action in combination, which stops short of an actual crime by an individual employer, to oppress their employees without being subject to criminal punishment or the restraints of a court of equity, and to that extent very clearly leaves the employees at the mercy of the employer.

THE EXCEPTION IS CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The clause providing that such agreement, combination, or contract shall not be considered in restraint of trade or commerce, if it appeared in a law enacted by a State, would clearly be within and in violation of that provision of the Constitution being considered by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Connolly and another against The Union Sewer Pipe Co. It is that clause of the Constitution of the United States which is found in the fourteenth amendment and provides, among other things, that "no State shall * * * deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." An examination of the Constitution of the United States discloses the fact that there is no such prohibition applying to Federal legislation, and while a statute which denies to any person within the jurisdiction of the United States the equal protection of the laws is, when passed by Congress, equally in violation of the fundamental reasons which justify the existence of that amendment, such statute may not be invalid by reason of the absence of any such constitutional prohibition. Legislation of that character is clearly, however, obnoxious to the same consideration of justice, fairness, and public policy.

In discussing the statute of Illinois in connection with this constitutional provision in the case above referred to, the Supreme Court of the United States declared that by the fourteenth amendment it was—"Undoubtedly intended not only that there should be no arbitrary deprivation of life or liberty, or arbitrary spoliation of property, but that equal protection and security should be given to all under like circumstances in the enjoyment of their personal and civil rights; that all persons should be equally entitled to pursue their happiness and acquire and enjoy property; that they should have like access to the courts of the country for the protection of their persons and property, the prevention and redress of wrongs, and the enforcement of contracts; that no impediment should be interposed to the pursuits of anyone except as applied to the same pursuits by others under like circumstances; that no greater burdens should be laid upon one than are laid upon others in the same calling and condition; and that in the administration of criminal justice no different or higher punishment should be imposed upon one than such as is prescribed to all for like offenses."

In applying these general principles, held to be within the scope of the amendment to the case in hand, the court said:

"These principles, applied to the case before us, condemn the statute of Illinois. We have seen that under that statute all except producers of agricultural commodities and raisers of live stock who combine their capital, skill, or acts for any of the purposes named in the act may be punished as criminals, while agriculturalists and live-stock raisers, in respect of their products or live stock in hand, are exempted from the operation of the statute, and may combine and do that which, if done by others, would be a crime against the State. The statute so provides notwithstanding persons engaged in trade or in the sale of merchandise and commodities within the limits of a State and agriculturists and raisers of live stock are all in the same general class—that is, they are all alike engaged in domestic trade, which is of right open to all, subject to such regulations applicable alike to all in like conditions, as the State may legally prescribe. The difficulty is not met by saying that, generally speaking, the State when enacting laws may, in its discretion, make a classification of persons, firms, corporations, and associations in order to subserve public object."

And again:

"No duty rests more imperatively upon the courts than the enforcement of those constitutional provisions intended to secure that equality of rights which is the foundation of free government."

And again:

"Two or more engaged in selling dry goods, or groceries, or meats, or fuel, or clothing, or medicines, are under the statute criminals, and subject to a fine, if they combine their capital, skill, or acts for the purpose of establishing, controlling, increasing, or reducing prices, or of preventing free and unrestrained competition amongst themselves or others in the sale of their goods or merchandise; but their neighbors who happen to be agriculturalists and live-stock raisers may make combinations of that character in reference to their grain or live stock without incurring the prescribed penalty. Under what rule of

permissible classification can such legislation be sustained as consistent with the equal protection of the laws?"

And

"We conclude this part of the discussion by saying that to declare that some of the class engaged in domestic trade or commerce shall be deemed criminals if they violate the regulations prescribed by the State for the purpose of protecting the public against illegal combinations formed to destroy competition and to control prices, and that others of the same class shall not be bound to regard those regulations, but may combine their capital, skill, or acts to destroy competition and to control prices for their special benefit, is so manifestly a denial of the equal protection of the laws that further or extended argument to establish that position would seem to be unnecessary."

That the Sherman antitrust law denounces as a criminal, without any exception or reservation, every person who shall make a contract or combination in the form of a trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States and foreign nations, is very clear.

Two or more persons or corporations engaged in the business of manufacturing or selling "dry goods, or groceries, or meats, or fuel, or clothing, or medicines" (to quote the language of the court in the Illinois case), if they enter into a contract, or combination, or conspiracy in restraint of such interstate trade or commerce, would clearly be subject to fine and imprisonment, but under the provisions of this bill employers or employees who may be engaged in interstate commerce might make any contract or agreement in furtherance of any trade dispute between them, and although the direct and necessary effect of the contract and agreement might be not only to restrain but absolutely paralyze interstate trade and commerce, still under the provision of this bill such agreement, combination, or contract would not be considered as in restraint of trade and commerce, and would neither be indictable under the statute, nor could the making of such agreement be restrained by the court.

Upon the other hand, such acts or such agreement, if done or made by any other than the excepted parties, would clearly be indictable and restrainable under the provisions of the antitrust law. While it can be perhaps successfully contended that this exception would be constitutional, there is certainly strong ground for the conclusion that it is clearly within the principle and spirit of the Constitution, and this of itself should lead Congress to hesitate before passing legislation which would appear upon its face to be obnoxious to the idea that every person within the jurisdiction of the United States is entitled to the equal protection of the law, as "in the administration of criminal justice no different or higher punishment should be imposed upon one than such as is prescribed to all for like offenses." A fortiori, then, penalties imposed on criminal liability "should not be imposed upon one than such as is prescribed to all for like offenses."

Such legislation is not "intended to secure that equality of rights which is the foundation of free government."

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

Common courtesy requires that some reference should be made to the report of the committee, which contains a somewhat exhaustive exposition of this bill.

In reaching their conclusions the committee use some rather novel reasoning. An agreement or a contract without at least two parties thereto is unthinkable. On this point the committee, among other things, say:

"To make such an agreement a person who agrees with another to make and become a party to such a contract, combination, or agreement has agreed or conspired to commit an offense against the United States, which offense would be consummated if both parties should actually enter into such agreement, and hence under the provisions of the act of May 17, 1879, above quoted, he would be guilty of the crime of conspiracy the moment either party should actually consent and become a party to the contract or combination forbidden by the act of July 2, 1890, even if the other person should then refuse to enter into the combination, contract, or agreement made illegal by that act, and which the two persons had agreed to make, and it would be entirely immaterial that no act was done by either party in restraint of trade or commerce."

That is to say, "the moment either party" becomes "a party to the contract," which must of necessity involve the idea of the other party becoming a party also, he would be guilty of conspiracy "even if the other person should then refuse to enter into the contract," leaving only one party to act.

One party would be guilty of conspiring, though he had no one to conspire with. It is possible that this may be logic, but it is submitted, with great deference to the committee, that it is chopping logic a trifle fine. This fine, close reasoning is characteristic of the report.

Attention is called to this lucid statement:

"Suppose the persons referred to, not intending to enter into an agreement which will violate that act or to commit any crime, but desire to make an agreement as to their future conduct and acts in aid or furtherance of a trade dispute between themselves and their employers, do make an agreement (all unconsciously) which is in restraint of trade or commerce between the several States if executed. That is, it provides for the doing or not doing of acts which, if done or not done, will necessarily to some extent restrain such trade or commerce. Here there was no prior agreement to make this particular contract, but in determining and agreeing what they will do or will not do such an illegal contract or combination is actually made. Here, clearly, is no conspiracy to make an illegal agreement, and there can be no punishment for a conspiracy under existing law so far as the mere making of the agreement is concerned, although it is an illegal agreement, can not be enforced, and the parties have committed a misdemeanor (by making it) under the provisions of subdivision 2 of section 1 of the act of July 2, 1890."

Here, if the reasoning of the committee is correctly apprehended under this illustration, "there can be no punishment for a conspiracy under existing law," as there is no conspiracy to conspire on the part of the parties.

THE EFFECT OF THE BILL.

The proposition which seems to give the committee the greatest satisfaction is its discovery as to what it calls the "effect of the bill."

It seems that it has ascertained that all this bill purports to do is to make "nonenjoinable, and in some cases unpunishable," "the agreement, combination, or contract described" only "not an act done or threatened to be done in pursuance thereof."

"The act, or any unlawful act done in the execution of such agreement, combination, or contract is still punishable (if an offense), still considered in restraint of trade or commerce (if it is), and in proper cases may be enjoined or restrained." That is to say, employers or employees in "the furtherance of any trade dispute" may with impunity make any kind of an agreement they like that tends to advance their interests, but the moment they undertake by acts done "or threatened by them" to execute their agreement thus authorized by law, if such acts "would interfere with such commerce to the extent of restraining it," they would be subject to restraining orders and punishment the same as now. This is what the committee says it thinks the bill means.

Summed up in a sentence it means that it is lawful to agree and contract and contrive to do what it is unlawful to do. If you undertake to carry out a valid contract you may be committing a crime and be subject to a restraining order.

The law expressly authorizes you to make a contract and immediately punishes you if you undertake to carry it out. It is to be noticed that although the report of the committee bears evidence of extended investigation, it does not favor us with any case that even inferentially sustains so abnormal a proposition. There is no occasion to discuss it as a legal proposition. With all respect to the committee, it does not appear to be justified by common sense. It must impress the labor organizations as a profound concession to be allowed the high and lofty privilege of being allowed to agree to do acts that they are not allowed to perform. They may agree to strike, but they must not strike. With such a great addition to their existing rights they may be expected to improve their condition.

To place such a construction upon the bill is to insult the intelligence of the labor organizations which are promoting this bill and stultify the attorneys who drew it. If this opinion of the committee is sound, the bill accomplishes nothing. It is to be hoped that it is not for the reason that it entertains that view that the committee reports the bill with a favorable recommendation.

From that point of view the bill does not rise to the dignity of a tub to a whale. It is idle to suggest that men ought not to have the right to do what they have the right to agree to do. If the committee really takes this view, and really desires to aid employers and employees along these lines—believes that full effect should be given to the evident intent—it could very easily have eliminated any question such as it has raised by simply amending the bill by insert-

ing after the word "contract," in the third line on page 1, the words "or act done in pursuance thereof," and the same words after the word "contract," in the third line on the second page of the bill. Perhaps the friends of the bill will test the enthusiasm of the committee by insisting on such an amendment in order to dispel the doubt thus raised.

It is not believed that this clause is necessary; but if the committee's view is correct, in order to raise the bill above the dignity of blank paper for any practical purposes it is necessary.

The committee, moreover, appear to be a trifle enamored of this idea, and iterate and reiterate it again and again, finally "emphatically and as a repetition," so that this interesting idea can not be an inadvertence.

This report is full of protestations of friendship for and sympathy with employees, but we fear that the employees, when they realize the infinitesimal character of the alleged relief that the committee believes it is giving them, may reach the inference that these protestations are entitled to some discount.

It is not necessary to follow the committee through all its reasoning in this report.

It suggests some amendments which would, it thinks, as successfully emasculate the bill as does its novel construction but does not say it is intended to press them. With reference to the effect of this bill unamended it says:

"No serious harm can come of it. The evils it is claimed would follow its enactment into law are largely imaginary. The workingmen of the United States who demand this legislation are as loyal and well-disposed and law-abiding as any class of our citizens. * * * It is difficult to find serious objections to this provision. The enactment of this bill into law will give no aid or encouragement to lawbreaking or lawbreakers. We discover nothing in this proposed legislation that cripples government, imperils capital, permits restraint of interstate trade and commerce, or merits denunciation."

As tending to suggest in some degree a contrary inference, reference is made to a short debate in the last Congress upon a bill identical with this, where the principal question was whether the amendments heretofore suggested in these views should be adopted. During that debate the gentleman from New York [Mr. Ray], then the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, characterized the effect of the bill as it now reads, without the amendments, in the following language:

"We do not propose to permit combinations to destroy property, to injure persons, to overthrow society, law, and order to be legalized, and no man who loves his country and favors law and order, and the preservation of property and property rights, and the general good and prosperity of the country will favor a measure that not only permits but legalizes such combinations. Personal liberty is a grand thing, but it should not include license to do unlawful acts or interfere with the person and property of others unlawfully."

Hence the amendment. It would seem, if these remarks were seriously intended, that there are those who think that the unamended bill "merits denunciation." "No man who loves his country and favors law and order * * * will favor a measure * * *." The amendment referred to is identical with the one hereinbefore referred to. Without the amendment the bill would have read precisely as now reported by the committee, and would, in the opinion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Ray] license "unlawful acts," "interfere with the person and property of others unlawfully," and legalize "combinations to destroy property, injure persons, and overthrow society, law, and order."

These vigorous sentiments are singularly illuminating when considered in connection with this display head in the report, "Will not aid or encourage lawlessness."

In discussing further the purpose and effect of these amendments the gentleman from New York [Mr. Ray] said: "And no man possessed of good sense or desiring to have good order in a community would ask to have one of those acts excepted from the operation of the bill by the amendment legalized. We desire to protect the interests of mercantile men, business men, and railroad and other corporations, while at the same time protecting the interests of the great labor organizations of this country. This we do by the amendments of the bill. They are wise and necessary."

Without the amendments, according to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Ray], their interests would be unprotected. Upon that portion of this bill "intended to effect a modification of the so-called 'Sherman antitrust law'" the gentleman from New York [Mr. Ray] said: "If we forbid a corporation to do a certain act and make the act a crime, that same act ought to be wrong

and criminal in the eye of the law, if done by one man or by a dozen men. It ought to be wrong, whether it is committed by an individual or by an organization."

Comment is unnecessary. That the committee has received light that was not vouchsafed to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Ray] seems quite obvious.

STATEMENT OF THE ENGLISH LAW BY THE COMMITTEE.

Assuming that the committee intend to make an accurate statement of the English law on this subject, in their report they are somewhat unfortunate. It is apparently relied upon by the committee as a controlling precedent for this bill. It quotes the general provision of the English conspiracy and protection of property act of 1875 without quoting the eight exceptions which qualify, limit, and narrow its operation. It states the general provision of the English law without even intimating the substance of the exceptions. It does not even state that the English law as a whole not only did not ameliorate the condition of organized labor but imposed new and oppressive restrictions upon them.

After having quoted the general provisions, without any reference whatever to these important limitations, the committee quote from Mr. Low's report, explaining the "practical working of this law," which would show that it was very conservative in its operation, clearly giving the impression that the general provision which it quotes was "this law" upon which Mr. Low was making his report, when, in fact, it was not that provision at all but the statute as a whole that he was discussing. Still, whoever reads the committee report, and especially this paragraph by itself, would clearly get the impression that the general provision was in substance the English law referred to, when the fact is directly the reverse.

The force of this criticism is not affected by the fact that at the close of this paragraph containing the erroneous statement and comments a general reference is made to "the criminal statutes of Great Britain." Without referring to this particular statute it is said "that they make criminal many acts that are innocent here." This draws the attention from, rather than directly to, this particular provision in question and does not call attention to any of the "many acts that are innocent here."

Moreover, the uncertainty is increased by the statement "that the principle involved is precisely the same."

THE NEW YORK LAW.

It is likewise unfortunate in its reference to the conspiracy laws of New York, if the quotations which it makes therefrom are accurate. It says, after making its quotation, "It will be noted that no agreement to commit an act can be a conspiracy under this law unless such act would or might be an offense or unlawful if committed by one person acting alone;" on the contrary, there are several specifications referred to in the quotation which are certainly not made crimes, "if committed by one person acting alone," by any of the provisions of the law cited, nor is the criminal character of a conspiracy to do the acts made to depend upon the fact that the act if performed by one person would be "punishable as a crime."

Such as—

"(2) Falsely and maliciously to indict another for a crime, or to procure another to be complained against or arrested for a crime; or

"(3) Falsely to institute or maintain an action or special proceedings; or

"(5) To prevent another from exercising another trade or calling, or doing any other lawful act, by force, threats, intimidation, or by interfering or threatening to interfere with tools, implements, or property belonging or used by another, or with the use or employment thereof; or

"(6) To commit any act injurious to the public health, to public morals, or to trade or commerce, or for the perversion or obstruction of justice, or of the due administration of the laws."

In the last specification there are undoubtedly included offenses that would be punishable as crimes if committed by one alone. Further comment upon the report is, it is believed, unnecessary. If the view of the committee is correct, the bill by its terms simply "keeps the word of promise to the ear but breaks it to the hope." It is not believed that the friends of this bill have been misled by their attorney to that extent.

A fair construction leaves it open to the objections which have been made herein and makes the amendments which are here suggested necessary in the interests of wise, judicious, and conservative legislation—legislation that will give to all the "equal protection of the law."

C. E. LITTLEFIELD.
R. M. NEVIN.

I wish to call your attention to this fact, that at that time I stated to the gentlemen representing the American Federation of Labor, and said in my minority views, I would agree to the legislation they requested provided they would add to it this provision:

Provided, That the provisions of this act shall not apply to threats to injure the person or the property, business, or occupation of any person, firm, association, or corporation, to intimidation or coercion, or any acts causing or intended to cause an illegal interference, by overt acts, with the rights of others.

My recollection is that these gentlemen all conceded that there were none of the things specified in this proviso that they wanted the liberty to do, and it seemed to me under the circumstances that if that were true there was no reason why that proviso should not go into the law. They declined, however, to accept the proposition, and I do not remember what happened to that bill then—yes; I do, too. It was called up by the chairman of the Judiciary Committee one day when I happened to be out.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the bill introduced by Gen. Grosvenor?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, sir. I remember it very well, and, if it were not for encumbering the record, I could give you the facts and circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN. It was prior to my time of service.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Certainly, it was introduced by him.

Now, the attitude taken by me in 1901, with the knowledge of the gentlemen who were insisting upon this legislation, and the attitude they took in relation thereto was maintained continuously and without deviation from that time until my resignation from the House. At this time—1900 and 1901—what is now known as the National Association of Manufacturers, so far as I knew, never existed. I never heard of them, I did not know anything about them, and I do not know that I had ever met anybody that I afterwards learned was a member of the organization. My first recollection of meeting anyone that had anything to do with the National Association of Manufacturers is in either 1904 or 1905; I am not certain which. I then remember seeing Mr. Marshall Cushing, who was here in Washington doing what he could to aid me in preventing the passage of this legislation.

It may be proper for me to say—and I hope the committee will not feel I am injecting my personality into the matter too much—that, as a member of the Judiciary Committee from 1901 on, I did all I properly and legitimately could do to prevent that bill from being reported.

This was the condition that existed in 1905. So far as I knew nobody in the United States took any interest in opposition—I heard from nobody, no manufacturer, no business man. Perhaps once in a while I would see somebody that would express approval of the stand I had taken, but as far as any support was concerned or assistance was concerned I had it from nobody except a few Members of the House. It is proper to say that perhaps Speaker Cannon was one of

the seven, and from that time on, through thick and thin, the Speaker stood by me on these propositions.

He was down there in my campaign, as I will show later. But so far as any assistance was concerned or any aid in preventing the passage of this legislation I do not know that I had any from any source outside of the few Members of the House that would come out into the open and take hold of the matter until Mr. Cushing came along with whatever support he was able to bring. Mr. Cushing, representing the National Assocation of Manufacturers, as I understood it, was doing what he could for the purpose of aiding me in preventing the passage of this legislation.

Now, it is proper to say that along about that time my attitude, of course, was thoroughly understood. I do not think there was any man connected with the American Federation of Labor or any Member of the House that had the slightest doubt what my position was.

Mr. CLINE. In connection with your remark that you did all you could to prevent the bill being reported out of the committee I do not think you could better amplify it at any other time. Will you explain that?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. You would like to know why I did that?

Mr. CLINE. I should like to know what you did.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. What I did was this—of course it is obvious I can not undertake to remember details, but the Judiciary Committee was made up in this way: After the organization of the committee the chairman appoints various subcommittees, consisting of three. At that time and during all my membership in the House, of course, the Republicans had the control of the committee, and the result was that every Republican on the committee had the chairmanship of one of these subcommittees.

I do not know that I can remember exactly when these measures came to my subcommittee, but it was not a great while after the agitation had been started before practically all the legislation relating to this particular subject matter came to the subcommittee of which I was chairman.

As a rule the Republicans upon that subcommittee with me entertained the same views that I entertained, and my recollection is that we held it in the subcommittee and declined to report it to the full committee because the majority of the subcommittee were opposed to it. I did the best I could to prevent its passage. I knew that if that bill were reported to the full committee and reported out by the full committee there was no power on earth, practically speaking, that could prevent its passage, for the reasons given by Speaker Clark and Senator Beveridge. I never had seen a contest on the floor of the House over any question in which those gentlemen were interested when it did not pass by a large and ordinarily an overwhelming majority. I was vigorously opposed to the legislation, and I believed it to be very vicious and extremely unwise. I considered it my duty to prevent its passage and enactment if I could, and, as chairman of that subcommittee, I held that legislation in the subcommittee.

A little later I wish to call your attention to what happened in 1906——

Mr. CLINE. Did you refuse to call meetings of the subcommittee?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, no. But we had two Republicans on this subcommittee and one Democrat; and it may be fair to say that the Democrats did not produce a majority in that subcommittee. That, perhaps, is to be assumed. [Laughter.]

I do not remember just now who was with me on that subcommittee. I do remember that Mr. Malby, of New York, during the latter part of my service, was with me, and he entertained exactly the same views that I held.

I do not know that I can give this correctly in the order of time, but sometime in 1901 or 1902 I reported to the House from the Judiciary Committee rather an extensive and comprehensive amendment of the Sherman antitrust law. Then this issue was raised again there. Perhaps Mr. Stafford will remember when that was. Mr. Jenkins, I think, was then chairman of the Judiciary Committee. That bill was afterwards called up on the floor of the House and passed with only one dissenting vote, as I remember. That, I think, was the vote of Mr. Mann, of Chicago, now the minority leader in the House.

The issue was raised in connection with that. There was an effort made to exempt the labor organizations from the operation of the Sherman antitrust law, a proposition to which I was vitally opposed, and as the chairman of the subcommittee reporting it to the full committee and as a member of the Judicary Committee reporting it to the House, I reported that bill to the House with the amendment we had added, without any such discriminatory amendment. I insisted that there was no reason why one set of men should be relieved from the operations of legislation that applied to other men.

That bill passed the House, as I remember, with only one dissenting vote. It went to the Senate of the United States. It might be interesting, but not profitable, for me to tell you what I know about that. It did not come back from the Senate of the United States. The result was there was no legislation along those lines at that time.

Mr. RUSSELL. Maybe they had a subcommittee over there. [Laughter.]

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I know pretty nearly what took place, but a good many people are dead, and there might be a sinister aspect to a statement of fact that was not fully stated, and I do not think it would be proper for me to undertake to go into those details.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mean there was anything sinister in the way that bill was handled in the Senate?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, no; but I might make a statement perhaps that might give a sinister aspect to the action of some people connected with that legislation. It is one of the things that not infrequently happens between these two great branches. I think the committee will understand that, so far as I was concerned, I always tolerated a difference of opinion with any Member of the House on any question in which I happened to be interested. I do not know that my attitude on any question or the attitude of anybody else ever created any personal difficulty between myself and himself.

I want to stop here and say just a word. There is something in this record indicating that Dr. Bartholdt agreed to trade a vote on some interstate liquor bill in which I was interested; that I was for some antipilotage bill, and that he opposed the antipilotage bill be-

cause I was in favor of the interstate liquor bill. Of course, I can not undertake to state as to Dr. Bartholdt, but I will say this, that I do think any Member of the House, either then or now, that predicated his opposition to a public measure on the ground of his opposition to the man behind it is beneath contempt. Dr. Bartholdt and I disagreed very sharply on some very acute questions. Every Member of the House that is familiar with the history of the House knows that. But that never disturbed my personal relations with Dr. Bartholdt, and I do not believe that he allowed even his interest in the liquor question to affect his judgment on any matter before the House. I have always found him to be a man of character, standing, and honor, and I still believe him to be, and I do not believe he deserves any reflections that anybody may cast upon him. I do not believe that his conduct or action in connection with any legislation here was influenced by any feeling he had against me.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think the statement to which you refer would bear out the construction that it was because of any personal feeling against you, even assuming that to be true.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. My recollection is that Mr. Mulhall stated Dr. Bartholdt opposed the antipilotage bill because I was pressing the interstate liquor legislation. I may be wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is correct, but I do not think it indicated any personal feeling toward you. It was rather a personal feeling—if we do assume it to be true—toward the legislation rather than toward you.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not believe; I will go further than that; I think it is fair to say—Dr. Bartholdt is still a Member of the House, is he not? My disagreements with Dr. Bartholdt were fundamental on this question. I do not believe Dr. Bartholdt ever undertook to trade one of these measures for the other, or ever opposed any measure in which I was interested simply because he was vigorously opposed to some other measure I was supporting.

Now, to go on from there to Judge Cline's suggestion, I think—I know, practically, that when Mr. Jenkins had charge of the committee, at the time it reported on the general amendment to the Sherman antitrust law, Mr. Jenkins knew my attitude perfectly well, and he knew the attitude of the subcommittee. My recollection is that from that time on all measures that related to legislation of this character—injunctions, contempt of court, etc., which were the principal controversies, and, in fact, the only controversies I ever had with the American Federation of Labor except upon some minor matters—all those measures came directly to my subcommittee. During the last few years of my service Mr. Malby was with me on that committee.

To illustrate, Mr. Spelling came in one day and wanted a hearing upon these bills. I said, "Yes, sir; all right; I will give you a hearing, Mr. Spelling, any time you like." He drew on me a speech I had made at some convention of manufacturers in which I had described this legislation and in which I had said that in my judgment it was monstrous from a legal and from a business standpoint, and vicious to the last degree, and that I would not allow it to become a law if I could prevent it. I said, "That is a true bill; I made that speech, and I will stand by it; but I will hear you just the same." Well, he said he did not care very much to spend his time under the circumstances.

And so my recollection is we did not have any formal hearing. He said he wanted a hearing before the full committee. I said, "That is agreeable to me; but if you have a hearing the bill stays in my subcommittee, but the full committee can hear you." I do not think they had a hearing before the full committee. Of course, they had a good many hearings, off and on.

And while I am referring to that, with reference to Mr. Gompers, my attention is called to the fact that he thinks he was not treated in precisely the manner he ought to have been in connection with various hearings. I will not undertake to go over the details with you. My recollection is this, that the only time I undertook to put Mr. Gompers upon inquiry, or any people representing those organizations, was when I insisted, as a member of the Judiciary Committee, so far as I could, whenever they claimed there had been an abuse of the process of injunction, and called upon them to show when and where the abuse had occurred. And it is my memory now that Mr. Gompers never succeeded in filing any adequate bill of particulars upon that proposition.

Now, in 1906, this was the condition that existed. Of course I knew that I had the very vigorous and energetic opposition of Mr. Gompers.

The CHAIRMAN. You are now fixing to pass to the election of 1906?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I was just going to, because I was going to pass over some of those matters.

The CHAIRMAN. I have one matter I think I ought to ask you about now rather than let it go over. You spoke about Mr. Cushing coming here in 1905 or 1906 and rendering such aid as he could in the defeat of this legislation.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He was, you say, at that time a member of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. That is as I remember it; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Or represented it here?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He practically had charge of the work it did?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; so I understood.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Littlefield, you are quite familiar with what he did, I suppose?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. You mean as to the details of what he did?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. So far as I knew, Mr. Cushing's activities were confined to going around and seeing Members and discussing the question with them and circulating literature, and bringing to bear the usual personal influences that are brought to bear generally in connection with legislation. He was doing what he could (I do not know just what he did), and I was doing what I could to forestall the influences Mr. Gompers brought to bear and to bring to bear influences on the other side. He was simply opposed to the efforts of Mr. Gompers and the representatives of organized labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have frequent conferences with him?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; I have no doubt but what I had conferences with him frequently.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose he would explain to you the attitude he had ascertained that different Members occupied?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not think Mr. Cushing went over those matters in detail with me. Personally, I paid practically very little attention to them. I felt that when I stood in behind the opposition to this legislation and took my attitude as a Member of this House, that was about all it was necessary for me to do. I never undertook to lobby in any sense among the Members. I know I did talk about it more or less with the members of the Judiciary Committee, but I do not believe I ever, in any lobbying sense, discussed the matter with any member of the Judiciary Committee. The discussion took place in the open committee, and everything about it I did openly. I never made any appeal to any—I do not recollect ever making any appeal to a Member of the House. I assume, without going into the details with you, that Mr. Cushing knew what I was going to do and what I was not going to do. He had no control over my actions and I had no control over his, but I told him whatever he would be able to do by way of assisting me I would be glad to have him do. Just what he did I am not prepared to say further than what I have already indicated.

The CHAIRMAN. You, of course, have no information whatever in regard to any expenditures he might have made in connection with it?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No. As far as I know Mr. Cushing never expended a dollar, except for his hotel bills and telegraph and postal expenses. I never heard anything about anything of the sort.

The CHAIRMAN. And printing bills?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, yes; printing bills, sure. Anything else I never heard anything about one way or the other.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were his headquarters here?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not know. I guess, perhaps, he lived at the Willard.

The CHAIRMAN. Where would you see him?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, sometimes I would see him—I think ordinarily he would drift around to the committee to see me. I did not see very much of him. I would meet him in the corridors, if he would be walking along by. I had no committee room at that time—oh, I think I had a committee room in 1906, and if I had the chances are he probably was in my committee room off and on.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. My recollection is it was 1905.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Either 1904 or 1905. I notice by the record that Mr. Cushing is said to have come in in 1904. I have not anything by which I can fix the time when I first remember seeing him. I never did see him until I saw him here in connection with those matters, and whether it was 1904 or 1905 I could not say.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did he ever report to you that he had called upon certain Representatives to ascertain their attitude upon pending legislation?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not remember whether he did or not. He may have. I do not know how that may be. I at no time whatever asked him to make such an effort myself.

Mr. STAFFORD. He never did any of that character of work at your solicitation?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, no. I knew what he was doing; I knew that he was here and doing his level best to see if he could not brace the fellows up to stand in behind me in the fight I was making.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anybody else besides Cushing——

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I do not recollect anybody else besides Cushing. I remember Mr. Cushing had more or less newspaper activity. He would write articles for the newspapers and traveled about doing everything he could with the purpose of legitimately promoting opposition to the efforts being made by Mr. Gompers and friends of his to secure any such action upon this legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. You never heard about Mr. Mulhall doing this business?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No, sir; I never saw him. The first time I ever——

Mr. CLINE. Just a moment, before you get to that. Did Mr. Cushing ever sit down and talk over to you his method of campaigning on this proposition?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not think that he did. He might have. I would not state about that.

Mr. CLINE. Was he pretty familiar with the activity of Mr. Gompers?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Was Cushing?

Mr. CLINE. Yes.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, thoroughly; sure.

Mr. CLINE. Did he ever discuss this with you?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, yes. There was not anybody here but what was familiar with those activities, I take it.

Mr. CLINE. And they undertook to counteract those methods with you?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Well, I have not any recollection about that, Judge. I think, as nearly as I remember, that Mr. Cushing was simply bringing to bear—Mr. Gompers started out with circulars and proclamations—Mr. Gompers's favorite method was, as one of the first things, when anything of the kind occurred, to send a circular to the Members of the House with that familiar signature. It was a rather effective signature; we all got it. And then along would come a little later letters from various sections. His methods, I take it, are familiar to you, Judge, and to all of us.

Mr. CLINE. His effectiveness is not familiar to me.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I am speaking about the methods. I hope you have not been embarrassed by a situation of that kind.

Mr. CLINE. I have not.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Personally I was never embarrassed by them, but I am afraid that some of the fellows were. There was on hand, through various organizations in various sections, more or less communications from gentlemen urging action on certain things. A great many of them were of a character to indicate that all they knew about it was to act on the application when somebody wrote to them to pass it on. I have no doubt at all that Mr. Cushing pursued a great many of those same methods. He sent circulars out and letters out, and got the people in those various districts to do what they could. I would not undertake to say what he did, but in a general way, that was the character of Mr. Cushing's activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Testimony has been given before this committee, Mr. Littlefield, by Mr. Parry, who was president at that time.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I never met him but once. You say he was president at that time?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; at that time—about 1904.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I never met him at all about that time, if I remember.

The CHAIRMAN. The testimony of Mr. Mulhall and others is to the effect that Mr. Cushing was exceedingly secretive about what he did.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He was very secretive. I got the impression and I think all the committee got the impression, perhaps, from the testimony, that he was very reticent.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. You would like to know what I know about that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes .

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I have never seen anything about Mr. Cushing—I have seen those letters Mr. Cushing wrote, and I have seen more or less of these letters that went out, and I have in mind the letters in the record without signature, but I never saw anything about Mr. Cushing that indicated any reticence or secrecy and never, as far as I am concerned, did he ever hesitate to speak to me in the corridor, or at the door, or at any other place. Mr. Cushing was here, and I knew what he was here for, and that he was the representative of the people who opposed this legislation and were trying to defeat the objects sought to be attained by the American Federation of Labor. I never saw any of this correspondence and never heard of it. The correspondence that came down into my district from him, with reference to Mr. Mulhall, so far as I am concerned, I never knew anything about it and never heard about it until I saw it printed in this record. There was nothing about Cushing to indicate that Cushing was any more pussy-footed, if that is a proper expression—Cushing was no more pussy-footed in connection with the activities here than anybody else of the hundreds of men I knew here during my time in the House of Representatives. It is quite likely I had interviews—perhaps half a dozen times or twenty or thirty times during the day—with all sorts of people, and on all sorts of things, but I never saw anything about Cushing to differentiate Cushing from the great mass of people who used to see me on all sorts of legislation.

Mr. CLINE. You know is is claimed by the National Association of Manufacturers that Mr. Cushing was deposed because of the secrecy he maintained?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I understand that to be the fact now, but I never knew it. All I knew about that was this, that, at least so far as I am concerned personally, I knew almost nothing about the activities of the National Association of Manufacturers, except as they offered them to me in aiding me in the fight I was making in connection with this legislation. The first I knew about Cushing, about any change between him and the National Association, was at some time I remember Cushing was not here and some other fellow was. What the trouble was I never knew. Cushing never told me, and the other fellow who took charge after he left—I do not know

what the record shows, whether it was Mr. Emery or Mr. Mulhall, but it does not make any difference—whoever it was, never told me. After that time Mr. Cushing was the representative of some organization, the National Foundries Association, I think, and I continued to know Mr. Cushing just exactly as I had before; and if Mr. Emery was the man who took charge when they got through with Mr. Cushing, I knew Mr. Emery then exactly as before that time I had known Mr. Cushing. I never knew what the trouble was; I didn't know there was any, except I was suspicious, perhaps, that there might be difficulty. Mr. Cushing remained friendly to me and Mr. Emery, when he came along, was equally as friendly to me. That was all I cared about it, and all the interest I had in it, and when it was disclosed here, so far as I am concerned, that was the first time I knew about his alleged secretive methods.

This was the condition that existed in 1906. It perhaps is fair to say that the situation between the Federation of Labor and myself, from a political point of view, became more or less acute. I knew personally it was acute, because I frequently had gentlemen representing the organization state frankly to me they understood my position; that I had taken it fairly and had not deceived them, and they knew where to find me, and they had no complaint to make personally. Of course, they did not like my attitude and they did not agree with my views.

Up to 1906, I would say, in order to make a continuous narrative, I never had had any opposition in my district for renomination. I had had, in 1900, 1902, and 1904, every renomination by acclamation, without any candidate against me or any opposition of any kind. When the time for my nominating convention came around in 1906, it was fairly well understood that the American Federation of Labor had practically declared their purpose to retire me from the House, and they did not propose to have me renominated and did not propose to have me reelected. It was something I knew and understood. I knew and I think everybody knew some considerable time before the nominating convention was held that this was their attitude. That did not disturb me, so far as the nominating convention was concerned, until a candidate developed in my district who was supported by some gentlemen who at that time were very warm, not to say enthusiastic, bitter, political enemies of mine. They were very resourceful gentlemen, very energetic, and men of large and substantial means. I had had experience with them in political matters before. I knew there was nothing legitimate they would stop at to accomplish their results. I do not say that to make any reflection upon them. They were entitled not to like me, if they wanted to. They got in behind the candidate against me in the nominating convention caucuses, and it was understood that the efforts of the Federation of Labor, so far as they could be brought to bear, were brought to bear behind him in opposition to my nomination. It is fair to say I do not think the Federation of Labor was so fixed in Maine that they could produce very remarkable results in that line, although they did claim to.

Mr. STAFFORD. These active opponents to whom you just referred, had they previously identified themselves with political work of any kind?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. You mean in my district?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No. I had had no opposition from them. Of course there were more or less people in my district that thought they could represent it in Congress; but there had been no concentrated opposition. But these particular men I refer to—had they been opponents of mine?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, yes. Since 1904, if I remember correctly, at the election or renomination, there were men in my State who had had pronounced and profound and far-reaching political views. The result was that I had the very vigorous and energetic opposition of those gentlemen, and that concentrated itself in this contest for the nomination in 1906. Now, while the American Federation of Labor had not a very large foothold in my district, it did have some. I am not able to put my finger on the spot or place where they had any influence in this preconvention or nomination campaign. Of course there were no primaries, you know. The caucuses were held in various towns in the district, and I had to fight it out in the caucuses. My district began, the second district, on the shore of the Penobscot Bay, I might say, and ran to the New Hampshire line and Canada on the west and on the north. My own home town, Rockland, was within 8 miles of the most eastern point in the district, and I lived in the extreme eastern end, and in order to get to any place in the western end of the district I had to cross the Kennebec River. There were 6 counties in my district, 124 towns and plantations, and 52,000 polls. The number of votes cast in the election of 1906 was something like 36,000 or 37,000. I was not aware of the fact—I knew, of course, that Mr. Gompers would do what he could, but I did not expect that he could do much in this nominating campaign; but wherever there was any opportunity to produce results (I want the committee, of course, to understand I can not state this as an absolute fact), I saw developments and indications that indicated to me they were at work. As soon as I got wind there was to be this fight against me in my district, with the knowledge of the candidate opposing me and the knowledge of the men behind him, I took my satchel and started for Lewiston, Me. That is the largest town in my district. There I engaged headquarters, took a suite of rooms, installed a telephone, and immediately began my campaign over the 124 towns and plantations for renomination. I then knew Mr. Gompers was active in that district. He had taken occasion, if I remember correctly, to indicate the day when he would come, and knowing when he would come, and having the organization in Lewiston and Auburn, the two largest towns in my district, and they being friendly to me, I succeeded in having the caucuses in those towns pulled off two days before Mr. Gompers arrived [laughter], getting them in out of the wet. Well, he came down, and, as he stated here, he addressed a large mass meeting. Of course Mr. Gompers had a prodigious reputation and can fill any hall in my district, and he had some of his organizations there. My information was he did what he could to influence the organizations and then had this public meeting and produced all the results he could produce. They were not very pronounced.

Now, with the knowledge I was going to have this fight both for my nomination and election, Mr. Cushing volunteered to give me any assistance he could in this campaign. He indicated he understood this would be a fight as to whether the American Federation of Labor could retire me from Congress. I told him I would be very glad to have his assistance. I met, for instance, Secretary Taft, who was then Secretary Taft, I believe, passing through Statuary Hall, as I was walking, I think, from the House of Representatives over to the Senate, and he also said he understood this fight was to be made, and he would be very glad to do anything he could. I told him I would be extremely glad to have his aid, and he came down afterwards, and made, I think, two speeches in the campaign. Mr. Cushing, after he volunteered his assistance, was in my district and took part in my canvass for renomination. I won't stop to go over that in detail. Of course I did not fight out 124 caucuses, but I fought a good many. Wherever these people had a foothold I had to fight all over the district. I had automobiles and various friends, and I went through that fight, and when we got through at the nominating convention, my recollection is, I had about two to one as against the other two.

Mr. STAFFORD. Then, as I understand you, Mr. Gompers was taking up the campaign of another against you?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. As your opponent for the nomination?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Certainly. He had announced, as I understood, before he went down there at all, that they proposed to do what they could to prevent my getting either the nomination or the election.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your opponent for the nomination of the same view of Mr. Gompers upon these questions?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. My opponent for the nomination was Brother Swayze, who was one of my original opponents when I was first nominated by acclamation. I did not know what Mr. Swazey's views were.

The CHAIRMAN. Except as he expressed them publicly?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The situation simply was this: Mr. Swazey made one or two speeches in the campaign, and in one of the speeches, after a young friend of mine had discussed the issues pending, referring to this controversy between Mr. Gompers and myself, Mr. Swazey spoke, and I was told, after he finished his general speech, he said he had listened with interest to the speech of his young friend and, "As between Mr. Gompers and Mr. Littlefield, let the best man win." It did not impress me with a very large degree of enthusiasm for my success in that campaign. Further than that, I think Mr. Swazey while a Member took the same attitude on those questions that I took. That is my impression.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not quite understand your statement just there. You said you understood Mr. Swazey made a speech in which he said as between you and Mr. Gompers to let the best man win?

Mr LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But he was out for your opponent?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. He was undertaking to obtain my defeat for nomination. I had not been nominated.

The CHAIRMAN. I am speaking of the nomination. Do you know during the preconvention campaign what position was taken by him?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I can not.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not know but what the issues became sharp in that campaign.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I do not think so, because I do not think Mr. Gompers produced much result in the Republican ranks, upon the basis of the nomination. So far as I could see, with reference to the caucuses, he produced no results against me. That is as far as I can go. That is in my campaign for renomination. I do not remember Mr. Swazey, if it is proper for me to say, espousing Mr. Gompers's cause, but I remember Mr. Swazey making this fight against me. I have not any doubt he did everything he legitimately could to win. When anybody offered me their assistance I received their assistance and was very glad to get it. I presume that was Mr. Swazey's attitude.

Now, when it came to the campaign, I started out somewhere the 9th of July with an automobile and a chauffeur and one or two other people. Not having then acquired the necessary competence to be the owner of a machine myself, I hired from the people who had them for rent, and I started to make a canvass of my district, with the intention of meeting every committeeman in the whole 124 cities, towns, and plantations; and there were anywhere from 3 to 21 or more in each town, city, and plantation. I went all over that district, anywhere from 175 to 200 miles in length, as the case may be, with automobiles, and, with the exception of a few towns and plantations, I met all these committeemen, and for the purpose of laying out the original work of the campaign endeavored to arrange for a full, perfect, and accurate canvass, to find out where the people were, who they were, and how they stood and how they felt and what could properly be done for the purpose of producing results and ultimately getting out the whole Republican vote in the September election. Of course, you will understand I was not the only candidate in the election; it was a regular congressional and State election. There was a candidate for governor, senators, representatives and the legislature being elected for two years, and the various county officers throughout the six counties in the district. Some time the latter part of July (the specific date I can not give, because I have not taken the time to get at the data), and my recollection is something like six weeks before the election, I began the speech-making campaign, and I kept it up continually from that time until the night before the election—the Saturday night.

During that time I spoke, as a rule, twice a day; part of the time three times a day, and always once a day. In addition to myself, Secretary Taft made two speeches in the district, Speaker Cannon was down there and made three or four, and there were other men from the outside. French orators were employed to speak in the French language and French literature was published and circulated. The city of Lewiston is a large milling town, and a very large percentage of the population, very estimable and worthy people, came from Canada direct to Lewiston to work in the mills, and they furnish quite a percentage of its population. A great many of them understand the French language fully as well or better than they under-

stand the English language. I could not state how many—oh, the first thing that was done in the campaign was to have a very thorough, that is, as thorough and effective as could be made, canvass of those something like 25,000 normal Republican voters. I think I had upon my mailing list something like 25,000 names. When I made my original campaign for the first election, I procured that list and in that campaign I circularized all of the voters from two to three times. My recollection is that in this campaign I also circularized the voters along the latter part of the campaign with a personal letter, urging them to get out to the polls and vote on election day.

My district is so situated with reference to getting back and forth to my home in Rockland, Me., that, with the exception of the beginning of Sagadahoc County and Lincoln and Knox Counties on the eastern side of the Kennebec River, it was almost impossible to get home down there in Rockland while engaged in a campaign elsewhere, and I can not tell how many times I was in Rockland during the campaign. I was probably there four or five times, as the case may be, after it started. Four of the counties are practically all west of the Kennebec River, and my Saturday night meetings, as a rule, would be held where it was impossible for me to get railroad accommodations so as to get home before Sunday morning.

Mr. STAFFORD. Will you describe the general characteristics of your district, whether it is agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Well, it is pretty well divided up. The larger percentage is agricultural—more a farming district than otherwise; and on the shore of the Atlantic Ocean it is very largely maritime.

The city of Bath, the town of Thomaston, the town of Boothbay, the city of Rockland, and the town of Camden are the towns that were largely interested in the building of vessels. My recollection is that at about that time more than 80 per cent or 90 per cent of the vessels that were wooden vessels were built in Maine, and probably 75 or 80 per cent of that number were built in the district which I represented. That was the maritime end of it. The people outside of that section took very little interest in maritime questions. Lewiston and Auburn were large manufacturing towns, so was Rumford Falls and Livermore Falls. Outside of Lewiston and Auburn and Rumford Falls and Livermore Falls, the district was mostly an agricultural district. My own town of Rockland was a lime manufacturing town; it manufactured more lime annually then or since than any other town in New England, putting out about a million and a half or two million barrels per annum. My home county was almost wholly, outside of Rockland and Thomaston and granite industries in Vinal Haven, Hurricane, and St. George, agricultural in its character.

An effort was made first to make a very thorough and careful canvass of the whole Republican vote, among other things to find out who they were and where they were, how they felt and what the conditions were, and if there was disaffection or dissatisfaction to find out what it was; then to find out, among other things, the number of people who were away, so that arrangements could be made to bring them home on election day. I think, perhaps, the number of people who it was estimated were away was in the neighborhood of 1,500,

and they were scattered anywhere from Washington, D. C., to near-by towns.

So far as the management of the campaign is concerned, on my part, it was in my own hands all the way through. The financial part was managed by Mr. Fred W. Wight, who was then the chairman of the second district Republican congressional committee. All the funds collected for use in the campaign, with the exception of some incidental funds which were sent to me and turned over by me to him, were collected by or contributed to him, and substantially everything was disbursed by him. He was the collector of the port of Waldoboro, a man of character and integrity and ability, and a very capable man from a political point of view. He had long been a friend of mine. He was appointed on my recommendation as collector of the port of Waldoboro.

There were a great many meetings held in that district, involving, of course, the hiring of halls, and, in the larger places, the hiring of halls and bands. A great many of the meetings in the larger towns would be attended by expenses of that character. There was also the publication or printing of posters and the printing and circulation of flyers. So far as speakers were concerned, of course there were the expenses involved in getting about during the campaign; all the general expenses involved in conducting a campaign. An effort was made to get the best possible results. I ran something like 300 ahead of my ticket in that campaign. No special effort was made, so far as I was concerned, to run me ahead of the balance of the ticket. The management of the campaign was in the interest of the whole ticket, so far as I know. Of course, I had a great many applications for stickers, all of which were complied with, and they were sent out wherever they could be used.

The first I remember of Mr. Mulhall—before I state my knowledge of and acquaintance with Mr. Mulhall I want to call the attention of the committee to the animus under which Mulhall apparently testified before the Senate and House committees. I will now quote to you from Mulhall's testimony as is found on page 3397 of the record of the investigation before the Senate committee.

Mr. MULHALL. If you will read the correspondence, it will show that Mr. Littlefield in a large measure was responsible for having me resign out of the organization, and I wrote to Mr. Kirby on that subject and received no answer. Before writing to Mr. Littlefield I wanted to satisfy myself whether the reports I heard from Mr. Bird—that he did come to the New York office and ask for my removal—were correct or not. Then I was going to write Mr. Littlefield those facts and to show that he was an ingrate for the work I had done for him in the past.

And on page 3430 he repeats substantially the same thing in a letter, under date of July 22, 1912, in which he says:

Mr. Bird's statement to Mr. Howells was that a prominent member of the above organization wrote to Hon. Charles E. Littlefield, ex-Member of Congress from the second Maine district, that I was actively engaged in Maine at that time fighting for the brewers and liquor organizations of that State. Mr. Bird stated that Mr. Littlefield carried this letter from his office in New York to the office of the National Association of Manufacturers in New York and demanded from Mr. Bird that I should be withdrawn from that State and not be allowed to place the National Association of Manufacturers on record as favoring the wets in that campaign, and through the great influence of Littlefield with the National Association of Manufacturers I was compelled to resign from that organization.

As to that, I desire to say that the distinguished gentleman is decidedly in error. The first that I ever knew that Mulhall had gone down into Maine in 1911 for the purpose of distributing money that had been handed to him by the brewers in order to facilitate the passage of the amendment striking the prohibitory clause from the State constitution, was the statement made by Mulhall in this record, or the statement made by Mulhall prior to that in the New York World. It is true that I was opposed to striking the amendment from the constitution. And in that campaign I made several speeches undertaking to sustain that side of the contention. It was believed that people were sending money down there, but nobody ever knew or heard of it definitely, so far as I know. The first definite information I had that Mulhall was down there aiding the brewers was the statement he makes here on the stand.

In passing, I may say that the fact that the brewers did contribute—if they did; we have not anything but Mulhall's statement about it—but if they did contribute, I may say in passing, that it rather explodes that hoary-headed old lie that has been circulated down in Maine for the last 25 or 30 years, which is that the brewers and manufacturers are all in favor of the prohibitory law because they claim they can sell more beer and whisky under it than they can under the license system. If that were true, they probably would not send their money in there to attempt to defeat their contention.

My connection with that incident was this: It is true that Mulhall was, as it turns out, in 1911, long after I had left the second district—I became a resident of New York in 1908, and ever since that time have voted in New York; I have no more connection with the second district in Maine than any gentleman upon this committee. Of course, I have a general interest in what goes on down there, and I am friendly to those people, and there is no time when I would not go out of my way to do them a favor. But if I remember correctly, I had seen Mulhall once in 1911, when I was home on my vacation, in a hotel known as the Thorndyke Hotel. At that time I simply spoke to him. I do not know what he did there at that time. He had a lady with him who he said was his wife.

Mr. STAFFORD. That was your home city?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; in Rockland, Me.

Some time after I got back to New York I got a letter from a friend of mine who had been a client of mine and had a personal interest in Mr. Kimball, whom Mulhall had suggested as the Republican candidate for Congress in that district. That was a letter giving all the details about it and intimating that he would like to know what the facts were. That was the first I had ever heard of it. I had seen or heard that Mr. Kimball had announced himself as a candidate; I had seen his pictures, but how he happened to do it, I did not know.

Mr. STAFFORD. What is your interpretation as to the purpose of Mulhall in putting Kimball in nomination in the second Maine district?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. As far as that goes I do not know that I can, perhaps, express a valuable opinion from what little I know about

it. But I may say, in the first place, I do not believe Mulhall had any more power or right to put Mr. Kimball in nomination for this association than you had. As far as my knowledge of him was concerned, I never knew—their general political activities I knew practically nothing about. They never discussed them with me, nor did I with them. They were handling their matters in their own way, and I was attending to my business in my own way. They never got my advice and never asked my advice about those things. I knew nothing about the details, except that I had never known them to take any part in a campaign except under circumstances like those that existed in my district in 1906, where they were doing what they could to support me in that fight in which Gompers was trying to defeat me.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you know that in that campaign they were doing anything other than what Cushing had said?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I will come to that in a minute. I would like to finish this right here. I wanted before I made any statement about Mulhall to have the committee appreciate what seemed to me from the testimony to be Mulhall's animus. I am not conscious, so far as I am concerned—I do not think I have any great admiration for Mr. Mulhall—but I am not conscious of ever having given Mulhall any just cause for offense. I had nothing to do with him in any way.

But to complete this incident. I called the attention of Mr. Bird as to what was said to be going on down there, and Mr. Bird very promptly repudiated the whole situation. I have here a letter that Mr. Bird, at my suggestion, prepared to be sent to this inquiring friend of mine in Maine in connection with this matter. I believe Mr. Bird was not able to find this letter when he gave his testimony before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the letter—have you read Mr. Bird's testimony?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; I have read most of it.

The CHAIRMAN. He stated that you requested him not to keep a copy of that letter.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I did not request him to do that. The only connection I had with this matter is simply this. I had lived in Rockland until 1908. I knew all these people. This Mr. Kimball was intimately connected with the gentleman who wrote me the letter I have referred to. He was interested in Mr. Kimball; he was interested in Mr. Kimball's welfare.

Mr. Mulhall went down there and suggested, as I understand it, that the National Association of Manufacturers would nominate him and would keep everybody else off the track, and after he was nominated, would elect him. This proposition did not impress this friend of mine as being a proposition that would wash. At that time he knew that I knew these people, and I was the only man here he did know. He wrote me, telling me the circumstances and asked me to get the information for him. That is all I did do. I did not suggest that they do anything with Mulhall. I simply asked them if Mulhall had the authority to go down there and nominate a man for Congress. As far as I was concerned, that was the first activity of that kind which I knew these people to be engaged in. I told

Mr. Bird about the circumstances and Mr. Bird very promptly prepared this letter to Mr. Mulhall.

The CHAIRMAN. You may read the letter if you desire, Mr. Littlefield.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The letter to which I refer reads as follows:

SEPTEMBER 27, 1911—3 P. M.

Col. M. M. MULHALL,
3933 Old York Road, Waverly, Baltimore, Md.

DEAR SIR: I am in possession of information concerning an activity engaged in by you during your recent visit to Maine. This information is confirmed by your letters of August 18 and September 12, wherein you mention the name of one S. T. Kimball.

Mr. Kimball is a lawyer, a man of character and ability, who has a very good, decent practice; a man I have known ever since he was born. He was born in the town where I used to live.

I am at a loss to understand by what authority you feel it is your duty to enter into any congressional district and represent yourself as being the spokesman for the National Association of Manufacturers in the selection of any candidate for Congress to represent that district. I would not assume that responsibility, and I feel confident the president of our association would not, without he had taken counsel with his board of directors or executive committee.

This association repudiates any statements you have made to any man in that district pertaining to candidacy of Mr. Kimball in so far as its authorization may have been suggested by any official of this association. It is distasteful to me. It is annoying to Mr. Kirby to feel that a man intrusted with certain work of the association should feel it within the province of his judgment to exceed his authority and misrepresent the association, as has been done in this case.

I further consider it my duty to present the facts of this matter to the executive committee of the association for its consideration and action, and this will be done by me at the executive committee meeting to be held on October 23. I will then forward to you the conclusions of the executive committee.

Yours, very truly,

J. P. BIRD, *General Manager.*

This was handed to me by Mr. Bird and a copy sent to Mr. White.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that letter was submitted by Mr. Bird and is in our hearings.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. That is the only connection I had with this transaction. I simply saw Mr. Bird and asked him for the information, got the information, and sent it to Mr. White. I did this simply as a matter of personal courtesy to a long-time friend and old client of mine who wrote to me, and I thought he was entitled to the information.

Mr. WILLIS. I understand that you had no information that Mulhall was engaged in the wet and dry campaign?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; not the slightest. What he was doing down there I did not know. There had been in Maine during the preceding years a very vigorous controversy, both in and out of the Republican Party, as to what was the proper thing politically to do. I was about the only man who stood for the prohibitory proposition through thick and thin. I was always opposed to the resubmission plan. It had been voted in by a large majority, and I think it fair to state that I did not think any good purpose could be served by such a plan. Considerable agitation had been going on down there for a number of years in favor of resubmission.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to call your especial attention to Mr. Bird's testimony on page 2038 of the House hearings.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I know what it is.

The CHAIRMAN (reading:)

I heard nothing further from him until the 12th day of September. I returned from my vacation on the day after Labor Day, which would be Tuesday; I do not remember the day of the month, in September. I had been in my office, I should say, about 15 or 20 minutes when I received a telephone message from Mr. Littlefield asking me to come immediately to his office. I said I had just returned and was very busy, but he spoke very emphatically and asked me to come at once. I went to Mr. Littlefield's office. He was engaged with a client when I first went in and I waited for him, and at last I was taken into his private office. He asked me where Mr. Mulhall was, and I told him that I did not know; that he was on a vacation. Mr. Littlefield as much as accused me of lying. He said I did know, and he wanted to know where Mulhall was. I said that I did not know. I said I had had just one letter from Mr. Mulhall, dated August 18. We talked about the matter at some length. I at last convinced Mr. Littlefield that I did not know where Mr. Mulhall was.

Then he showed me a letter consisting of some six or seven pages, which was written by a man by the name of Wight. Mr. Wight was giving Mr. Littlefield a good deal of censure for having a man by the name of Mulhall come down there and select a candidate in the second congressional Maine district. Mr. Littlefield believed that I knew about it, and that we had sent Mulhall down there to do it.

And a little further down he said:

At Mr. Littlefield's request—

after having told that he returned to his office and wrote such a letter:

At Mr. Littlefield's request there was no copy made of the letter he wanted me to send to Mr. Wight. I did.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Did you want to know what I have to say about that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Bird's recollection about that is not correct. I did not make any such request. I did not manifest any feeling about it. I do not know anything about it. He has evidently gotten this mixed up with some other conversation. Mr. Bird is a man of high character and integrity and would not intentionally misstate any proposition.

I am absolutely certain that I did not intimate that he was lying about it.

I hold in my hand a letter from Mr. White. I do not want to put that letter into this record because it was written in confidence. I have no objection to the committee reading it, and I, perhaps, violated his confidence when I took this matter up with Mr. Bird. I have the whole correspondence here, and the only way I could get the information which Mr. White wanted was to take it up with Mr. Bird. Every man on the committee can read this letter of Mr. White's, but I do not care to make this a matter of public record. There is not a word of censure in it [handing letter to the chairman].

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar with our resolution and the power conferred upon us by the resolution?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you stated, in your judgment, as a lawyer, the substance of what is contained in that letter which would be necessary for us to have under this resolution?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes. There is not one word of censure of me in it in connection with this proposition. He says in this letter that

Mulhall quoted me as being behind this proposition, which was absolutely without foundation. I want this committee to understand that I was not in any sense responsible for it. This is simply a detailed statement of the circumstances—of what I think about it. There have been a great many of these things going on. Of course Mr. Bird had some very vigorous conferences with Mr. Mulhall, and my judgment is that Mr. Bird had in mind some of the details of one of those conferences. Certainly I never said to Mr. Bird that he was a liar or intimated that he was a liar, or insisted that Mulhall was down there. That did not make any difference to me.

Mr. WILLIS. He says you called him up.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I did.

Mr. WILLIS. And apparently there was a good deal of vigor and strenuosity in your request; he says that you insisted that he come to your office.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. That is largely a question of the point of view, but I would not be surprised if I did impress him that I wanted to see him. I think Mr. Bird has gotten this confused with a subsequent vigorous controversy with Mulhall.

Mr. WILLIS. There is another point which I desire to ask you about, but which is not of very much importance. He testified that you requested that no copy of this letter be made.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I did not make any such request. There was not any special reason for it. I did not care anything about it. It was a matter of no concern to me.

Mr. WILLIS. As a matter of fact, you have a copy here now?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes. I have all the correspondence here in my hand which occurred between me and Mr. White and between Mr. Bird and myself.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you the letter from Mr. Bird which he wrote at your suggestion, and which was sent to Mr. White?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. That is the one I read.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is in our record?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. That is a copy of it which you have there?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I have a copy; I suppose the original was sent to Mr. White. According to Mr. White, that was the situation. I talked with Mr. Bird, and after that Mr. White did complain because he thought I had violated his confidence in taking up the matter with Mr. Bird, and it is possible he may have some good cause for complaint for that reason.

The CHAIRMAN. How did it happen that you called on him to come to your office rather than your going to his office?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It was a matter that did not concern me, and I was not wasting any time in going up to the office of the National Association of Manufacturers. If they had anything they wanted to straighten up it was up to them to come to see me about it. I was not spending any time in going to their office in regard to a matter of that kind.

It was a matter that did not concern me. I was simply making an inquiry on behalf of my friend, and to get them in a correct position. That was my view of it. I had no object in going to see them. It was simply a matter of personal accommodation.

I have one other item to which I want to call your attention right here, in connection with Col. Mulhall, and I do this because it rather shows what his purpose was. As far as I am concerned I shall have no controversy with Mulhall, but I want to call the attention of the committee to this statement of his. It is a little bit in advance of the order of my narrative, but as illustrating the unreliability of Mulhall's testimony, and his deliberate invention in making statements, I read it. I read from page 2643 of the Senate hearings, in a letter written to Mr. Mulhall by Mr. Schwedtman, and the paragraph I desire to read is as follows:

Mr. Van Cleave is anxious to hear how Mr. Littlefield feels on matters in his State now, and he hopes that, in view of all that you have done, Mr. Littlefield will now carefully revise his past plans and give you instructions which will permit you to work in accordance with him, and at the same time in line with your own best judgment.

Awaiting with very much interest your further advice, I am,

Very truly, yours,

FERD. C. SCHWEDTMAN,
Secretary to the President.

Mr. STAFFORD. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. September 5, 1907.

And after that letter, this occurred:

Senator REED. I want to ask you what was the trouble, the dispute as to plans, between yourself and Littlefield? Just tell us in a word or two.

Mr. MULHALL. I was interviewed by some newspapers at Lewiston, Me., and Mr. Littlefield wrote me quite a severe letter calling me down about getting into the public press, stating if there was too much publicity in the work I was doing I had better be out of the State than in it.

Now, I want to call the attention of the committee to the fact that the letter to which he refers as being the foundation of this controversy was not written to Mulhall until 19 days afterwards, on the 24th of September, so that his statement about the controversy that is referred to in the letter of September 5 is in relation to a controversy he knew nothing about until 19 days after the letter of September 5 was written, and the Senate record showed it. It is therefore impossible that his explanation can be true.

The truth is that the controversy was probably this: Instead of the controversy which did not occur until 19 days later, being the occasion for the controversy he refers to, my recollection is that about that time, or somewhere along before that, I had rather reached the conclusion that Mulhall's usefulness in my section had gone by. I did not know very much about it, but the more I saw of Mulhall the less I liked Mulhall. I do not wish to make any reflections with reference to what I did think, but either somewhere about that time, or before, I had informed the association that Mulhall need not come down again in my district.

I am not certain just now what this difficulty is that Mr. Schwedtman refers to, but my impression is it is that statement I made previously to the committee. I know I had told him about that time that Mr. Mulhall need not come into my district again, and my recollection is that is the difficulty referred to in the letter.

Mr. CLINE. Did he come into your district after that time?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. He did come down. He came down in 1907. If you wish I will go over that phase of it right now. He came down in 1907 as the result of some understanding with the National Asso-

ciation of Manufacturers. Now, I am not clear as to exactly how that came about. The committee will appreciate, I trust, that all these details occurred six or seven years ago, and until the statement of Mr. Mulhall, in the World, there was not a thing connected with this campaign to which my attention had ever been called during this period of seven years—absolutely nothing—none of these controversies had ever been called to my attention.

This particular matter of his coming down into the State is like this: I have not run across anything about it. Of course, I have not gone through all my voluminous correspondence, but there is not any doubt that Mulhall was down there in 1907, and the large mass of letters that have been put in in the Senate hearings show that a man by the name of McKnight, I think, was issuing a circular letter to the members of the town committees, evidently for the purpose of ascertaining what the situation was with reference to the sentiment in connection with this question of resubmission. It was then extremely acute.

The one question then in the Republican Party was whether it would be wise for the Republican Party in its platform to declare for resubmission or refuse to declare for it. Ultimately, I believe, they did not. These people were getting this information. I knew about their getting it, but it was not started at my instance. He was all over the State of Maine; he was everywhere, so far as I knew. The idea was, as I judge from the correspondence, Mulhall was thought by them to be a good man to travel about and get information that could be ascertained from the public; to hear what the people were saying; to go about in the hotels and at public gatherings and mix with the people and hear what was being said. Of course, if the people knew in advance what he was trying to get he would not get any information that amounted to anything. But the idea was, as I understand it, that Mulhall would get what any stranger would get, so far as he could, about public places, and that, so far as I know, is all he did do. His report was on that subject. I do not remember the particular report he made to me. My interest in that was just like that of any other Republican in the State of Maine. Of course, I had also this incidental interest in my own district.

Mr. CLINE. Did you come in contact with him at that time?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I think I may have seen him once or twice, possibly. He was traveling with Mr. Donohue a part of the time. Mr. Donohue was a man who lived in my town and I knew him very well.

At that time I had substantially made up my mind to retire from Congress, and the chances are that if the fight had not been made on me in 1906 I would have retired then. I would not retire under fire, and that is one of the reasons why I made the fight in 1906. I had got about tired of the job, and there were many reasons which were satisfactory and adequate to me. He says that this report that he made to me some time in 1907 was the cause of my withdrawing from the fight in 1908. There is absolutely no foundation for that statement.

Mr. CLINE. Were you a candidate in 1908?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; not at all. I held off making an announcement of my resignation until I had the nomination practically in my

hands. Of course, I knew the elements that would contest with me, if they were going to contest; and perhaps I may say that I went more thoroughly into my fight in 1906 because I wanted absolutely to eliminate any possible opposition.

I went in 1906 into the shire town, where court had been held 40 or 50 years and where my friend Swazey had practiced law continuously, and after I had the convention by a large majority of delegates I fought out the caucus in that town and won out by 150 or 200 votes, as I remember it.

I had no opposition in 1908. Nobody was contesting. I could have had the nomination by acclamation. Mulhall made some report which was used for general information, but it had not the slightest effect, so far as I was concerned, on my determination to withdraw and not run again. I had already made up my mind, but I had not announced it.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was his real purpose in making that campaign in 1907?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. To be perfectly frank about it, Judge, I am not altogether clear, except perhaps as to this: Whether these people had him to work up this campaign on this wet-and-dry proposition, of course I do not know. I have had something of a suspicion since these developments have taken place that they wanted to get information on that line. I suppose the real purpose was they wanted to ascertain what the practical conditions were, from a disinterested source. Of course, if I went around everybody knew what my attitude was, and I could not get the unbiased and disinterested information. There was not a man in the State of Maine that knew anything about the political situation that did not know my position on that question.

Mr. CLINE. You do not mean by that that you got Mulhall to find out?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, no. What happened undoubtedly was this: They had their reasons. The organization desired further information. I had known Mulhall, but up to that time nothing had developed in connection with Mulhall except that I had begun to feel that I did not care to have much to do with him. Nothing had developed to indicate that he was the sort of gentleman he now says he was and says he is. I did not even have any suspicion of that up to 1907.

The idea was this: Mr. Mulhall came, in the first place, to me. The first time I ever saw him was along some time after this campaign had begun in 1906. This association had offered to do what it could to help me out in this fight with the American Federation of Labor. I may say here that although I had constantly opposed the American Federation of Labor from the time I went into the House, it had never developed any antagonism in my district until 1906. I had made my campaigns just like any other campaigns, but that was not a factor at all.

Mr. RUSSELL. You have the two letters of September 24 and 28?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; I wrote those letters.

Mr. RUSSELL. This clause I want to read, because it indicates he certainly was in the State in your interest:

With reference to the newspaper proposition, I can only say that if you can not succeed in keeping out of the newspapers you will probably do me more harm than you will good.

That clearly indicates that at that time, to an extent, he was campaigning in your interest.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Of course anything that was developed in the campaign that affected the general result would affect me. I have read the correspondence through and reflected upon it, and I am giving you the best information I have about it. Of course, until I determined to withdraw I proposed to keep the situation as favorable as possible, because I might ultimately decide to run. Whatever information he was getting, of course, I was utilizing, or it came into my hands and I had the benefit of it. The only question was as to the use that would be made of it ultimately.

I can not remember all the circumstances under which the suggestion first was made as to Mulhall coming down there. My memory is I did not care to have him come. They did not have anybody else to send, and after that conference with them—I am not certain about that, but after that conference, my memory is, I finally withdrew my objections. And it was absolutely true that unless he could come down there and keep himself out of the newspapers he could not get any information that would be worth anything to anybody.

Mr. RUSSELL. You did not employ him?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Not at all. If there was any expense connected with it they bore it.

Mr. RUSSELL. The National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes. He came down, in the first instance, in 1906, and when he met me he came with credentials from Hon. William McKinley, James S. Sherman, Matthew S. Quay, and various other people not perhaps of equal prominence but perhaps of equal probity. That was the first I knew of Mulhall. The National Association of Manufacturers in the campaign sent down—Mr. Cushing came down, and a man by the name of Gordon came, and Mr. Mulhall. The first I knew of Mulhall I found him in Rockland.

Mr. WILLIS. Who was Gordon?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Gordon was a man that they had employed to do more or less political work for them. I never knew him until then.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall generally the purport of the letters from former President McKinley, former Vice President Sherman, and former Senator Quay?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I am not certain, Mr. Stafford, whether I actually saw the letters or whether Mr. Mulhall gave me the substance of the letters.

Mr. STAFFORD. There is nothing on record here to show the contents of those letters.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I am not certain about that. I would not undertake to say, from my recollection, that I saw and read the letters. My recollection is that he had these letters in his pocket, and he stated whom they were from and in substance what they showed. And I assumed that he was telling the truth and that he had his credentials with him; my impression is that he held them in his fingers when he was telling me about them.

Mr. WILLIS. Was any impression made on your mind as to the time when the letter was given to him by Mr. McKinley?

Mr. LITTLEFORD. My recollection is that it was in one of Mr. McKinley's campaigns when he was running for Congress.

Mr. WILLIS. He did not give him a recommendation while President?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, no; Mr. McKinley at that time was dead. My memory is that these letters were given to him by Mr. McKinley when he was a candidate for Congress. I never saw him or heard of him until I found him down there.

Mr. CLINE. Let me call your attention to one paragraph in this letter written at Rockland, Me., September 28, 1907, by you:

I do not know that you have occasion to see me again before you make your trip to Maine, as I have already gone over the matter fully with you and given you my idea as to the lines in which you ought to carry the work on, and I have nothing to add thereto.

Are we to gather from that statement in your letter that he was there in your employ and doing work for you?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; not at all. This is just exactly, so far as I can remember, what occurred: After the Schwedtman letter I went over the matter with him and told him in a general way what was wanted and how he could get it in the best way.

Mr. CLINE. You were accepting his services there in your behalf?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I was accepting his services in my behalf in so far as I got any benefit or advantage from his general canvass in the State.

Mr. CLINE. And went so far as to instruct him?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not remember now the details of the instructions, but I should say, from the letter, that I probably had a talk with him and told him how he could size up the sentiment and the public pulse by traveling about the State.

Mr. CLINE. Did you give him instructions to keep you advised as to what he did?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not remember that I did.

Mr. CLINE. And to make reports to you?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not remember that I did. I may have.

Mr. CLINE. Do you remember that you did not do it?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No. You will find another letter there in which I call his attention to the fact that he had been traveling with Mr. Donohue and he need not bother to report, as Mr. Donohue could report to me everything material.

The CHAIRMAN. I have not very clearly in mind just what it was he was to report on. Was it something in connection with this resubmission question?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The only thing was he was to ascertain the existing public sentiment throughout the State in connection with the resubmission question. That was the only thing so far as I had any connection with him. That was a general question in which I felt an interest and in which the Republican Party was interested.

The CHAIRMAN. Under what circumstances would the National Association of Manufacturers be taking any interest in that?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I can not tell you, Mr. Garrett, how they felt they had any interest in that. His activities were State-wide.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The correspondence they elicited came from all over the State of Maine, and his instructions, so far as I gave him any, required him to go all over the State.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you know whether this Mr. McKnight who sent out this correspondence all over the State inquiring as to the feeling with respect to this resubmission question was connected with the National Association of Manufacturers, or might have been connected with some other organization?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I can not tell you. I do not remember Mr. McKnight. I do not remember whether I saw him or not.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the evidence in the record is that Mr. McKnight was connected with the brewers in some way.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Then I will say that if Mr. McKnight was a representative of the brewers I did not know him. If Mr. McKnight was a representative of the brewers and had Brother Mulhall going down there under these circumstances, I was getting a gold brick all the way through.

Mr. CLINE. I want to call your attention to this letter, under date of September 24, 1907, written by you:

MY DEAR SIR: Inclosed please find two newspaper clippings. I hope in anything you may do hereafter you will make a more vigorous and successful effort to keep out of the limelight.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. That is exactly true.

Mr. CLINE (reading):

Newspaper mention such as I have inclosed will practically render futile the trip upon which you originally intended to start and is entirely foreign, as I understand, to what is supposed to be the purpose of your trip.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. That is right.

Mr. CLINE. Did you know at that time how he came to be in your State? Under whose authority?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I have no doubt I did.

Mr. CLINE. And that he was sent there by the parties who had him regularly employed at that time?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. If Mr. McKnight sent him there, and if Mr. McKnight represented the brewers, I did not know it. If he was down there in the interest of the brewers getting this information, this is the first time I have received any intimation of the sort.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not mean for it to be inferred that he was sent there by Mr. McKnight, but the name of McKnight being mentioned, I have an indistinct recollection that, either in the Mulhall letters or in the testimony, there was a statement made——

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. If Mr. McKnight represented the brewers and was getting this information on the part of the brewers this is the first time I ever heard of it, and they were getting it under circumstances that were hidden from me.

Mr. CLINE. I just wanted to ask you this question: He was in the employ at this time of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I so understood it.

Mr. CLINE. And was in full accord with them at that time?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I presume so, as far as I know.

Mr. CLINE. Without any apparent dissatisfaction on the part of either party? Now, what purpose did you have in requiring him to keep out of the limelight?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. He could not accomplish his purpose at all unless he would travel as any other stranger would travel. I have seen these interviews——

Mr. STAFFORD. We have these two newspaper clippings right here.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. If it were known that he was traveling about for the purpose of getting this information—if it were known to the committeemen and the public generally my belief was he would not get it in a disinterested manner.

Mr. CLINE. This is your letter to him?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Surely; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the number of that?

Mr. STAFFORD. That is No. 882.

Mr. WILLIS. I have another number there; No. 889 also.

Mr. CLINE. Now Mr. Littlefield, I want to ask you: What was the purpose of having Mr. Mulhall in your section at that time to get information for you?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I have endeavored to state, Judge Cline, several times, that my recollection is not distinct as to the original circumstances under which this arrangement was made with Mr. Mulhall. The information that he was undertaking to obtain—I remember about that and the correspondence disclosing it—was information as to the public feeling and the public sense and the public pulse upon this general question of resubmission.

Mr. CLINE. That would not have changed your view about the matter?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Not at all; but, at the same time, I had an interest not only in my own campaign but in the Republican ticket, and I was probably one of a thousand down there opposed to the resubmission proposition. It may be proper to say that there was a very vigorous division in the Republican Party. A large majority of the Republicans believed in the resubmission proposition. My recollection is that I thought here was an opportunity to get, in a way that would be entirely disinterested, just exactly what the public pulse was. So far as I knew, nobody knew Mr. Mulhall, but if Mulhall was going to put himself into the newspapers wherever he went he would be distinctly well known.

Mr. CLINE. How did he come to be there?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. He was sent down by the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. CLINE. At whose request?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I can not tell you that, Judge. I do not remember exactly what started that.

Mr. CLINE. You do not assume, do you, Mr. Littlefield, that the National Association of Manufacturers would send some man down there unless there had been some request made?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not assume anything about it, Judge; I simply tell you I do not remember the circumstances in which Mulhall started out to get that information for us, whether it was suggested by me or suggested by them. It may be strange, but I do not remember. The only interest I had in it was exactly the same interest any Republican in Maine would have in it. Unless I changed my determination and continued to run, I would have the interest in my own district that they would have in the other three districts in the State.

Mr. RUSSELL. If I understand you, then, your impression of his original purpose and of the reason for which he was sent there by the National Association of Manufacturers is that it was to get information about this resubmission question?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. And, incidentally, perhaps, to gather what information he could as to the public pulse on your stand?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Not the slightest, so far as I was concerned.

Mr. CLINE. Why did you say that unless he kept his work secret he would do you more harm than good?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. For the very reason that if I were going to continue to run in my district I had an interest in what was going on in that district as well as others.

Mr. RUSSELL. What did you mean when you said in this letter that if he did not keep out of the limelight he would harm the original purpose for which he entered the business?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I meant exactly what I said. If he did not keep out of the limelight, it would probably be impossible for him to travel about and get, in a disinterested manner, the actual pulse of the people—what was being said and done.

Mr. RUSSELL. You say, "the original purpose." What other purpose was there?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not know of any other purpose. The original purpose was the continuing purpose, so far as I was concerned.

Mr. RUSSELL. There was only one purpose?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. That is all.

Mr. STAFFORD. I direct your attention right there to that newspaper clipping from the Sun, on page 37 L. W., in which Mr. Mulhall is reported to have given out this interview:

> I am a stanch Republican, but I have not been in sympathy with the policy of the party in State or local politics, especially with reference to the stand taken on the liquor question. I believe that the only salvation of the Republican Party in the coming election lies in the insertion of a resubmission plank in the platform. I have traveled very extensively throughout the State lately, and have visited the fairs, and all the large cities. I find that the sentiment is everywhere very strongly in favor of resubmission. Resubmission is the paramount issue, and the Republican Party must recognize it.

Is that the article which was the occasion of your criticizing Mr. Mulhall for getting into the limelight?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I am inclined to think that does indicate one of the reasons I had in mind. Of course, if Mulhall did not know everybody else did that I was vigorously opposed to resubmission, and it probably did not fill me with much enthusiasm to find him blowing off an interview on the other side of the proposition and foreclosing the question. I have not seen these interviews since I sent them to Mulhall.

The references that he makes there to Dr. Crockett I will come to a little bit later. His relations to and associations with Dr. Crockett never at any time met with my approval, either directly or indirectly, from any point of view, and any interview he might give out in connection with his relations with Dr. Crockett would be personally extremely offensive to me.

Mr. RUSSELL. He was one of the labor leaders, was he not?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Well, I do not think I want to characterize him.

Mr. CLINE. Do you know how Mulhall came to be in Maine?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I suppose Mr. Mulhall came down there as the result of some conference that is referred to in Mr. Schwedtman's letter, to which I have called attention.

Mr. CLINE. Did he come there at your suggestion?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I can not remember about that, Judge. I have endeavored to refresh my recollection about the details of the 1907 activities of Mr. Mulhall in Maine, and I have given you everything I can remember about that.

Mr. CLINE. I might not have been paying close attention.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It is quite likely that I am infirm in conveying my ideas. The incident of his going down there had gone from my mind entirely until this investigation came up. Of course, I found my correspondence and I remembered that it was for that purpose.

Mr. CLINE. That is, to find what the sentiment was?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; and that is all.

Mr. CLINE. Now, how——

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Let me go further. As to how he came to start and whom it was suggested by, whether by me or by somebody connected with the association, I can not tell you; I can not remember.

Mr. CLINE. You can not understand why you did not get a man in your own State without sending for one from outside?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, yes; I understand about that, because I should consider a man entirely from the outside and entirely unknown better qualified to get the information we desired by simply drifting about and hearing conversations than some man in my State who would be known more or less. The idea was to have somebody who could travel about and get, in a disinterested manner, exactly what the conditions were—a man before whom other men would talk freely so far as they would talk at all.

Mr. CLINE. Was this canvass made at your suggestion?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Now, I can not tell you about that. I can not remember who suggested the idea of his coming there.

Mr. CLINE. You went over the matter, of course, with Mr. Mulhall?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I would not say that. I have no doubt that I probably told Mr. Mulhall about what to do and how to do it. My correspondence shows that.

Mr. CLINE. Was he traveling under your direction or suggestion?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Well, that comes right back to the original question, Judge. I am sorry your question does not refresh my recollection, but I simply can not tell you from my recollection whether the trip that Mulhall made in 1907 was suggested by me or by them.

Mr. CLINE. Let me read a little extract from one of your letters:

> I do not know that you have occasion to see me again before you make your trip to Maine, as I have already gone over the matter fully with you and given you my idea as to the lines in which you ought to carry the work on, and I have nothing to add thereto.

Does not that indicate to you now that he was under your direction?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No. It does indicate to me that I knew he was going down there, and I knew what he was going for; that I had a conference with him and told him how he could best accomplish the results.

Mr. CLINE. Did he come to you for instructions?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Well, I could not tell you, Judge, whether the meeting in connection with that was on his initiative or mine. I have not any doubt that I knew Mr. Mulhall was going down there for that purpose, and I have not any doubt that he saw me before he went down, and when he saw me I told him in a general way and fully as the letter says—I have no doubt I told him how he could go about getting this information and how it would be necessary for him to do it.

Mr. RUSSELL. You have no doubt either that the National Association of Manufacturers knew he went down there and for what purpose?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not think there is the slightest doubt about it.

Mr. CLINE. Did you have charge of that fight on the resubmission question in Maine?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Nobody had charge of it. I had charge of my end of it and the other people had charge of their end of it.

Mr. CLINE. Your end was to prevent resubmission, was it not?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, sir—I do not go quite so far as that, but my belief was it ought not to be resubmitted. There were a lot of other people in the Republican Party whose judgment perhaps was better than mine, and there was a very pronounced difference of opinion in the Republican Party as to what was better to do.

Mr. CLINE. Was there an organization against resubmission?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No. The only organization that I knew of on the prohibitory question was the organization that we were up against in 1911. I never heard of any organization against resubmission or any organization for resubmission until 1911. You mean in the sense of an organized effort? It was simply a question of discussion as to ways and means, and if it was wise or unwise.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you happen to know, Mr. Littlefield, anything about Mr. Mulhall's attitude on this resubmission subject?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. His personal attitude?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No. I rather infer, from Mr. Mulhall's letters I have seen here, that Mr. Mulhall himself was in favor of resubmission.

Mr. WILLIS. I invite your attention to this newspaper interview, where he says:

> I believe that the only salvation of the Republican Party in the coming election lies in the insertion of a resubmission plank in the platform. I have traveled very extensively throughout the State lately, and have visited the fairs and all the large cities. I find that the sentiment is everywhere very strongly in favor of resubmission. Resubmission is a paramount issue, and the Republican Party must recognize it.

In view of that statement by him in that newspaper, could you add anything now about that situation?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Of course Mr. Mulhall must have known what my view was, and he never had any authority or instructions from me to interview the newspapers, but it was pretty difficult to keep him out, as it has turned out. He must have known what my attitude was, and I have no doubt he knew it would be extremely offensive to me to have him giving out interviews diametrically in opposition to my own personal views. It is obvious enough with that interview given

out, if it was known he was traveling in that capacity, he would be very likely to get the information he was looking for; but that was not the sort of information I expected he was going to acquire. I supposed he would get it in an entirely impersonal way.

The CHAIRMAN. The very next paragraph in that same communication reads:

Worked the fairs.

In conclusion the Express says:

"Col. Mulhall is very close to Congressman Littlefield in all his campaigning, and has been much interested in the preliminary scoring for the political race which is now going on. Congressman Littlefield has also made a tour of the large cities and is at the present time engaged in so doing, sounding the political leaders on the conditions in the various districts. One of his favorite places to feel the political pulse is at the agricultural fairs, and consequently has paid strict attention to it during the past few weeks. He has been accompanied by several of his friends who have been interested in his progress."

Immediately following the statement that purports to be an interview of Mulhall is the statement that Mulhall is very close to Congressman Littlefield in all his campaigning.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; very close to me.

The CHAIRMAN. That purports to be what the Express says.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. He got closer to me than he would if I had known what he was. As to that, I was not engaged in any campaign. I saw whenever I was traveling about, that this question was in the air. Everybody was talking about it, and a good many people were growling about it, and undoubtedly I did want to find out what the public pulse was on that proposition. There was not any campaign in 1907; there was no campaign going on.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement Mulhall made in his article was, as I remember it, and certainly in his testimony, that the information which he furnished you in 1907 was the cause of your retiring.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Do you want to know what the fact is about that?

The CHAIRMAN. You have stated it already, as I understand.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; I will restate it, if you wish.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the resubmission question have anything to do with your retirement?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Not the slightest on earth, except I will say this, which, of course, is obvious: One of the factors, perhaps, entering into it was this, that I had made up my mind that there was no office I knew of within the gift of the American people that I would bother with two campaigns for. The annoyance and harrassment and vexation of campaigns for nomination and election were very distasteful and disagreeable to me, and to that extent and the disbursements entailed in going about, the resubmission question was a negligible factor in my resignation. But so far as being the proximate cause (do I make myself clear from a legal standpoint?)—so far as being the proximate cause the suggestion is utterly without foundation. But it was a factor and one of the considerations involved. My distinguished friend sitting here is one of the factors that produced the result down in my country. I had to run against him quite a number of times, and while we always were, now are, and always will be warm personal friends, he is as vigorous a gentleman in conducting a campaign as there is anywhere in this country.

Mr. CLINE. There was a right sharp division of the Republican Party on the question of resubmission?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; very sharp. A large majority of what they called the Republican Party was in favor of resubmission, and, as is not unusual for me, perhaps, I was more or less in the minority. I have not seen those interviews to read them since this investigation began, but I do not hesitate to say now, without having seen them, that there is material in those interviews and communications that associate me with the subject which were thoroughly offensive to me personally, especially on this line of resubmission and other features. Afterwards he wrote to me, I think, repudiating the interviews, and I simply said to him, in substance, "I have nothing to do with your traveling around and giving out interviews of that kind."

Do you wish me to come to the campaign?

The CHAIRMAN. The campaign of 1906, now.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The first I remember of seeing Mr. Mulhall was in 1906. I do not remember exactly where I saw Mr. Mulhall. I presume I saw him in Rockland, Me. I did live then in Rockland, Me. I do not remember how many times I saw him in the campaign. I notice he says some 8 or 10 times. I presume I may have seen him 4 or 5 times. The only thing I knew about Mr. Mulhall was he came down there—as I understand, he was sent down by this association—and with recommendations that he had I assumed he was a man of character and integrity. There was nothing about him at that time, on the surface at any rate, to indicate he was prepared to engage in wholesale corruption and debauchery. I heard or knew at that time about the club of which he speaks. I know where it is located. It is located in a wooden three-story building on the southerly side of Main Street, in Rockland, Me. The street runs nearly east and west. The office I then occupied was on the north side of that street, and some three or four hundred or four or five hundred feet westerly from what he calls his clubroom. I never was in it and I do not know I ever saw it while the campaign was going on. He says he came down there under instructions to report to me daily. He admits I never paid him any money; he admits he never had any talk with me about money, and he admits, so far as he knows, I never knew anything about the wholesale debauchery he testified to. He produced these letters from Mr. Cushing, which indicate he was traveling around in a pussy-footed manner. I have no knowledge of these letters and never saw them and never heard of them until I saw them in this record. I never made any suggestion about his keeping under cover. It seems by his letters I expected him to get out on the stump and make speeches, which I presume I did. Although he had instructions to report to me every 24 hours, he never reported to me any details; and, so far as the alleged clubroom where he says there were a crowd of men drunk at the foot of the stairway on Main Street, he never mentioned to me or never reported to me anything about it, and never did call the matter to my attention about the drunkenness going on in there at any time during the campaign, or anywhere, although maybe I had seen him four or five times.

Mr. WILLIS. I think it is only fair to you that your attention be called to the specific statement made by Col. Mulhall in the New York World article, in which he says:

Mr. Littlefield has always posed as a great temperance advocate, but I have never seen so much whisky used in a campaign in my life as I saw Littlefield and his manager use that year.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. On cross-examination of Mr. Stafford, he denied, so far as he was concerned, that I knew anything about it. He said before this committee that, so far as I was concerned, he did not know that I knew anything about it. I was coming right along to this, but I might as well take it up now. I hope that this committee understands that in a campaign taking up about six or eight weeks, with some 18,000 Republican votes and pretty nearly 1,300 majority—about 36,000 votes in all—of course, I am not going to undertake to say to this committee I knew everything about what went on in that campaign, because I did not. I did not believe it, and I do not now. What I have to say to you about that is this. Even if Mr. Mulhall did these things in connection with the clubroom, he did it on his own account, so far as I know. He never called my attention to that; he never told me what he was doing. This clubroom he speaks of—I am going to give you this in order that you may appreciate the situation he has undertaken to swear into this case about this clubroom. The only entrance is a door on the public, main street of Rockland, Me. That is a city of about eight or nine thousand people. There is only one entrance to the clubroom. The building he speaks of I know very well and, of course, I know the whole location. The rear of the building looks out on the shore, on some wharves, and there is no way of getting into the building except from Main Street. The two lower stories of the building and the basement are occupied by the Courier-Gazette Publishing Co., in the publication of the Courier-Gazette. In order to get from the first story up to the second story, they use the same flight of stairs these people must have used to get up in the clubroom during the period of six or seven weeks. W. O. Fuller, jr., is the president of the company and editor of the Courier-Gazette. He was the postmaster of Rockland under my recommendation.

I know that Mr. Fuller must have been using this stairway in common with the clubroom, and if he was and there were people in all stages of drunkenness swarming up and down the stairs and the hall, his attention must have been called to it. I do not believe Mr. Fuller tolerated that condition, and he could not have helped knowing it had it existed. Of course to get upstairs Mr. Fuller and the employees had to go up these stairs from the first floor into the second story, which they occupied in connection with the publication. Now, this entrance to this clubroom—he says that on Sundays, practically during the whole period, there was a crowd of men gathered at the bottom in a state of intoxication, beastly or otherwise, on Main Street at the foot of the stairs, and when I went to church I would have no difficulty in seeing them. It is true that just about three or four hundred feet easterly from this flight of stairs two of the prominent churches in Rockland are located—the Baptist and the Second Congregational Church. While I did not work very hard at it, I went to the Congregational Church while in Rockland. Mr. Fuller attended

the Baptist Church. The Baptist Church was not much more than a stone's throw from the same flight of stairs and on the opposite side of the street. If he had stood in the door of the Baptist Church, or on the steps, he could have seen everybody on the outside of this flight of stairs on the street, whether drunk or otherwise.

Now, maybe he had drunken men at the foot of the stairs opening out onto Main Street during Sundays while the campaign was going on; but if he did, all the people who went to the Baptist Church, when they walked by on their way to church and when they walked back when church was out, could not have helped but seeing them. The same is true of the Congregational Church. There is also an electric road along that street that runs open cars at that time of the year, and they are substantially well filled. They run by anywhere from 10 to 15 minutes; and if there was this crowd of drunken men lolling around on the street on Sunday morning, according to his statement, they ran those cars every 10 or 15 minutes, everybody on the cars could see; but I never saw this and he never called my attento it, and I never heard until this man Mulhall undertakes to swear to it on the stand, that anything of the kind was going on. It may be true that the church-going people of Rockland did see it and did know of it. He thinks I ought to have seen it. I was home one Sunday during the campaign, and possibly one or two more. From where I lived I would either go to church on what is known as Union Street, north of Main Street, or I would go farther down and walk out Main Street. Part of the time I went one way and part of the time I went the other. Whether I went to church on Sunday prior to the election—I certainly think I rested, because my voice was all worn to a frazzle from making two to three speeches a day, and talking to the heroes and divers men throughout this district and undertaking the work of traveling around and patching up difficulties and smoothing out controversies, and when I got home on Saturday night, at the end of the campaign, I think I probably rested all day Sunday. This statement he makes is a most vicious libel, in my judgment, upon the citizenship of the city of Rockland. He says at one time it was raided. I do not believe—of course it is understood I am not undertaking to testify of personal knowledge—and I never believed the statement of this man Mulhall that there was this drunken mob at the foot of the stairs on the east side of the public main street of Rockland, who must have been seen by hundreds of people who were walking back and forth every day, and for the purpose of going to and from the churches they attended on Sunday, and who must have been seen by hundreds of people who rode back and forth on the electric cars.

Right now I want to call your attention, while on this, to the statement of Mulhall that he spent, himself, $3,000 in this campaign. I do not know whether he did or not. I do not believe he did, Judge. On the Senate side he could not undertake to detail what he did spend. His correspondence shows he was urging Mr. Cushing to send money, and all Cushing sent was his salary and expenses. Whether he spent that or not—I do not know anything about whether he delivered it to him—I never heard he spent it until he states it here upon the stand.

He says he had 23 men drunk in this clubroom. I want to say my attention was never called to it, and I never heard of it until Mr. Mulhall stated it upon this stand. I also find another transaction, where he says there were 135 men kept intoxicated and kept in some ice house, or some other place, which must have made a reduction in the Democratic vote of somewhere between 150 and 160, in the city of Rockland alone, as a result of Mulhall's activities.

Mr. RUSSELL. You do not mean the Democrats are the only people who drink up there? [Laughter.]

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No. I understand he contends he had this number of Democrats so drunk they could not vote. He did not get the Republicans drunk down there in that campaign, as I understand it. [Laughter.] No; you are right about that, Judge. The universality about imbibing intoxicating liquors is rather general and by no means confined to gentlemen who unfortunately, from my point of view, vote the Democratic ticket on election day.

Mr. CLINE. Was your attention invited to the fact that Mr. Gompers also testified to that?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; but that does not add anything to the weight of the statement.

Mr. CLINE. That is purely a matter of opinion?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Sure; yes, but I did not notice Mr. Gompers was very vigorously cross-examined as to where he saw it.

Mr. FERRIS. He testified he went in there.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Where was he located—Rockland or Lewiston? Far be it from me to make any suggestion that might detract from the purity and morality of Lewiston, but the testimony seems to be centered on the scene in Rockland, where I happened to live. The record does not show Mr. Gompers testified whether it was Rockland or elsewhere. I might say here that this was not the only political club in existence in the campaign. Perhaps there were half a dozen, or 8 or 10 or more. I knew nothing about Mulhall—that he would try to debauch the people by the use of a club any more than any other people who ran a club. This club would not claim my attention any more than any other resort or any other club that would be carried on in my district. There were some six or eight of them. We had a Republican club in the city of Rockland, and others in the districts. Yes, I know that is what Mr. Gompers said, and Mr. Gompers said he was there two weeks before the campaign, as I understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mulhall, in his article in the World, did not say anything about men being drunk on the street?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; he testified to that here the other day.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; he testified to it on the stand?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Here is what I have in my mind, Mr. Garrett. On page 1939 of the hearings before your committee, I find the following:

Mr. STAFFORD. But that is the only basis, then, of the charge that Mr. Littlefield knew that whiskey was being used in that campaign?

Mr. MULHALL. Well, any Sunday morning as Mr. Littlefield was going to church, if Mr. Littlefield was around he would generally find outside that hall quite a crowd, and the boys, as a rule, were pretty drunk, because there

was free whiskey, and they could get it at any time, and a "long neck" or "short neck" in Maine is always at a premium, particularly when the fishermen come in from the islands.

Mr. STAFFORD. You do not mean to say, now, Mr. Littlefield ever used liquor to influence voters himself there?

Mr. MULHALL. I do not say direct, but I say his managers did—his workers did.

Well, if what he said is true, Mr. Mulhall himself did. Whether he did or not, I would not undertake to say except I give you the information I have.

Now, I call the attention of the committee to his statement that something like 160 or 175 unfortunate Democrats were kept so drunk on election day that they could not vote, and I would like to call your attention to the result of the election in Rockland and Knox Counties, in 1902, 1904, and 1906, as bearing upon the probabilities of influences of any large amount of that character having been brought to bear in 1906.

In 1902 the Republican candidate for governor received in Rockland 879 votes. I received 881. In Knox County the total Republican vote for governor was 2,768, and my vote was 2,785. My majority in Rockland that year was 142.

The Democratic candidate for governor received 742 votes in Rockland, and for Congressman, 739. The Democratic vote in Knox County for governor was 3,198, and the Democratic vote for Congressman was 3,175. The Democratic majority in the county was 390.

In 1904, which was the presidential year, and when in my country (I do not know how it may be with you) we get out the largest vote, the Republican candidate for governor received in Rockland 1,064. I received 1,034. The Republican candidate in Knox County for governor received 3,200 and I received 3,181. The Democratic candidate for governor received 697 and the Democratic candidate for Congress received 721 in Rockland. The Democratic vote in Knox County was 3,207 for governor and 3,184 for Congressman. My majority in Rockland in 1904 was 313 and the majority of the Democratic candidate in the county was 3.

In 1906, the campaign referred to, the Republican candidate for governor received in Rockland 902 votes. I received 918. The Republican candidate for governor in Knox County received 3,011, and the candidate for Congress received 3,080. The Democratic candidate in Rockland received 915 votes for governor, and the Democratic candidate for Congress received 896. The total Democratic vote for governor was 3,586 in the county and for Congressman 3,511. My majority in Rockland was only 22, as compared with 313 two years before. The Democratic majority in the county was 431, as compared with a Democratic majority of 3 in 1904.

Of course, these figures do not show very much, but they do show there was not any very pronounced falling off of the Democratic vote. The Democrats threw more votes in the city of Rockland for Congressman by about 175 than they had thrown in the two preceding elections, notwithstanding the diminution of the vote by the wholesale intoxication of the unfortunate Democrats.

Mr. CLINE. I might suggest that they might have been doing that right along in Maine lately.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I have not heard of it in Maine, Judge, that anything of that sort had been going on in the campaigns of 1902 and 1904. I want to say a word right here as to Mr. Mulhall's statements in relation to Dr. Crockett. He says that Mr. F. W. Wight paid Dr. Crockett $500.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Littlefield, before you begin on that, it is now 1.15 and I suppose it will be some little time before you are through. We will take a recess until 2.30 o'clock p. m.

(Thereupon, at 1.15 o'clock p. m., the committee took a recess until 2.30 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled, pursuant to the taking of recess, at 2.30 o'clock p. m.

TESTIMONY OF HON. CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD—Continued.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Littlefield.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Mulhall claims that some $500 was paid by him to a gentleman by the name of Dr. G. Langtry Crockett for making a speech in this campaign. Now, Mr. Chairman, I desire to say first that I never had any relations, direct or indirect, political or otherwise, with Dr. G. Langtry Crockett. I have known him for a long while, but nobody representing me, with my knowledge or consent, ever had any relations with him of any sort, political or otherwise. He is the gentleman who wrote a letter to the Senate committee directly after this investigation started, commending Brother Mulhall for his zeal in making his disclosures, and trusting that he would run the knife in and turn it around. Up to that time Mulhall had not made this statement, but after he did make it Dr. Crockett jumped into the public prints with this statement:

I want to say now that if Martin Mulhall had not lied about me on the stand in Washington I would not have opened my mouth. He lied when he said that he paid $500 through Collector Wight for making a speech in the Arena against Samuel Gompers.

I wish to state I never heard of this previous to this investigation. That is all the knowledge I have about it. I never knew it was pretended that he was paid. Nobody representing me ever made any arrangement with him with my knowledge or by my consent or approval.

In that same interview Dr. Crockett says:

Mulhall, as far as I can see, has ruined everyone who has come in contact with him. One of the things which disturbed Mulhall more than a little was the way Congressman Littlefield used him. He treated him like a political leper. I saw the meeting between the two and I know what took place.

I saw Dr. Crockett just before I left Rockland. He was in the office of the Knox County Law Library Association, and reference happened to be made to this particular statement. I told him I did not remember ever treating anybody in that way, but he seemed to think it was when he came down there in 1907, an instance I will refer to later, but whatever the fact may be, I do not remember the charge. That is all I know about it. I never heard of it until this investigation and its disclosure by Mulhall.

I have here the whole interview given by Dr. Crockett, and so far as I am concerned, I have no objection to its all going in, if the committee wants to put it in the record. I would like to say this in regard to it, that so far as the attacks upon distinguished gentlemen now in public life which it contains are concerned, so far as I am concerned, I do not wish to be understood as indorsing what he says. I have no objection to putting it all in the record, if the committee desires it to go in, but I would like to have it distinctly understood that I do not want to stand behind anything he says about certain distinguished men now in public life.

Mr. WILLIS. You have read all of it that pertains to this investigation?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; I have read all I care to read out of it and said all I care to say about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you let me see that? (After examining paper.) It seems to be only a newspaper interview.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; that is all it is. Mulhall says that there was $60,000 contributed to this campaign, and endeavors to leave the impression that it was contributed by the National Association of Manufacturers. I have already stated that the financial part of the campaign was handled by Mr. Wight, who was then the collector of the port of Waterville, and who has been appointed, within the last few weeks, as steward and treasurer of the Maine Insane Hospital at Augusta. He had entire charge of the financial end of the campaign. I knew, in a general way, what was going on. So far as contributions were concerned, they were made to him, with the exception of some few instances when the contributions were received by me and turned over by me to him, but he had all the disbursing of them. I do not know that I ever knew who all the men were who contributed to this campaign fund. I think, so far as I know, the National Association of Manufacturers, as an association, never contributed anything. I have here, and I will give it to the committee, a letter from Mr. Wight, inclosing a sworn statement of the cashier of the Rockland National Bank, where he carries his account, showing the amount of contributions and disbursements. The aggregate amount given is $20,661.

Now, I hold in my hand——

Mr. RUSSELL (interposing). What was that amount?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. $20,661. I will not stop now to read the letter and the sworn certificate from the cashier of the Rockland National Bank, where the account was kept, showing the contributions, beginning July 31, 1906, and ending September 11, 1906, the aggregate amount being $20,661, and showing the amount deposited each day.

I hold in my hand a copy of a circular letter which I prepared at the close of the campaign and sent out to acknowledge to the various parties their assistance in the campaign. I will not stop to read this letter now, because there is nothing in it which is significant, except a general statement or description of the results and giving my thanks to them. Perhaps I ought to say in that connection that the election occurred on the 10th of September. On the 13th, or within a day or so thereafter, I started on a trip to the Pacific Coast, which took about 30 days. This letter I dictated and left with my clerk, and I have here the list of the names of the people to whom the letter

was sent. I do not remember now whether Mr. Wight turned this list over to me or whether I asked him to turn it over to my secretary. I suppose the committee would like to have me read the list. I will say this about it, gentlemen: I think Mr. Cushing interested himself quite actively in the collection of funds for the prosecution of this campaign. My understanding is that a substantial part of it came from men who were probably members of the National Association of Manufacturers, and came from them individually, not as members. If there is no objection, I would like the letter and that list, together with Mr. Wight's letter and the sworn statement of the cashier of the Rockland National Bank, to go into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They may go into the record.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

MAINE INSANE HOSPITAL,
AUGUSTA, ME., *September 15, 1913.*

Hon. CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD,
11 Pine Street, New York City.

MY DEAR SIR: I inclose herewith sworn statement of H. E. Robinson, cashier Rockland National Bank, showing my account as treasurer from July 31 to September 11, 1906, covering all the receipts in your campaign for election to Congress in that year.

Respectfully, yours, FRED W. WIGHT, *Treasurer.*

Capital, $150,000; surplus, $100,000.
Rockland National Bank, Rockland, Me.
G. Howe Wiggin, president; H. E. Robinson cashier;
Fred W. Wight, treasurer.

1906.

July 31, deposit	$25
August 2, deposit	250
August 6, deposit	700
August 8, deposit	1,100
August 10, deposit	1,450
August 13, deposit	150
August 20, deposit	200
August 24, deposit	300
August 27, deposit	1,850
August 28, deposit	85
August 30, deposit	1,765
August 31, deposit	106
September 1, deposit	3,140
September 6, deposit	5,710
September 8, deposit	2,855
September 11, deposit	975
Checks paid and returned	20,661

I, H. E. Robinson, cashier of the Rockland National Bank, do solemnly swear that the above statement is true and represents a correct list of deposits, under the several dates, made by Fred W. Wight, treasurer, to the best of my knowledge and belief.

H. E. ROBINSON, *Cashier.*

Sworn to before me this 8th day of September, 1913.

[SEAL.] H. W. THORNDIKE, *Notary Public.*

ROCKLAND, ME., *September 13, 1906.*

Hon. A. S. DRAPER, *Hopedale, Mass.*

MY DEAR MR. DRAPER: I desire to acknowledge in a formal way the valuable assistance that you have rendered me in the campaign just ended. It has been the most vicious, bitter, and determined fight that I have ever known in the

State. Notwithstanding all this, however, the result in my district is very much better than in either of the other districts. They had no fight, everything was concentrated in my district.

Notwithstanding that, Mr. Allen in the first district dropped 3,500 votes. I dropped something like 3,700, Mr. Burleigh about 5,900, and Mr. Powers nearly 6,000, showing that in the general slump, taking everything into account. I succeeded in coming out better than either of the other districts.

In addition to this I have led the governor in every county in the district and practically every one of the various county tickets, getting with a very few exceptions a larger vote than any other candidate on the ticket.

In Vinalhaven, which is the most pronounced labor town in my district and which should be most directly affected by Gompers and his henchmen, we changed an adverse result of 24 of 2 years ago to a favorable result of 9 this year, on a total vote of 543, which obviously clearly demonstrates that Gompers was not able to do me any harm.

On the contrary, the character of his assault on me and the manner in which it was met was, in my judgment, producive of good results to the ticket.

Again thanking you most cordially for the substantial manifestation of your interest in the campaign, I am,

Very respectfully, yours, C. E. LITTLEFIELD.

Copy of the above sent to the following:
F. C. Dumaine, 64 Ames Building, Boston, Mass.
Hon. J. Frank Hanly, Indianapodis, Ind.
Irving H. Chase, Esq., Waterbury, Conn.
A. Stowell & Co., Boston, Mass.
J. H. Quint, Esq., Manchester, N. H.; care A. E. Lane.
Marshall Cushing, Esq., 170 Broadway, New York City.
C. R. Hanscom, Esq., New London, Conn.
Woodwork Manufacturing Association, Rochester, N. Y.
C. W. S. Cobb, Esq., St. Louis, Mo.
John F. Harris, Chicago, Ill.
Hon. A. S. Draper, Hopedale, Mass.
Edward Milliken, Esq., Broadway, New York City.
John Pierce, Esq., 277 Broadway, New York City.
Gen. Ellis Spear, 1003 F Street, Washington, D. C.
E. J. Bliss, Esq., Regal Shoe Co., Boston, Mass.
New England Navigation Co., Pier 19, North River, New York.
C. H. Mallory & Co., No. 129 Front Street, New York City.
Charles A. Hannon, Esq., Ames Building, Boston, Mass.
Edward Wilkinson, Esq., assistant treasurer Arnold Print Works, North Adams, Mass.
John W. Farwell, Esq., 10 Post Office Square, Boston, Mass.
William H. Hill, jr., No. 50 Congress Street, Boston, Mass.
Wales Hubbard, Esq., Washington, D. C.
R. B. Hawley, Esq., 111 Wall Street, New York City.
E. F. Greene, Esq., Boston, Mass.
Jones Bros., 161 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.
Calvin Austin, Esq., Eastern Steamship Co., Boston, Mass.
Cromptom-Thayer Loom Co., Worcester, Mass.
F. H. Metcalf, Esq., Farr Alpaca Co., Holyoke, Mass.
Capt. H. W. West, James Reilly Repair & Supply Co., foot of Grand Street, Jersey City, N. J.
Sol. Wile, Esq., Rochester, N. Y.
Charles Godchaux, Esq., New Orleans, La.
Albert G. Smith, Esq., Ward Line, New York City, Wall Street.
J. N. Struck & Bro., Louisville, Ky.
J. L. Strassel, Esq., Louisville, Ky.
James Clark, jr., & Co., Louisville, Ky.
Ballard & Ballard Co., Louisville, Ky.
Henry D. Sharpe, Esq., Providence, R. I.
William H. Sayward, Esq., Boston, Mass., Builders' Exchange.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I will state, in the first place, that this list includes 38 different people. I do not think it includes all the men who contributed to the campaign, because I have a recollection of

others who contributed. How it happened that I did not send an acknowledgment to all of them I do not remember particularly. In addition to the men appearing upon this list there were contributions made by Senator Hale and Senator Hale's wife; Mr. A. H. Shaw, of Bath, Me.; Arthur Sewall & Son, of Bath, Me.; the Republican congressional committee; from Mr. Sibley and Mr. Littauer, who were both Members of the House, and I may say here that I understand those contributions were made upon the suggestion of Mr. Cannon, who saw them after he was down there in the district. Then there were contributions, I believe, from Mr. A. E. Cox and Mr. Pearl Wight. The aggregate list is something like 50.

I will give the names of the people in the list that I knew then and have some acquaintance with now. With that exception, the balance of the men I did not then know; some of them I may have met since. I never had anything to do with them before, did not have anything to do with them then, and have not had anything to do with them since.

Hon. Frank J. Hanly is on this list. He was then governor of Indiana. I do not think he was a contributor to the fund. He did come down into my district. He came into the State. He was making his speeches on the general prohibition question, and under circumstances which it is not necessary for me to go into—or perhaps I may go into them a little, because it might indicate the conditions existing in Maine at that time. When he came down to Maine and was assigned to some of the leading places in the State the local committees refused to receive him. He was well known, and his attitude on the general temperance question at that time was well known, and the invitation to Mr. Hanly came through me, or was inspired from me, I have forgotten just how it came about; but I was responsible for his being invited. The result of that was that in order to have Mr. Hanly fill his engagements in that campaign it became necessary for me to place him in my own district. I placed him in my own home town. I placed him there and in two other leading towns in the district, and did not consult the local committees at all. I think he is included in this list, because I was acknowledging his services in the campaign.

Mr. CLINE. He was making speeches on the temperance question particularly?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Very largely. His speech was devoted largely to indorsing the then Gov. Cobb's administration. Gov. Cobb had stood for the prohibitory proposition.

The next name I want to refer to is Marshall Cushing, Esq. I do not think—so far as I know, I do not think Mr. Cushing contributed any money himself. He was instrumental in collecting money from people he knew.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was the money he collected included in this statement?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I so understood.

Mr. RUSSELL. It was paid to the treasurer?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I so understood it. I do not know whether Cushing himself paid any to Mr. Wight, but my understanding is that whatever was collected or solicited by Mr. Cushing reached Mr. Wight's hands and was made a part of this sum.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did he not pay Mulhall whatever he expended, directly?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I think—no; he paid Mulhall his compensation for his services, as I understand the correspondence.

Mr. RUSSELL. The expenses he contracted for campaign purposes?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not think so.

Mr. RUSSELL. Where did Mulhall get that?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not know anything about that. I never did know.

Mr. RUSSELL. He rendered, as I understand it, a number of accounts involving considerable expenditure.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. My recollection is that he never rendered any account that undertook to take care of this $3,000 which he talked about. I think he did render an account for his services and his individual expenses.

Mr. RUSSELL. Have you got anything that will show whether Mr. Cushing paid this money he collected in your district from the manufacturers to your treasurer?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Nothing, except what the treasurer states to me. I have no personal knowledge of it.

Mr. RUSSELL. You have not got his account showing where he did get it?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; his account does not show that. It does show all the amounts raised.

Mr. WILLIS. Just before you proceed, Mr. Littlefield, I would like to ask you a question. You say you have not any information that the National Association of Manufacturers, as such, made any contribution to your campaign?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. You think they did not make any?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I think they did not. So far as I know, they did not. So far as the National Association of Manufacturers was concerned in this campaign, they were represented, so far as I was concerned, by Mr. Cushing. I had very little to do with Mulhall. I had very little to do with any of the other people. Mr. Cushing was there assisting me to secure the nomination, and he was there, more or less, while the campaign was going on.

Mr. CLINE. You do not pretend to say what moneys Cushing disbursed?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I do not know about that.

Mr. CLINE. Or what he collected?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. My recollection is that what Cushing succeeded in collecting went to Mr. Wight, the treasurer. That is all I know about it.

Mr. CLINE. And that you got from Mr. Wight?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes. I have seen Cushing since, and I understood Cushing to state that substantially. I do not want to state anything for Mr. Cushing. Cushing was in my office about a week ago, and I got the understanding from Cushing that whatever he got was sent down to Mr. Wight. I do not want to be understood, however, as making a statement for Mr. Cushing.

Mr. CLINE. That is simply an inference from a conversation; not a direct statement?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; that is the understanding I have.

Mr. RUSSELL. You have no way of knowing that Cushing did not give $3,000 to Mulhall?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I can not state that, except to say that Mulhall's statement is that he did not. He said he got the money from some of my managers. That is all I know about it. This $3,000 proposition he puts out now I heard of for the first time in this investigation. I never heard or dreamed of it before.

The next name on this list to which I desire to direct your attention is that of Mr. C. W. S. Cobb, of St. Louis, Mo. I have known him for 30 or 40 years. He was formerly a resident of Rockland, Me.

The next name is that of Hon. A. S. Draper, of Hopedale, Mass. He was either then or afterwards the governor of Massachusetts. I know him by sight; I perhaps might know him if I should see him. I have no acquaintance with him.

John Pierce, Esq., of 277 Broadway, New York, is an old resident of Maine, a man I have known for 30 or 40 years and associated with in politics.

Gen. Ellis Spear, is a native of my district and lives in Washington.

William H. Hill, jr., of Boston, was a man connected with the Eastern Steamship Co., which had been clients of mine for 15 or 20 years, and are now.

R. B. Hawley, Esq., of 111 Wall Street, New York City, was formerly a Member of the House of Representatives from Texas.

Jones brothers, of Boston; one of the Jones brothers I have seen once or twice since that time.

Calvin Austin, Esq., of Boston; he was the superintendent and general agent for the Eastern Steamship Co., a man I had known for 30 or 40 years, and the company had been clients of mine during all that time. They are now.

Capt. H. W. West, of Jersey City, N. J., was in the Revenue-Cutter Service. I knew him through Mr. Wight, and he was an intimate friend of his.

The rest of the 38, so far as I can remember, are men that I never knew then and I have not known since. I do not think I would know any of them if I should see them.

As I have said, the others——

Mr. FERRIS (interposing). Do you know who induced these men, with whom you were not acquainted, to contribute?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No. I have no doubt that a substantial portion of this came through the efforts of Mr. Cushing and Harrison Loring, jr., whom I never knew until this campaign came along, and Mr. A. E. Cox, of Boston. I understand Mr. Cox is a member of the National Association of Manufacturers. Mr. Loring is not. Mr. Loring is a man I have known since. Mr. Cox I may have met since; I do not have any memory about that.

There is another name, Pearl Wight, of New Orleans, who was an uncle of Mr. Fred W. Wight, the committee man, a man whom I had known for 30 years.

I think that covers the list. If the committee desires, I can tell them—I will say that Senator Hale's contribution, if I recollect correctly, was $500, and that of his wife was $200. Mr. Shaw, who was probably the richest man in my district—and, perhaps, in the State of Maine—his contribution was $1,000. I think Mr. Harold Sewall's contribution was $100. The congressional committee contributed——

Mr. FERRIS (interposing). Is that gentleman a member of the Sewall family, a member of which ran on the presidential ticket with Mr. Bryan in 1896?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; that was Arthur Sewall. He always lived in Bath, Me., and was a man I knew very well in his lifetime. Harold Sewall was at one time minister to Hawaii and also minister to Samoa. Mr. Samuel Sewall was an active man in the firm. There was another Sewall—I am not quite certain of his given name—who may have been also a member of the firm. If so, he was either a son or nephew of Arthur Sewall.

Mr. Sibley and Mr. Littauer contributed $500 each. There were no funds in the possession of the State committee in Maine during this campaign, and, so far as I know, nothing came by way of financial assistance from the State committee. Any other funds that were contributed to go into this campaign came from such of the local candidates as may have contributed in the various counties. We have a custom there which, I take it, prevails everywhere, of making some slight assessment upon the candidates for various county offices. How much of that was done I do not know, and if any was given I do not know the amount. I do not think that any of that fund went into Mr. Wight's hands.

Mr. STAFFORD. Can you give us any general idea as to how it was expended; what proportion was paid for printing, what proportion for halls, and what proportion for the expenses of meetings, and so forth?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I can not remember that. I stood behind the financing of the campaign in its early stages. In the final analysis—it is impossible for me to tell personally about the disbursements, because I never kept any account of any of my campaigns. I had lost most of my professional business while I was in the House, and as I had neither cashbook, journals, nor daybooks of any kind it would be impossible to give any idea of the amount of the expense to which I had been subjected.

Mr. CLINE. If you had been in the House long enough, you would not have needed a cashbook.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. If I had stayed out of the House I would have been about $30,000 to the good in that period. I dropped a professional business that was worth more than the salary I received.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you state whether anything was contributed by the national congressional committee?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; there was $1,000 contributed by the congressional committee.

Mr. RUSSELL. That did not go to Mr. Wight?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; it did. Near the close of the campaign Mr. Wight telegraphed Mr. Cox, calling his attention to the fact that sufficient funds were in sight, and he suggested that he might stop making collections. Then Cox wrote a letter stating that he would keep up what he was doing, and, if anything was left over, it could be used for the purpose of reimbursing me for my expenses in the nominating campaign. My bank account shows disbursements in August and September of about $3,000, but I do not think that is all on this account, and it would be impossible to dig it out. Mr.

Wight's compensation was $1,000 for his services in the campaign, and he devoted his whole time to that work. One thousand dollars was returned to the congressional committee, and, while I was away on the Pacific coast, Mr. Wight deposited to my credit $3,000, which was in part a reimbursement to me for my expenses in the nominating and subsequent campaign. Further than that I can not go. I have here my own daybook, and if, as a matter of curiosity—I would not like to have this go into the record—but if you would like to see the magnitude, or otherwise, of business I did for myself, beginning with 1906, from May 1, 1906—that is, everything I entered on my daybook from May 1, 1906, up to December 28, 1907. There are 14 pages of the daybook, as you will see there [handing book to the chairman]. That shows the extent of my professional business. There are some few entries there in connection with cash.

Mr. RUSSELL. This was for campaign expenses?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, no. I do not think there is a dollar there relating to the campaign. I simply wanted the committee to see what the character of my bookkeeping was at that time. My original fight in 1899 was entirely financed by me, but I never kept any account of it. The money had to be paid out, and it was paid out. I was the only candidate in 1899, and I had to run the whole campaign myself. In this particular campaign I circulated a great many thousand copies of my own speeches—valuable or otherwise, as the case may be. We had quite a variety of literature, and there was some newspaper advertising, and expenses of campaign meetings. There were quite a good many meetings that cost anywhere, taking the hall rents, the hire of bands, the printing of posters, and the fliers that would be printed and circulated, with the expense of posting and distribution, I would say that the expense, perhaps, would amount to $100, $125, or $150 per meeting. I do not mean to say that all of those meetings cost that sum of money, but quite a good many of them undoubtedly did.

My recollection is—I am not quite certain about it—but my recollection is that along in the last week of the campaign, as a sort of closing effort, I had a personal circular prepared and circularized the whole district with this circular letter, sending it to something like 25,000 people, and, in that case, of course, the cost of postage, which would be 2 cents for each letter, would be considerable. That is only one illustration.

And then there was the getting of the voters home. An earnest and energetic effort was made, which I insisted upon in the beginning, to get back from abroad every voter who was away. How many were gotten home under those circumstances I can not tell. I think the estimate was somewhere in the neighborhood of 1,000 or 1,500. In some instances, it cost from $12 to $15 per man. In other instances, it would cost only 50 cents or a dollar, according to where the man was.

There were some men who took a good deal of time from their own personal business to do work for me in that campaign, and it seems to me that when men leave their own personal business to do work of that kind they ought to get some compensation for it. My

own judgment would be that this sum, taking everything into account—taking the whole situation into consideration—would be a net expenditure of about $15,000 for the election campaign, which was a very moderate expenditure under the circumstances.

I had one or two French orators, at $25 per night, and then we had a lot of French literature which was published and circulated all through the district. I have now at home a very large collection of the speeches I ordered. I do not know how many thousands of copies there were, but there were many thousands of copies of speeches I had made about that time, especially one upon the Elkins railroad bill, and one or two others at that time. Unfortunately, I sometimes made a speech in the House which occupied a little longer time than some people would think it necessary, and it cost quite a good deal more to print such a speech than to print a shorter one.

Mr. RUSSELL. It is certain, is it not, that there was expended and went through Mr. Wight's hands this $20,000?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; With the $1,000 returned to the congressional committee and the $3,000 returned to me, and the $1,000 for Mr. Wight's compensation.

Mr. RUSSELL. And you say there were some collections made which did not go through Mr. Wight's hands?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. There may have been some collections made in the various counties by the candidates on the county ticket. I assume there probably was.

Mr. RUSSELL. You can not estimate the amount of those collections not included in the statement of Mr. Wight?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; it would be impossible for me to do that.

Mr. Wight, with the exception of taking care of the expenses necessary at headquarters—he tells me we had five or six girls employed during the whole campaign there. I had practically nothing to do with that end of it. The campaign itself I managed and handled, but so far as working out the details was concerned, that was entirely in his charge, and he had, I suppose, five or six people there continuously at work. A very great many circulars were sent out. We had, perhaps, half a dozen different circulars, and they were all sent out under postage stamps and not under franks. The only things I did send out under a frank were the speeches I had made in the House.

What these items cost I do not think I had any adequate notion at that time. Of course, you will understand that at that time there was no legislation in Maine or anywhere else requiring an account to be kept of campaign funds. I had no occasion to keep anything, and after the thing was over that was the end of it as far as I was concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Littlefield, you spoke awhile ago of a circular letter that you sent out to different persons. Mr. Mulhall introduced here a letter. The letter which you have produced was not presented; it was not read.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. You mean the circular letter I sent to the gentlemen from whom I was acknowledging contributions?

The CHAIRMAN. Acknowledging contributions.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter on page 1952 of the House hearings was a letter presented by Mr. Mulhall.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Rockland, Me., September 11, 1906.

Col. M. M. MULHALL, *Baltimore, Md.*

MY DEAR COLONEL: Inasmuch as we have just concluded one of the most bitter and hard-fought campaigns that we have ever had in this State, I would be glad to say a word as to your part therein. It has been a great pleasure to know from repeated conferences with you and from the results that you have rendered loyal, efficient, and valuable service while you have been here.

You have not only manifested great interest in the campaign, but you have effectively and faithfully followed the instructions of the committee in producing the desired results.

Thanking you for your aid and wishing you every success, I am,

Yours, very respectfully,

C. E. LITTLEFIELD.

I heartily indorse the above.

W. T. COBB.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; I wrote that letter.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a different letter from the circular letter?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes. That was a personal letter to Mr. Mulhall. I would like to say this, that I would write the same letter to Mr. Mulhall again under the same circumstances. At that time I had not any information that my distinguished friend was the sort of political highwayman, assassin, and scavenger that he now says he was and is. If I had known it I hope the gentlemen on this committee believe I would not have touched him with a pair of tongs. I did not know anything about it. He had been there; he had done good work, proper work, legitimate work. I thought he was reasonably entitled to this commendation, and I would give it to him again.

Mr. CLINE. Did you come in close, individual, personal contact with him in that campaign so that you would know of the methods he employed?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. All I knew about it, judge, was this: I knew Mulhall just as I knew probably four or five hundred other people in that campaign. Mr. Mulhall had been acting, as I understood it, under the direction of Mr. Donohue and Mr. Miller, who were on what is called the county committee. I suppose your organizations may be like ours, but our organization is like this: First, we have town committees, city committees, and plantation committees; second, we have county committees; and third, the congressional district committees and the State committees.

Mr. FERRIS. What is a plantation committee. Is that a precinct committee?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. A plantation with us is an unorganized township. There may be sometimes 20 votes; maybe 50 or 75 votes. It is not a great factor. There are, I suppose, a dozen or fifteen plantations in this district. Some of them cast 15 votes, some 25 votes, and all the way along. The plantation would have exactly the same political organization that a town would have.

Our method of operating down there was this: In the first place the chairman of the Republican congressional district committee, Mr. Wight, had charge of the campaign. Under him the chairmen of the various county committees had charge of the campaign, and then under the chairmen of the county committees the various town

committees, city committees, and plantation committees were attending to the local details. The work is done through that channel.

So far as I understood, Mr. Mulhall was like, as I say, probably four or five hundred other people that were at work in this campaign. So far as I knew he was doing good, decent, faithful, honorable, and effective service. I was gratified at the result of this campaign, and, under all the conditions, I felt pleased with the result. I do not remember that I went over this particularly with the committee people, but from such reports as I got from Mr. Mulhall I simply gave him the same general credit for being faithful, diligent, and honest that I gave to four or five hundred others all over the district. I thought he was entitled to it at that time.

Mr. CLINE. The reason I asked the question, Mr. Littlefield, was to know whether the work was systematized in any way, so that he had a special line of work to do, and whether you had come in contact with that and had knowledge of it upon which to base this letter.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I could not go quite so far as to say that, Judge Cline, because my situation in the campaign was such that it was impossible for me to keep in personal touch with these details. I had to rely on all these methods of the regular Republican organization. What the chairman of the county committee told me he thought had better be done I, as a rule, allowed to be done. Whatever Mr. Mulhall did, as far as I know, was done either under the county committee or the city of Rockland committee, which were practically the same.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall how you happened to write this letter to Mr. Mulhall; whether it was voluntary or was asked for?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not remember about that. I think the chances are that when Mr. Mulhall left off his activities there he suggested that I give him a letter of recommendation.

Mr. STAFFORD. Do you recall that at the time you gave him this letter Mr. W. T. Cobb had his indorsement on it?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not remember that it had it. I see that it is there, and I assume that it is a genuine indorsement.

Mr. STAFFORD. At the time you sent that letter, do you assume it had that indorsement?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I think it had. I notice he says it was obtained afterwards, but my impression would be that it had. Mr. Cobb would probably know just as much about it as I do. He lives in Rockland, and it is quite possible he may have been at home during that campaign a good deal more than I was.

Mr. WILLIS. What other officers were elected in Maine in 1906?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. First, the governor—you mean in my district?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. This is true of the whole State. First, the governor; second, 31 members of the senate—well, that is the whole senate; I do not remember just how many there are from my district. I suppose about 8 or 9, but that is not material; at any rate, the relative proportion that they were entitled to in six counties—the members of the house of representatives, the house consisting of 152; and the usual county ticket. They do not all run at the same time, but the usual county ticket there is the sheriff, the register of deeds, the

register of probate, the judge of probate, and one or two county commissioners. This would not be uniform everywhere, because their terms do not expire at the same time.

Mr. WILLIS. Then, this $20,000 was expended as a general campaign fund and not for your personal campaign?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Not at all. So far as I know, there was not a single dollar of it expended in my individual interest. I do not know that a man was employed anywhere in the district to do any canvassing for me. It was suggested from time to time as I would meet these people, and if there was anybody that could be induced to vote for me I would be glad to have them do so. I sent a good many stickers around, but, in the sense of having somebody campaign for me, there was no active campaign in that respect at the expense of the rest of the ticket. I do not know what the figures show, but my impression is I ran ahead of the ticket in my district; that is, that I ran ahead of the governor some three hundred or four hundred.

It may be proper for me to say that in this particular campaign I contested it altogether on the question of this legislation. I began the campaign by reading the bills that Mr. Gompers was supporting and insisted on the Judiciary Committee reporting. I read them all. I explained them to the people in every single speech I made, and in every speech I made I stated that I considered it monstrous legislation and vicious to the last degree, that I had done my best to prevent its being enacted and being reported out of this committee, and that I should continue to do that if I were reelected. I made my fight right along on that specific proposition. There was not anything else, as far as I was concerned, to fight about.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did you have any acquaintance with the activities of the opposition, as expressed by the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I was told at the time that they had in there about 50 people making a house-to-house canvass in the interest of the contest being made by Mr. Gompers. I feel certain there was a large number of men in the district engaged in that canvass. Of course, I could not go and put my hands on them, but I would hear of them.

Of course, I hope it may be assumed that I was fairly well known in my district. I had more offers of Democratic support—not on account of any defections against Mr. McGillicuddy, who, I may say, is a gentleman not only of high character but of unusual abilities, and made the ablest campaign in the Democratic Party in the State of Maine. But I did have in that campaign—not on account of any antipathy to Mr. McGillicuddy, but because I was being assailed by Mr. Gompers—a great many statements by business men, manufacturers, and solid citizens who proposed to support me in the election, to a large degree, on account of the assaults being made by Mr. Gompers.

Of course, how many that amounted to I can not tell, but the fact that I was being assailed by the federation and that I was making a fight against the federation was the absolute, clean-cut proposition during the whole campaign. There was not a speech I made that I did not read the legislation, comment upon it, state my position on it, and close with the suggestion that I was not on trial—it was a matter of little consequence to me. I may perhaps say that

most of the people in my district knew how I was situated. They knew that when I took this nomination I was losing money every day, because they knew I had a business that I had been about 25 years building up that was worth more money to me than this place could possibly be. "But," I said, "this district is on trial, and it is up to you to say whether you want the American Federation of Labor to have this legislation or not. If you elect me I will hold it up if I can."

That was the sole issue all the way through. Of course, there were some of these people that contributed to this campaign, I suppose, on account of their personal friendship for me. No man was solicited by me in the campaign. Mr. Wight came to me in the campaign and suggested that unless certain amounts were collected we could not pull though, and suggested that I call on some of my friends. I said:

No; I do not call on my friends in a fight like this. If the public generally do not come forward, let it go; but none of my friends shall be solicited to come into this campaign to help me out under these circumstances. If the people generally see fit to contribute to it, well and good; if they do not, well and good; but, so far as I am concerned, no call shall be made upon people who are understood to be personal friends.

Of course, more or less of my personal friends did contribute. I do not know of any contributions from persons not personal friends that did not come solely on account of the fact that I was fighting this very acute controversy with the American Federation of Labor. It was simply a question whether they could issue a proclamation and retire a man from the House of Representatives. If they could, you might just as well take this body and tie it hand and foot and turn it over to the American Federation of Labor. The American Congress in that case would be but little better than a rubber stamp.

That, in my judgment, was the basis of this whole fight, and any people that made a contribution did not make it on my account. I do not mean that they did not feel friendly to me, I think they did, but I do not think I was the issue of the campaign by any means. The American Federation of Labor had never gone into a campaign, as I understand it, until this campaign in my district, and the great question was whether or not they could retire a man from Congress under these circumstances, and the people interested in that particular question came up and contributed, so far as I know, for that reason.

The CHAIRMAN. This was the only sharp contest for Congress in the State that year?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The only sharp contest, so far as I know, that the American Federation of Labor engaged in.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside the question of the American Federation of Labor—

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It was the only contest in the State; you would hardly have known that there was an election going on in the other three districts in the State. There was not any campaign; there was not any speaking, except a stray, sporadic speech or two. Everybody's attention was concentrated on my district, and for these reasons. I hope the committee do not think it was upon my account. I happened to be the man upon whom the issue was raised, and, being that man, these people volunteered their assistance.

Mr. WILLIS. I wanted to make an inquiry about a statement in this New York World article in which it is alleged that the leaders in that campaign stated it cost them $60,000 to win this fight. Is there any possibility of any such sum of money as that having been expended?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Mulhall says that Mr. Wight so told him. Mr. Wight says he never told him anything of the kind, and he says that this sum is the total sum raised. That is all I know about it. Of course, this committee must understand that, although I was busily engaged in this campaign, I knew only in a general way what was going on; for instance, that applications were not being made to my personal friends and that these other contributions were coming in, but the details and the aggregate amount, of course, I did not know anything about until afterwards. Mr. Wight necessarily took care of the details. I never heard any intimation, until Mr. Mulhall made his disclosures, that anybody claimed there was anything like $60,000 contributed.

I think, perhaps, I ought to say this. I do not undertake to be a political expert—God forbid that I should—but, in my humble experience, I have had something to do with political controversies. I was a member of the Maine house in 1885, was its speaker in 1887, was the attorney general of Maine in 1889 and 1891, and from that time on I have always had in a general way more or less to do with campaigns and campaign work. And I never knew a campaign in the State of Maine or anywhere else that was fought with the bitterness and the zeal and the energy and the persistence that this campaign was fought with all the way through. It was absolutely necessary—and I should like to have the committee understand this—that every legitimate expenditure that could be used for the purpose of producing a favorable result for the Republican ticket be made. Of course a Republican vote counted for me as well as for the rest of the ticket, but every legitimate expenditure that was proper to be used, if I knew anything about it, was used and was exerted to produce what I believed to be the proper result in that campaign. If there was anything left undone it was because we did not think of it—I mean anything that was proper to be done. Everything that was required—automobiles, teams, carriages, printing, correspondence, circulars, everything of that sort—everything that could be suggested that could probably produce the result was used, and used to the very utmost limit.

Mr. FERRIS. Before you pass from that, how long did that 1906 campaign last?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Beginning with the nomination, it was almost a continuous campaign from the time I went down there to fight for the nomination.

Mr. FERRIS. What was the date of your nomination?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I can not give you that.

Mr. FERRIS. Your election was in September?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I began a tour of the district with an automobile, a chauffeur, and one or two other people, about the 10th of July.

Mr. FERRIS. About July 10?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; and from that time on every minute of my time was occupied in driving about and canvassing.

Mr. FERRIS. When did Mr. Fred Wight, as chairman and campaign manager for you, take hold and begin to raise money?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I should say that this date he has here was the earliest date he received anything—July 31.

Mr. FERRIS. This affidavit signed by Mr. Robinson, cashier of the bank, does not say that this is all the fund received. The affidavit says that from July 31 to September 11—that is covering a period of 1 month and 11 days—he received $20,661, but the only receipts mentioned in the affidavit are between the two dates mentioned, so that he might have received money prior to that time, so far as this statement is concerned.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. If you will turn to Mr. Wight's letter, I think you will find he states that is the full contribution.

Mr. FERRIS. No; he does not say that. He says:

I inclose herewith sworn statement of H. E. Robinson, cashier Rockland National Bank, showing my account as treasurer from July 31 to September 11, 1906, covering all the receipts in your campaign for election to Congress in that year.

But the affidavit does not say that. The affidavit says:

I, H. E. Robinson, cashier of the Rockland National Bank, do solemnly swear that the above statement is true, and represents a correct list of deposits, under the several dates, made by Fred W. Wight, treasurer, to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Of course that affidavit really shows only what was deposited between those dates, and there might have been money received and not deposited at all, and there might have been money received prior to that.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. That is true. The only information I can give you upon that is that Mr. Wight states that is the total amount received.

Mr. FERRIS. You have no affidavit from him to that effect?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. If you wish me to produce it, I will. This affidavit came to me from Mr. Wight yesterday—either yesterday or the day before yesterday.

Mr. FERRIS. I hope I am guilty of no impropriety if I suggest that an affidavit from your campaign manager would really be more beneficial to this committee than the affidavit of a bank cashier who tells of deposits made only on certain dates.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. That is right. I will prepare and send down to Mr. Wight an affidavit covering that, and forward it to the committee.

Mr. FERRIS. I want to leave that and jump to another thing. You read there a while ago a list of some 38 subscribers to your campaign fund.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. FERRIS. Some of them you are acquainted with and some you are not.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. FERRIS. Have you since taken occasion to find out who the people were that contributed with whom you were not acquainted?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No.

Mr. FERRIS. Have you ever taken occasion to ascertain whether or not they were members of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No.

Mr. FERRIS. So far as you know, they might or might not be members of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not think I would be stating it quite right that way. I understood from Mr. Cushing that quite a number of members of that association were contributors to that fund. As to my personal knowledge, I do not know.

Mr. FERRIS. You have had no occasion to inquire?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No. I first saw this list—I do not know that I saw it—in 1906. I know I left it with my clerk to write the letters, and I found in my letter book a list of names to whom he sent the letter. In a general way I knew something about these people at that time.

Mr. FERRIS. Now, just a word further. On September 1 there was a deposit here by your campaign manager, Mr. Fred Wight, of $3,140. On September 6, which is five days later, there was a deposit of $5,710. On September 8, two days later, there was a deposit of $2,855. On September 11 there was a deposit of $975. Now, who was raising that money? Marshall Cushing?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I think not, except in this way. I think more or less of those results were the effect of Marshall Cushing's work. I think Mr. Cushing was at work in connection with Mr. Cox and Mr. Harrison Loring.

Mr. FERRIS. Who is Mr. Cox? Is he a local man?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. He lives in Boston; I do not know him personally.

Mr. FERRIS. Is he a National Association of Manufacturers man?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I think he is.

Mr. FERRIS. Who is the other man?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Harrison Loring; he is not a National Association of Manufacturers man.

Mr. FERRIS. Who was he?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. He was then a member of the R. S. Brine Transportation Co. He had been at that time and has been since engaged in quite a number of very vigorous and active controversies with organized labor, fighting it so as to keep his organization in a position where they could operate as an open shop. Mr. Loring had been—I learned afterwards; I never knew up to that time—engaged in some very acute and perhaps somewhat aggravated labor controversies—strikes with the teamsters against the R. S. Brine Transportation Co. and other companies. He was an officer and stockholder in the R. S. Brine Transportation Co.

Mr. FERRIS. Passing from that just one moment, you do not recall the date of your primary, you say?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. You mean the convention? No.

Mr. FERRIS. Your nomination convention?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; some time in June.

Mr. FERRIS. Some time in June?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I think so; yes.

Mr. FERRIS. The campaign for the general election came on full blast right after that?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Well, I began my active traveling about July 9.

Mr. FERRIS. Did your campaign committees take hold and begin the red hot campaign in July that you carried on through August?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; so far as I could make them. It was pretty difficult to work these people out of their inertia. That was the purpose of my trip, to get in touch with every single member of the plantation committees and city committees, for the purpose of getting them to work and making their plans and arranging for a successful campaign.

Mr. FERRIS. Now, during the month of July they bore the expense of the campaign?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; nobody bore any expense of any campaign down there except so far as I bore it.

Mr. FERRIS. Then you did, as a matter of fact, bear the campaign expense yourself up until Mr. Fred Wight took hold, about the 1st of August?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Somewhere along there; yes.

Mr. FERRIS. Let me ask you a word about your convention. You did have a very spirited contest in the convention?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; a very hot convention—not so hot a convention as in the primary caucuses before the convention.

Mr. FERRIS. What, approximately, did that fight cost?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It is impossible for me to tell.

Mr. FERRIS. Can you approximate it?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I could not tell you that.

Mr. FERRIS. Who had charge of that?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I had.

Mr. FERRIS. Who paid the bills?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I did.

Mr. FERRIS. You did not have outside contributions?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; not a dollar.

Mr. FERRIS. The National Association of Manufacturers did come up and help in that?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I think Cushing was there, and I think Gordon—no, I don't know whether Gordon was there or not. I don't think anybody but Cushing was there; if I remember, he was there by himself.

Mr. FERRIS. Do you know how much Cushing spent there?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not think he spent a dollar.

Mr. FERRIS. You do not think he spent anything?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; because I think I paid Mr. Cushing's hotel bill while he was stopping with me at the headquarters. He didn't spend a cent that I ever heard of. He didn't pay for any of the service—of course, I did not pay for his railroad fare or anything like that, but if he had occasion to travel about the district, I had one or two automobiles regularly at the headquarters, and a very effective and rapid service. Of couse, you will understand, that so far as undertaking the campaign was concerned, it had to be fought out pretty quick. I could not stop and write a letter, but I had to telephone or telegraph, and I could not hesitate long between the ordinary team and an automobile.

Mr. FERRIS. Did the nominating convention or preceding caucus, township or plantation caucus you have in selecting the delegates—does that cost anything like as much as the general election?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, no.

Mr. FERRIS. How much would that cost?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, several thousand dollars ought to cover it. I can not tell how much, but I know it is nothing like—well, it would be a poor guess, but nothing like $20,000.

Mr. FERRIS. Was Commodore Mulhall up there during that time?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; the commodore was not there.

Mr. FERRIS. Marshall Cushing was?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; Marshall Cushing was part of the time.

Mr. FERRIS. Would it have been possible for him to have collected large sums of money and used it in making your campaign without your knowledge?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. He did not collect that.

Mr. FERRIS. From outside sources, or otherwise?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Of course you understand I can not swear to the outside, but from my knowledge Mr. Cushing never paid a postage stamp in the campaign; he was not under any expense. Of course, he may have written some letters and paid postage on them; but he did not do anything except come up there at the expense of the association and I think his expenses at that time might have been paid by them; but he never contributed a cent, so far as I remember, to the expenses of the campaign.

Mr. FERRIS. But later on, in connection with the general election caucus, outside parties did contribute?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; that is right. I do not think he contributed personally, though.

Mr. FERRIS. Also he raised some money?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; sure he did.

Mr. FERRIS. During the month of August and for the 11 days in September Fred W. Wight in his deposition gives the expense for the campaign as $20,600.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. So I understand.

Mr. FERRIS. And whatever your nominating expenses were, and whatever money was expended in the July preceding, would be in addition to this $20,661?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It would be in addition to that; unless it was included, so far as it would be included, in that $3,000 he turned over to me.

Mr. FERRIS. What are the facts about that?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The facts are that approximately within perhaps a few hundred or a thousand dollars, it covered my disbursements.

Mr. FERRIS. Did he turn over to you $3,000 out of the $20,000?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. FERRIS. The assumption was that that was to cover your convention expenses—nominating expenses?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. FERRIS. And your expenses incurred prior to that?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Preceding and prior to the time the contributions came in.

Mr. FERRIS. It was to cover expenses in July prior to the time the Fred Wight committee took hold, or to cover both campaign expenses and primary?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. My understanding is it was to cover the disbursements I had made in connection with the campaign.

Mr. FERRIS. Both primary and otherwise?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; and that is included in the $20,000.

Mr. FERRIS. But you do not know whether he got moneys, so far as your personal acquaintance is concerned, from members of the National Association of Manufacturers or not?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I never knew who many of them were.

Mr. FERRIS. You never knew who many of them were?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. FERRIS. You have not had occasion to look very carefully and check it up?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. I believe you made some statement about this, but I am not certain. Mulhall swears Cushing told him he brought direct from the National Association of Manufacturers $7,000.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. I forget whether you have made any statement about that.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. When I saw Cushing in my office about two weeks ago, I had not seen the statement of Mr. Mulhall's, and I never discussed it with Cushing. I do not understand Cushing carried down any money.

Mr. RUSSELL. He may have done so?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Of course, I can not tell anything about that.

Mr. RUSSELL. But you know Mr. Mulhall stated that in his testimony.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; but when I talked to Mr. Cushing about this, I had not seen Mr. Mulhall's statement and I could not ask him anything about it.

Mr. RUSSELL. You do not undertake to dispute that now?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I could not undertake to state that.

Mr. RUSSELL. This man Charles Harriman—was he one of your managers?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; Charles Harriman I do not know in the sense of being acquainted with him. I knew there was a Charles Harriman and I did not know what he was politically, and I did not have anything to do with Charles Harriman, directly or indirectly.

Mr. RUSSELL. I believe Mulhall said he had some connection with this clubroom.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. So I understand.

Mr. RUSSELL. And that he was a preacher.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not know as I know Charles Harriman well enough to give a biographical sketch. The first I heard of Charles Harriman was he was perambulating across the country a la Pedestrian Weston. [Laughter.]

Mr. RUSSELL. Has he not come back?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, yes; I understand he is making speeches on the street corners.

Mr. RUSSELL. You do not know anything about his getting a horse and cart from the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I have heard about it and seen it referred to here. I heard about it, but I never had anything to do with Mr. Harriman, directly or indirectly. The horse business, by the way, was Mulhall's scheme and attended to by him.

Mr. RUSSELL. If he was employed to manage your headquarters or assist your campaign in any way, you do not know anything about it and had no connection with it?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I may have known he was connected with what they call this independent league, which was the club Mr. Mulhall was talking about, but I never had anything to do with Mr. Harriman and I do not know anything about the details.

Mr. RUSSELL. If he was employed it was by somebody else?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I had absolutely nothing to do with it, either directly or indirectly.

Mr. RUSSELL. You did not know anything about the horse trade?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Absolutely nothing.

Mr. STAFFORD. How active was the American Federation of Labor in the preconvention fight?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Gompers was down there and he made a speech at a big mass meeting, and I understand he attended various meetings of the organization, which were private. Of course I do not know what took place in those. Whenever he got around these clubs, where there was quite a section of laboring men, so far as I could see any indications on the surface, the indications were they were operating against me in the preconvention fight. It ought to be stated, I suppose, in order to be perfectly fair, that the large bulk, in my judgment, of the men that would be in Mr. Gompers's organization would be men that would naturally be for him. I have no personal knowledge about it so as to state about that, but that is my understanding of it. So far as my personal knowledge goes, in the vicinity where I lived that would be true. They would not, of course, be much of a factor in the Republican caucus, except sometimes they might be dragged in, perhaps, to help out. It would be impossible for me to tell just exactly how large a factor. All I can say is in the preconvention fight, so far as there were any indications of activity along that line, the indications were the activities were against me; but just exactly to what extent—I do not think it amounted to a very great deal, but it was a sort of general atmosphere they undertook to create.

Mr. STAFFORD. From your prior statement, I do not understand the men were active on election days?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, yes. I do not think Mr. Gompers had any what I would call representatives or what I would call henchmen in the preconvention fight.

I have just a word here to say about the trip to New York.

Mr. CLINE. Let me ask you a question before you get on that, if you please. I just want to ask you one or two questions about the matter you testified to here in your earlier statement.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. CLINE. Do you remember when the Grosvenor bill was introduced?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. You mean as to the date?

Mr. CLINE. Yes.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I can not give you the date.

Mr. CLINE. Can you give me the year?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; I think it was in 1901. It was the bill upon which my minority views were predicated.

Mr. CLINE. How long did you have that bill in your subcommittee?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not think the bill was in my subcommittee at all. I think that bill was taken up in the whole committee and thrashed out, and the committee finally voted to report it.

Mr. CLINE. What bill did you have referred to your subcommittee of a like character?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. After that. Of course, I can not state, Judge, without having the records before me.

Mr. CLINE. I am just asking you to approximate it.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I had all the bills, I think, in connection with this kind of bill, that were pending before the Judiciary Committee, such as the anti-injunction bill and the contempt bill; that is, the bill which proposed to have contempts tried before a jury instead of by the judge before whom they had been committed. That is the substance of the bill. They subsequently developed into what is known as the Pearre bill.

Mr. CLINE. Did you have the Pearre bill?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. CLINE. And you got acquainted with Mr. Cushing in 1904 or 1905, as I understand?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. CLINE. That was before this bill was assigned to your subcommittee?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Well, I should rather think that by that time the course had been adopted of assigning to my committee such bills, but I can not state definitely about that.

Mr. CLINE. Did Mr. Cushing know of your labor on the subcommittee?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Well, I think he must have. I think everybody did.

Mr. CLINE. Did you consult with him about it? Do you know whether you did or not?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. In what particular do you mean?

Mr. CLINE. I do not mean consulted, but did you acquaint him with the action of the subcommittee on this character of bill?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I never bothered with Cushing to that extent. I handled the subcommittee myself.

Mr. CLINE. I mean from time to time did you talk over the course of that character of legislation?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I have no definite recollection of talking over the course of that character of legislation with him, but I think it is fairly probable that Cushing discussed the status and attitude of those bills with me.

Mr. CLINE. Did you know whether Mr. Cushing knew the course you were pursuing in the subcommittee with those bills?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not think there is any doubt about it. If he did not he was ignorant of what everybody else around here must have known. I do not think there was any man that was a Member of Congress but knew in a general way. I do not have any question but what Mr. Cushing knew. I think any man who took any interest, either the Federation or the people opposing it, must have known just what my attitude was.

Mr. CLINE. I want to ask your opinion on an abstract proposition: Do you think it is within the province of a subcommittee, appointed to consider legislation or bills that have been referred to it by a committee regularly appointed by the House, and the subcommittee that is expected to consider those bills and report them back to the full committee, to be disposed of as that committee sees fit—do you think it is within the province, rightfully, of the subcommittee to pigeonhole a bill of that character or any other character?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes, I do; if I had not I should not have pigeonholed them. I think those methods are adopted practically every day in the year in any legislative body I know anything about.

Mr. CLINE. You do not dream, Mr. Littlefield, that it is one of the anticipated provinces of a subcommittee to take legislation and pigeonhole it?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not know how much it is anticipated, but it must be a matter of common knowledge that that is the ordinary and usual form of legislative procedure. Anybody that has been here during the last 10 or 15 years must have been thoroughly advised about that; and to be perfectly frank (of course I appreciate the suggestion), I never heard anybody criticize the ethics of it.

Mr. CLINE. I was anxious to know what your opinion was, personally.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I am not intimating it is not proper to criticize it. Of course, you must not understand me that way.

Mr. CLINE. I understand; but I wanted to know if you thought a subcommittee, to which was referred important legislation, important bills, the subject of legislation, had as a matter of right and as an arm of the committee to consider those bills, appointed with the express view of examining the questions involved and reporting it back to the full committee for determination, just simply, by the mere force of the fact that it had numbers enough, to suppress the bill and prevent its coming back to the committee.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It was not within the ultimate power of the subcommittee to suppress. It was within the power of the Judiciary Committee, at any moment, to require a report. Every man on this Judiciary Committee knew just exactly what my attitude was. There was no concealment about it. Whether it was precisely ethical or not, of course, I am not going to undertake to discuss in detail, but there was no misunderstanding about it. It was within the power of this Judiciary Committee, at any time, to discharge the subcommittee from their consideration of this bill. Of course they did not do it.

Mr. CLINE. I am asking for the facts. You know committees don't do that.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I know they don't do that? I have submitted several and divers motions to secure it for the express purpose of discharging other committees which were considering subjects. I know I was responsible for the action of the subcommittee, and everybody on that committee knew I was ready to take the responsibility, and did take it.

Mr. CLINE. You took the responsibility for killing the bill?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; I did, and they were all perfectly willing for me to take it: I can tell you that, Judge; and all the other 17 of the committee were willing for me to take it. They knew I was full willing, and they were mighty glad to have me take the responsibility.

Mr. CLINE. They did not concede that you were the proper man to take the bill and report it, but they conceded you were the proper man to take the bill and slaughter it?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. They had not any objection, Judge, to that bill lying right in my committee, with the understanding that I was the man who was responsible for not reporting it; because they knew, and I knew, that all this responsibility was on myself for this position; and I never saw anybody on the committee that was especially anxious to divide that responsibility with me.

The CHAIRMAN. No motion was ever made to discharge the subcommittee?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No, sir. No; and I am coming a little bit later to an attempt made to discharge the committee, and perhaps I might as well come to it right now, and then call attention to one or two other motions, which will throw some light on another alleged speech. No motion was ever made on the committee, although they did feel—I hope I do not get in the position of reflecting on the other members of this committee; they were all good men and honorable men, and I do not know but what they are courageous men—but I do say there was not one of them but who was willing for me to take the responsibility of that situation.

Mr. CLINE. In other words, as Mark Twain said, you were the first wife's relations.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes. I was the first wife's relations, and I never got beyond being the first wife's relations; but that did not disturb me. [Laughter.]

Mr. FERRIS. They believed in martyrs, but wanted the other fellow to be the martyr?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, sure. The other fellows with me were not very much disturbed about a fight being made on me down in my district.

Now, Mr. Pearre, who was on the committee, just to illustrate what went on in this committee, the author of what I think—thought then and think now—the most monstrous legal and business proposition ever conceived in legislative form, the Pearre bill—I gave Mr. Pearre a certificate of character that he might take it to the American Federation of Labor in his district, in his campaign, and show he had supported it in the interests of the American Federation of Labor. That sort of aided him in his campaign. There was some question as to his fidelity to his people, and I gave him a letter for the express purpose of being used in his campaign, which said to the American Federation of Labor he had been energetic.

Mr. FERRIS. Did he need it pretty bad?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not know whether he needed it pretty bad or not, but he wanted it, and I gave it to him. Of course there are ways—I do not think I disclose any legislative secret—if I had time I could go through the records of this Congress while I was in it and point out in it a good many gentlemen who held bills in their committees simply because they did not believe they ought to be reported.

Mr. CLINE. Of course they have got another method of doing that now.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Of course, but whether it will prove more efficacious remains to be seen.

Now, I well recollect when a Republican caucus ordered Mr. Fowler, the chairman of the Committee on Banks and Banking, to report a banking bill from his committee, and he afterwards turned out to be a very severe critic of one Joseph G. Cannon. I was in the caucus that ordered Mr. Fowler to report from his Committee on Banks and Banking the bill he would not report, and it had to be taken by main strength by a rule out of his committee and put on the floor of the House and passed after a majority of the Republicans had ordered it to be done. That was a trifle more rank.

Mr. CLINE. That is a very extraordinary proceeding.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It was a very extraordinary proceeding. After it was removed, of course, as chairman, he could make no objection to it very well.

Mr. CLINE. Yes, Mr. Littlefield; but you have no recollection of another such instance as that in all your legislative career.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; I have.

Mr. CLINE. In Congress here?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Not exactly parallel. I have got this recollection, because I am now going to give another instance I have in mind, of a committee of the House of Representatives, while I was a Member—it was charged that Mr. Gillett's committee, on Civil Service, never reportred a bill. The Committee on Civil Service absolutely buried every one.

Mr. STAFFORD. The Committee on Reform in the Civil Service?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, and the bills referred to that committee to be reported the chairman of the committee did not report and never did while I was a member.

Mr. CLINE. Of course you did not have on that proposition the majority Members of the House petitioning to report out the bill.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No. It is not parallel to the Fowler case, but it is an illustration of what is frequently done. The reason why it was not reported was because if it was reported it would probably have been an emasculated bill on the civil service.

Right along this point I call your attention to three methods by which bills can be brought out. The full committee could have voted this bill out of my hands at any time; the House itself could have voted it out at any time under the rules as they then existed. We recognize there is no difficulty with that proposition, for the full committee, whenever it stands out to do it, to discharge that committee. I am not going now, at this hearing, to undertake to enlighten some people, but I simply say it was within the power of any Member of the House—even under Cannon—if at any time he had the majority with him, to have discharged the Judiciary Committee from the consideration of this bill. In 1907 an effort was made in the Republican caucus to discharge the Judiciary Committee from the consideration of this bill. A sufficient number of petitioners were gathered together for the purpose of holding the caucus, and we had a hot fight. I do not know whether Mr. Stafford was in the caucus or not. They had quite a debate, and I declined to take any part in

it unless I could have 30 minutes. When they got through with the debate and when the motion to discharge the committee had been defeated, not by a tremendous large majority but by a good-sized majority, many Members came to me to get me to make what is referred to as a speech of mine in 1908.

Mr. CLINE. Would it be improper to inquire whether that was a secret caucus?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. It was alleged to be secret. It was about as secret as they had them; about as secret as they all are. Yes, it was a secret caucus, and they had a pretty hot fight in the caucus. I do not remember what the majority was, but it was a pretty fairly decisive majority. At the conclusion of that caucus and during the next few days many Members came to me. Of course they felt that to leave the legislation where it was they did not know what the result might be in the campaign, and they insisted, practically, that I either make a speech, in substance the speech I made in caucus or I put upon the record the substance of my speech. Under the circumstances I undertook the preparation of a speech which was afterwards printed in the Record. I dictated the speech in my office room—that is, my room as chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Agriculture—in about a couple of days' time, and was waiting around on the floor for an opportunity to make the speech, but the crush of business was such that it was impossible. It was no use to get the floor for 5 minutes or 10, because I could not do anything like that within less than half or three-quarters of an hour. A large number of the Republicans wanted me to put upon the record my views and attitude that had decided them in the action taken in the Republican caucus, and in response to that I prepared what seemed to me to be a very elaborate, exhaustive, and comprehensive view of that whole subject. The result of that was this speech. The speech was finally completed after the House adjourned. It was sent out under my frank by the National Association of Manufacturers and they paid for its printing. I noticed a question was raised here the other day in relation to that, and I want to say the suggestion made by Mr. Stafford of this committee calling attention to the particular legislation which will be found in the Post Office appropriation bill—when my attention was called to that in reading the record it is the first time I ever knew that amendment had been made to the law. The index is extremely blind. It would bother a man a good deal. I ran the index through for a little time the other day trying to find it and without result, but Mr. Stafford's reference, of course, gave me the volume and the page. Until I saw the amendment I did not know it existed. I had pursued the course right along, and of course everybody else had, of sending speeches out under my frank. Of course had I known this existed, I would not have allowed my frank to be used under the circumstances.

Mr. STAFFORD. It is only fair to those Representatives to state that there was not any discussion, as I recall, while the post-office appropriation bill was under consideration in the House, of that particular amendment. It was placed there by our committee to prevent an abuse which had been called to our attention, of circulating hundreds and thousands of copies of extraneous matter in the form of a speech, by using a Representative's frank.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I have no criticism to make of the amendment. It is certainly a wise and proper thing. But all I can say is that had I known of the existence of the amendment, I would not have allowed anybody to use my frank under the circumstances. I do not believe Mr. Emery would have made the effort to use it. I never heard of it prior to that, and a great deal of use of the frank has been made, probably, in ignorance of the amendment.

I have just a word or two to say about the trip to New York. I think Mr. Mulhall testified about, either before this committee or before the Senate committee, and then one other matter, and I am through with everything I care to suggest to the committee. Mr. Mulhall says in 1907, July 20, about that time, he came to Rockland and got me to go to New York to meet Mr. Van Cleave. I have no recollection of meeting Mr. Mulhall in Rockland at that time, and I have no definite recollection of meeting him in New York. I do find in my letter book, a letter which speaks of my going to New York about that date, and that I went there for the purpose of meeting Mr. Van Cleave on his business, and I have no doubt that I met him. I infer he had probably just been elected president of this association. If so, it was for his convenience and his accommodation. I have only the one letter, and I do not believe Mr. Mulhall paid any part of my expenses on that trip. In the first place, his itemized account does not show any disbursement with reference to me. It does show two items of disbursement, all of which tends to show to me they could not have been made on my account. He shows a ticket from New York to Rockland, $8.65. I will go over this briefly. The transportation between here and Rockland involves the use of three transportation systems. The first was from New York to Boston, crossing Boston, and from Boston to Portland, and then from Portland to Rockland. The second from New York to Portland direct, and then from Portland to Rockland, Me. The ticket that he charges is the ticket from New York to Boston and from Boston to Portland. At that time of the year we had a train that run direct from New York, leaving here at 8 o'clock, and reaching Portland at 6.30 o'clock in the morning. I have only been on it a few times. I have not traveled a great deal; but I do not believe I ever have traveled between Rockland and New York, when that train was on when I did not take that train.

I do not remember at any time going from New York to Portland via Boston when the through train was running. In order to go from New York to Portland via Boston I would have to leave New York some time in the afternoon getting there in the early evening, and take a 10 o'clock train for Portland and Rockland, which would land me in Rockland in the morning. The other New York train would land me in Portland at 6.30 o'clock and in Rockland about 10 o'clock in the forenoon.

He has a charge for a telegram to the Maine Central Railroad for a sleeper. The Maine Central Railroad had no sleepers, and did not sell any sleepers between Portland and Rockland. The Maine Central Railroad had nothing to do with the transportation from Boston to Portland. All the Maine Central Railroad had to do with was the transportation from Portland to Rockland, Me., and that train leaves at 7 o'clock in the morning, reaching Rockland about 10 o'clock.

I have given these details to show you just what the situation is there. I can not say—the fact is I have not any doubt, I feel morally certain I made the trip from New York at 8, arriving at Portland at 6.30 o'clock in the morning. It is impossible to recollect with definiteness that he did not furnish me this ticket. All I can say about it is that under the conditions my belief is he did not. I have not the slightest recollection that he did. I had been in conference with Mr. Van Cleave there in relation to some of these matters in which they were supporting me in connection with this legislation.

There is one other matter to which I wish to refer and then, I think, I am through. Before the Senate committee—I am not certain whether he put it in here—Mr. Mulhall called attention to some correspondence between himself and a man by the name of George McLaughlin, who was a rum seller in the city of Rockland, Me. The purport of the correspondence before the Senate committee would indicate that Mulhall was asking me to get the courts to let up on this man McLaughlin for violating the law in selling liquor. All that appears in the Senate hearings was the fact that this application was made. In the letter it turned out that the suggestion came from Mulhall in the first instance, because McLaughlin's letter says:

"You," meaning Mulhall, "referred to Mr. Littlefield."

I want to say that neither George McLaughlin nor any other rum seller anywhere at any time ever undertook to get me to intercede for him when he had broken the law. Before the Senate committee there seems to have been a sinister construction placed upon this matter, and an attempt to construe it to my disadvantage and discredit.

I hold in my hand the letter that Mulhall wrote me in regard to it. I think some suggestion was made as to whether or not this man had been sentenced. If the Senate committee had looked further along, under date of a day or two later, they would have seen a letter in which it was stated that McLaughlin had been sentenced to a fine of $200 and 60 days in jail, and that was the sentence he wanted to evade.

I hold in my hand a letter from Mulhall in regard to this matter, and my reply to him. Whether he turned these letters over to the Senate committee or not, I do not know; but I do know they went to the middle of this incident and stopped there, and it does have a little sinister look. It might, perhaps, be inferred that I had some understanding with him relating to the assistance these people had rendered me in the campaign. They asked him if McLaughlin was a supporter of mine. He said he was. I do not know whether he was or not. I am told he had been a Republican; and if he was, I suppose he was a supporter of mine. I do not know whether he was or not. I got this letter from Mulhall in regard to this matter, and it completes the correspondence. The letter says:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *January 19, 1908.*

HON. CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD,
Second Maine District, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR LITTLEFIELD: I want to ask of you the first favor that I have asked since our acquaintance. I feel that I have been of some service to the Republican Party in Maine. At least I did all that was in my power to help my friends there for the past two years, and I know that I am asking something that will be of service to our party if you will grant the favor I am asking. I have had several letters from Maine lately in relation to the doings of the

Sturgis commission, and unfortunately they have hit a few of the friends that I made there last year and the year before.

One of those friends is Mr. George McLaughlin, and Mr. McLaughlin and his family are very warm friends of mine. Mr. McLaughlin has written me two letters telling me of the difficulty he is in, and I am very much grieved to learn that he is one of the unfortunates that has been raided by the Sturgis commission for being in the liquor business last year. From the letters I have received from Mr. McLaughlin he is extremely anxious for he and his family's sake to escape a jail sentence. I thought, perhaps, if I would write you, you could use your great influence to have his burden lightened along these lines. If you can see your way clear to help Mr. McLaughlin along those lines you will be conferring a great favor on me and many of his other friends, which will be greatly appreciated by

Yours, most sincerely, M. M. MULHALL.

CLAYPOOL HOTEL, *Indianapolis, Ind.*

Mr. STAFFORD. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. January 19, 1908.

Under date of January 21, 1908, he got this reply from me:

JANUARY 21, 1908.

M. M. MULHALL, Esq.,
Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MR. MULHALL: Yours of the 19th at hand, and I note what you say about Mr. McLaughlin and his difficulties. The sentence to be imposed under the circumstances is entirely a matter for the court, and I do not think it is proper for me to interfere in it.

I am sorry that Mr. McLaughlin is in this difficulty, but the character of the sentence to be imposed ought to be determined by the judge in accordance with the conditions which he finds exist.

Regretting that I can not be of service to you in this direction, I am,

Yours, very respectfully,

C. E. LITTLEFIELD.

I think the whole correspondence ought to have gone in, especially when the first part of it was introduced in my absence. There is no legitimate reason why I should be discredited and a sinister aspect placed upon an incident which I submit, Mr. Chairman, does me credit rather than discredit.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course that did not come out here.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I simply introduced this here, and I shall see if the Senate committee will not take my statement here and release me from going before that committee.

Mr. STAFFORD. I would like to call your attention to the fact, as I assume that you have not had the confidential print, so called, of the Mulhall correspondence——

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I have not seen it.

Mr. STAFFORD. That print was supposed to be a print of all the letters handed by Mulhall to the New York World, and they are arranged in chronological order, and under the dates you have mentioned there are no such letters as you have just read.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I thought that was likely. Of course I have not any argument to make about it, but I feel sure that the honorable gentlemen on this committee, men of character, will appreciate the situation in which a man finds himself, subject to be assailed in a matter like that, with a deliberate misconstruction of the facts when a disclosure of the facts would, I submit, be creditable rather than discreditable to me.

Mr. RUSSELL. Might it not be possible that it was an oversight on the part of the Senate committee?

Mr. STAFFORD. They have not had the letters. All the letters have not been furnished by Mulhall.

Mr. RUSSELL. You are not blaming the members of the Senate committee?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I am not doing that. The party I am censuring is this modern Titus Oates, who undertakes to interject into this record a sinister constructon of incomplete facts. Of course I appreciate the practical situation. You are not expected to look after all the details.

Mr. RUSSELL. I just wanted to have it made clear that your criticism did not reach to the Senate committee in this matter of suppression.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; not at all. Mulhall is the man who did the suppressing; and simply to wreak out his vengeance on me, assuming he has some cause therefor, he distorts this situation. I did not intend to reflect upon the members of the Senate committee, and I desire to modify anything I have said which might be given such a construction.

Mulhall knew I would not do anything for this man. Although he was engaged in the selling of liquor at that time in violation of law, this man is a very decent, respectable citizen, and has a very estimable, worthy family. He has two daughters of whom any man in this committee would be proud. It is unfortunate for their sakes his name is brought into this case. They are young women of high character and of unusual attainments and capacity, and my idea is that Mulhall put in half of this simply to create the impression that I had some sort of an understanding with men engaged in violating the law. That is simply one of the characteristics involved in such an investigation of this character.

I want to say this in conclusion: I went over this matter of the pilotage bill and the eight-hour bill. I never had anything to do with the matters connected with the American Federation of Labor, except such matters as came up before the committee of which I was a member. The eight-hour bill I never had anything to do with. That was entirely in charge of Mr. Gardner's committee. I never was before his committee; never talked with Mr. Gardner about it. People in my district were interested somewhat in it, and I talked with them more or less when they came here, as I did with any other constituent.

There was some legislation desired by Mr. Furuseth in connection with the seamen which, in my judgment, was unwise and vicious. I opposed it. With the exception of those activities I do not think any of those gentlemen have any occasion to make any complaint about me. I never went out of my way to assail them. I never took any action in connection with any of them that did not devolve upon me as a member of the committee to which the various propositions were referred.

The National Association of Manufacturers, Mr. Cushing, Mr. Mulhall, Mr. Emery, or any man connected with them, Mr. Parry, Mr. Van Cleave, or anybody else, never made to me the slightest request in connection with any legislation. They did come into this fight that I have described and supported me in that fight which I was making. Never once did they or any of them undertake to

suggest what I should do or how I should do it. Mr. Emery never undertook to advise me in relation to it. Mr. Emery frequently conferred with me. I had the benefit of his legal intelligence and capacity, and he is one of the ablest and brightest men I ever knew in or out of this legislative body. I want to say in connection with the injunction speech which I made in 1908 that Mr. Emery had no more to do with the writing of that speech than you did, Mr. Cline. Mr. Daniel Davenport was in my office after I got the first print from the Public Printer, and with him I revised it. He had no more connection with its original dictation than you gentlemen had.

No man connected with that association had the slightest thing to do with it, either directly or indirectly. They never made a request of me of any kind at any time or anywhere. They did agree to cooperate with me in connection with my opposition to this legislation. I needed assistance, and I was glad to have it come. I do not know that they made any suggestion in connection with any other legislation. I never discussed any other proposition with them. They were doing something for the pilotage bill, a bill which the American Federation of Labor had, by resolution, voted to oppose, and which Mr. Gompers was opposing. The pilots had formed an association and federated themselves with the American Federation of Labor.

These were the conditions, so far as I am concerned. I went on the even tenor of my way, and they followed along their own way, and they did assist me in the fight I was trying to make.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Littlefield, during your term of service you did not at any time have any professional relations with this association?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; and never have had any since.

The CHAIRMAN. Never have had any since?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Since your retirement, have you taken any interest here in these matters of legislation to which you have referred?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. In these particular matters?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I mean here.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Not the slightest. I do not mean to say by that that since that time I have lost my interest in those things.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean whether you have come here and taken up these matters in any way with Members of the House?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Not at all; not the slightest. We are employed now by the American Antiboycott Association in the contest going on as to their power to conduct litigation in defense of their members. But I am not conscious of ever having received any material, substantial aid from the association or any member of it on account of their membership therein. I did receive a mark of their favor about the time of my resignation; not, however, altogether financial in character, but it was a mark of favor and esteem which I appreciated. I have it hanging on the wall of my office. It is a resolution of appreciation and commendation, very properly framed, and expressing their appreciation of my work in connection with these controversies.

Mr. WILLIS. I have one question which I desire to ask you, Mr. Littlefield. I ask it because of a specific and unqualified statement

that is made in the article in the New York World of June 29, 1913, and I ask it in order that I may get your specific answer. This is the statement made in the summary in the New York World article:

6. That the officials who received financial reward for services rendered or for political purposes from the National Association of Manufacturers while in office were—

Then it enumerates a number of men, and says, in relation to you:

(e) Former Congressman Charles E. Littlefield, of Maine (Republican), chosen by President Roosevelt to frame legislation to regulate the trusts; was in intimate touch with the officials and chief lobbyists of the National Association of Manufacturers; accepted aid through his campaign managers during his two last campaigns for Congress until he withdrew in the face of certain defeat; permitted the National Association of Manufacturers to pay his hotel and traveling expenses when keeping appointments with its officials and lobbyists.

I desire to ask you whether during the time of your continuance as a Member of Congress, or at any time thereafter, you have been in any capacity in the employ of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Never once. I never received any reward, or any intimation of reward, except this resolution I have just spoken of. I have never had any intimation of any kind or character in regard to anything of that sort.

I have one word further I want to say, and then I will leave the stand for Mr. Gardner.

With the permission of this committee, I want to put into this record what I think ought to go in here in connection with a former distinguished Member of this House, now deceased, who has been made quite a vigorous subject of attack, and that is the Hon. John J. Jenkins. He was the chairman of the Judiciary Committee during several years of my connection with it. He and I differed very profoundly upon some of the important legislation which I was interested in, and particularly the interstate liquor proposition, as Mr. Stafford probably very well knows. We agreed on this other legislation.

I had occasion to see a great deal of Mr. Jenkins. He was one of the most faithful, industrious, laborious men that I knew as a Member of this House. I knew about these things that were going on, and I never saw, even in the slightest degree, anything that indicated that any act done by Mr. Jenkins was done from any improper motive or for any improper purpose. He was a faithful, loyal, patriotic Representative, and it ought to be said for him—he is dead now and can not say it for himself—it ought to be said for him that, in my judgment, no man can with truth impugn his integrity or his character. I knew him when he was appointed judge. I did not understand that the manufacturers had him appointed as a reward for his services. I had more or less knowledge of it.

I knew him when he came home to die, and he died a poor man. Personally I have been extremely grieved to see his name bandied about in these investigations, knowing him as I knew him, and knowing him to be faithful, sincere, and honest, I think he is entitled to have this said about him in this record.

Now, I have a word to say about Mr. Gardner. Mr. Gompers says that Mr. Nelson said that he sat between Gardner and myself when

we were discussing this eight-hour labor bill, and Mr. Gardner said he was sitting down on the lid.

Well, I do not know what Mr. Nelson would say about it. I have a high opinion of Mr. Nelson, and I do not think he would deliberately misstate it. Whether he made the statement or not, I do not know. But I will say in relation to it that, in the first place, I do not remember having a discussion of the eight-hour labor bill at any time anywhere, and I have no memory of every having heard Mr. Gardner make any statement like that under any circumstances at any time. With this statement, gentlemen, I am through.

Mr. MACDONALD. I want to identify a few letters which may not have been called to your attention. You say that you did not solicit any financial assistance from the National Association of Manufacturers during your 1906 campaign?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. MACDONALD. I wish to call your attention to a letter of yours, or what purports to be a letter of yours, bearing date, "Rockland, Me., August 10, 1906," printed in the Senate print as No. 1093. I will read the first paragraph. It is addressed to Marshall Cushing, Esq., 170 Broadway, New York City, and the first paragraph says:

Yours of the 9th, inclosing Pennell's original letter (herewith returned), Tuttle's letter, Bisbee's letter and memo as to manufacturers in Maine, at hand. I think extremely effective work can be done with the manufacturers by intelligent men who could put the proposition to them as a business proposition and not as a political question, and, as I have already suggested to you, it is imperative that this should be done in person and not by correspondence, excepting in instances where it is known to be absolutely safe, and in those instances there is no need of especial correspondence, excepting to urge them to keep in the campaign.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Do you want to know what I meant by that?

Mr. MACDONALD. That was your letter?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, yes. What I meant by that was this: I had a great many people that were engaged in manufacturing in my district. The issues involved in that campaign, in my judgment, were issues that vitally affected the people engaged in the manufacturing business, and I believed that if Cushing, or somebody representing that association, could take the matter up in person, discuss it, and explain it to those men who were interested, it would result in immediate political activity in my aid in that campaign. I will say, so far as I had opportunity during the campaign, I took the issues up myself with these men wherever I happened to be, and my anxiety and desire was to have somebody take them up with all the men, whoever they were, Republicans and Democrats, irrespective of their political affiliation, and put it to them as a naked, simple business proposition.

Mr. MACDONALD. Now, I call your attention to Mr. Cushing's answer to that letter, No. 1096, in the Senate print. I will read it:

AUGUST 13, 1906.

DEAR MR. LITTLEFIELD. I have yours of the 10th and appreciate and believe every word that you say. I wanted to start Emery about a week earlier than we expected, but he is very busy. Perhaps I shall be in Washington myself Thursday—for the simple reason that my meeting for to-night has been postponed to Wednesday night—and if so, will see Tuttle, and will very likely keep on the important down East, for evidently I must manage it amongst the manufacturers there somehow myself. I assure you that I am on this particular proposi-

tion, and neglect practically everybody else day and night, and I will do everything that can be done. Very much rushed to-day. Will write you more at at length to-morrow.

Yours, faithfully, ——— ———, *Secretary.*

Hon. CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD,
Rockland, Me.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. As to Mr. Cushing, you must bear in mind that very early in this campaign, he volunteered his assistance to support me, and after this proffer of assistance, of course, I felt perfectly free to continue to take up the matter on various lines.

Mr. MACDONALD. Now, I call your attention to No. 1100 in the Senate print, which purports to be a report from Mr. Cushing to you, a confidential report, in regard to a man by the name of James S. McCarty.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. James S. McCarty?

Mr. MACDONALD. Yes. I will read the report:

AUGUST 14, 1906.

DEAR MR. LITTLEFIELD: My report about James S. McCarty, of the National News Bureau, Room 45, Kellogg Building, is as follows:

He is a sort of private secretary and office boy for ex-Senator Faulkner, of West Virginia, who keeps an office in the Kellogg Building, but who is absent from the city about two-thirds of the time. On the side he appears to be helping John C. Williams, formerly of the Journal of Commerce, but more recently the press agent of the railroads in their efforts to defeat freight-rate legislation. As you know, Faulkner's practice is a sort of combination of that of a first-class lawyer and a high-grade lobbyist, and he has occasionally turned over a few jobs to McCarty. From all I can learn, McCarty is a pretty light weight, who is endeavoring to take a leaf out of John Williams's book in "working the press" for such schemes as he can get hold of. In a way he is also emulating our friend William Wolf Smith. Of course this is all confidential.

I believe this information, from its careful source, is to be depended on in every way.

Yours, faithfully, ——— ———, *Secretary.*

Hon. CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD, *Rockland, Me.*

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not remember anything about McCarty or William Wolf Smith, either one of them.

Mr. MACDONALD. I call your attention to No. 1120 in the Senate print, from Mr. Cushing to yourself, under date of August 27, 1906, in which he writes you as follows:

AUGUST 27, 1906.

DEAR MR. LITTLEFIELD: One of the circulars issued from Washington by the American Federation of Labor—printed in the New York Tribune of July 12, and many other papers of course—contains the following:

"Question No. 1. If elected will you vote only for such candidate or candidates for the United States Senate as have promised in writing to vote to abolish government by injunction, to install the eight-hour day in Government contract work, and to install the advisory initiative and advisory referendum, the details to conform to the measures we herewith inclose, subject to such minor changes in the last-mentioned system as may be agreed to by the legislative committees of the American Federation of Labor and the National Grange?"

This surely gives the impression that the National Grange is cooperating with the American Federation of Labor. As you will recall, Gov. Batchelder, of New Hampshire, has assured me personally that there is no ground, however, for this claim. Since that is the fact, perhaps you might like to establish this in some authoritative way, even making a boomerang out of it as one of the "Gompers lies," and all that kind of thing. My impression is that Gov. Batchelder would write you, or certainly Dr. Twitchell, denying any such con-

nection. Perhaps you would like to work the matter up. Gov. Batchelder's name and address is Hon. M. J. Batchelder, Concord, N. H. Perhaps the best way would be for Dr. Twitchell, who is the most influential granger in Maine, to write him, though I think it would be all right for you to do so if you preferred.

M. C.

Do you remember that letter?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; I do not remember it, but I have no doubt that that letter was probably written to me. Mr. Batchelder is a man I never saw, and I have no recollection of taking up any of those matters with him. The grange was a very important and leading factor down in my country, but I never saw any sign of the grange being associated or affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. MACDONALD. I call your attention now to No. 1124 in the Senate print, a letter, apparently, from Mr. Cushing to you, under date of August 28, 1906, which I will read:

AUGUST 28, 1906.

DEAR MR. LITTLEFIELD: I was very sorry to-day to be obliged to telephone Mr. Crosby that I couldn't send him a man to work in Bath. The man I had in view for it, the best one of all, couldn't get away, and the same is true of the second best man, who, however, might be just as good. I hoped to do something with this as early as last Saturday, so it is rather late now, and I believe Mr. Crosby can get along just as well, anyhow.

With regard to all of my people, won't you insist that they shall keep on their separate and specific lines of work—unless, of course, you have other plans for them? They are apt to scatter if they are not held closely down to their own jobs, and they are also apt to get to working together too much, which is harmful. Please jack them up and make them hustle.

Yours, most truly,

——— ———, *Secretary.*

Hon. CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD,
Rockland, Me.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Crosby was the collector of the port at Bath, Me., an appointee of mine, and a very warm political friend of mine. I have no doubt I received the letter and probably turned it over to Mr. Crosby, and told him to follow out the suggestion Mr. Cushing makes in the letter. Mr. Crosby, by the way, was an unusually capable and efficient man.

Mr. MACDONALD. Now, I call your attention to No. 1139 in the Senate print, a letter under date of August 30, 1906, purporting to have been written by Mr. Cushing to Mr. W. A. Viall, of Providence, R. I., which is as follows:

AUGUST 30, 1906.

DEAR MR. VIALL: Certainly I appreciate your kind letter of August 29, for I knew I was asking a great deal and should not have been hurt if you had refused, but it is something that we have to do ourselves, and hence I did not hesitate. I am quite sure that Mr. Sharpe will approve and that you will get through in Providence "in great shape." By the way, speaking confidentially, to show how one friend can help another, it was Mr. Littlefield who got one of the votes for us in the House Coinage Committee at Washington when we beat the compulsory metric bill.

Yours, most truly,

——— ———,
Secretary.

Mr. W. A. VIALL, *Providence, R. I.*

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Does that say "the compulsory metric bill?"

Mr. MACDONALD. Yes.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not remember anything about such a bill, and about Mr. Viall—I was just looking to see if his name is on my

list of contributors. This is the first time I remember hearing of Mr. Viall or a compulsory metric bill.

The CHAIRMAN. In the Fifty-ninth Congress, I have an indistinct recollection that there was before the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures a bill—I think it was in the Fifty-ninth Congress; it might have been a subsequent Congress—a bill proposing to make the use of the metric system of weights and measures compulsory.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Was that Southard's committee?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes; Southard was chairman of the committee at that time.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I could not identify that particular bill. I believe that committee did galvanize into activity about some one or two things during that period. I do not remember about it and I am not certain about that particular bill.

Mr. MACDONALD. I call your attention to letter 1143, purporting to be a letter written by Mr. Cushing to Mr. Wight. Mr. Wight was your campaign manager?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Wight was not exactly my campaign manager; he was chairman of the Republican congressional committee, and had charge of the financial end of the campaign.

Mr. MACDONALD. The letter is as follows:

D 1479.

AUGUST 30, 1906.

DEAR MR. WIGHT: My advices from Auburn are that our friends, the shoe manufacturers there, have $525 pledged. I don't know whether this will be sent direct to you. If so, it will be all right; if not, I will forward it to you immediately. It is Mr. Cushman of Cushman-Hollis Co., and Mr. Littlefield of the National Shoe Makers that deserve the credit for this. I hope you are acknowledging in a brief receipt all such remittances, whether on our account or otherwise.

The letter which I called for the day before yesterday, and to-day again, by telegraph to Mr. Alfred E. Cox of the Atlantic Works, of East Boston, Mass., is intended to draw perhaps $1,000 out of certain of the textile interests. I hope that you have got it off, and that it is strong, and that it will enable Mr. C. to produced those results. Surely he is a great hustler.

M. C.

Now, what I wanted to know is whether these contributors appear upon that list?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No; they do not. Mr. Cushman and the other people, speaking from my memory, were located in Auburn, Me. That is a town that is largely composed of shoe manufacturers. I know the Cushman people are Auburn people. Mr. Cox is the man I have referred to. While he is not on that list he is one of the men I mentioned that I knew were interested in collecting funds and sending them in to Mr. Wight. The first two men were probably men in my own district.

I want to say about that letter, if you please, that I do not know I ever saw that letter before.

Mr. STAFFORD. Many of these letters that Mr. MacDonald has read you have never been heard about before?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. A great many of them, no I have never seen the printed list.

Mr. MACDONALD. As to those letter to you and from you, of course there is no question about them?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, no.

Mr. MACDONALD. This letter, No. 1156 con., dated Providence, R. I., September 5, 1906, purports to be from Hamilton & Hamilton. I will read the letter and see if we can identify the contributions:

(1156 Con.)

D 1496.

HAMILTON & HAMILTON, Jr.,
Providence, R. I., September 5, 1906.

Mr. MARSHALL CUSHING, *Secretary,*
New York City.

DEAR SIR: Received letter to-day from Mr. Henry D. Sharp claiming you had made a personal appeal to him for collection of funds in this State which can be used in the next few days for the hiring of speakers in Congressman Littlefield's behalf. Claims he contributed $50.00. We donated $25.00 to day
Sincerely hope that Littlefield will win.

Yours, truly HAMILTON & HAMILTON, Jr.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Henry D. Sharpe is in this list, and Charles A. Hannon is in the list.

Mr. MACDONALD. This is Hamilton & Hamilton, Providence, R. I.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The only earmark I can see is the letter to Charles A. Hannon, Esq. I do not know whether he was a member of this firm whose name you have read. I never knew anything about him. I did not know then, and have not since.

Mr. MACDONALD. This is Hamilton & Hamilton.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Let me see if I can find anybody here. That is a letter to Mr. Cushing, is it not?

Mr. MACDONALD. Yes.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not find such a name here, and I do not have any memory about Hamilton & Hamilton.

Mr. MACDONALD. Here is a letter from Mr. Cushing to Hamilton & Hamilton, No. 1162 Con., under date of September 6, 1906:

(1162 Con.)

D 1504.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1906.

DEAR MR. HAMILTON: Yes, we had to do certain things in order to protect our best friend, and I can not thank you heartily enough for cooperating with Mr. Sharp, who very kindly undertook to give our Rhode Island members a chance to do what they would feel inclined under the circumstances to do. I haven't a doubt that Mr. Sharp was very liberal himself, besides devoting his time to this important work. When I see you let us call the matter up, as I want to tell you several things about that situation. It is very interesting, as you can imagine it has been absolutely essential that we should do everything possible in the premises, even taking some risk.

Yours, most truly, ——— ———, *Secretary.*

HAMILTON & HAMILTON, Jr.,
Providence, R. I.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The same answer as far as Hamilton & Hamilton are concerned. I do not know them. What he has in mind when he speaks about taking a risk, I do not know that either.

Mr. MACDONALD. I call your attention to what purports to be your letter, being No. 1171 Con., dated Rockland, Me., September 13, 1906, directed to Mr. Marshall Cushing, in the last paragraph of which you thank Mr. Cushing "for the substantial manifestation of your interest in the campaign."

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. That is the circular letter that was sent to all this list? That letter concludes, "Again thanking you most cordially?"

Mr. STAFFORD. That is the letter you intended to incorporate in our hearings?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Yes; that is the circular letter of acknowledgment sent out to 38 people.

Mr. WILLIS. Was that incorporated in the hearings? If not, I suggest that the whole letter go in here.

Mr. MACDONALD. This letter can be introduced here, Mr. Littlefield.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I think I made reference to this in my statement, and I think it would be more intelligible if it went in at that place.

Mr. MACDONALD. Just one more letter, No. 1179, dated Providence, R. I., September 29, 1906, addressed by Henry D. Sharpe, the man you identified, and Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Co., to Marshall Cushing, secretary of the National Association of Manufacturers, 170 Broadway, New York City:

(1179 Con.)

D 1527-1528.

BROWN & SHARPE MFG. CO.,
Providence, R. I., September 25, 1906.

MR. MARSHALL CUSHING,
Secretary National Association of Manufacturers,
170 Broadway, New York City.

DEAR MR. CUSHING: Your favor of the 21st inst. has been unduly delayed in the answering. I regret that I do not know of any suitable person hereabouts who could undertake the work which you outline in this district, and so am unable to help you. Furthermore, would say that I am of the opinion that it would be inadvisable to enlarge the association on the plea that you outline. Developments of the past year have raised the question of the propriety of corporations, as such, engaging in political work. In trying to raise subscriptions for Mr. Littlefield's canvass I ran up against this growing objection. While some of the parties who subscribed might be willing to contribute to a distinct object, such as was Mr. Littlefield's canvass, I feel the matter of the National Association taking up the work as an organization would probably not appeal to them. You will please understand that this question may strike different sections of the country in a different way. Rhode Islanders still preserve much of the individuality of their forefathers. In fact, this State has very little get-together spirit in it.

With very kind regards, yours, truly,

BROWN & SHARPE MFG. CO.
HENRY D. SHARPE.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I never saw or heard of the letter then.

Mr. MACDONALD. I call your attention to letter No. 572 in the Senate print, which purports to be a letter from J. Donohue to Mr. Mulhall. In the postscript of that letter is the following:

P. S.—You understand if we are to succeed in keeping a large number of Democrats from voting on election day, as we have planned, it will require quite a lot of money, the number to be figured only by the size of our fund, without which we can do nothing with them.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I suppose that was written during that campaign.

Mr. MACDONALD. That was written in August.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. As to that, I never heard of the letter until I saw that in some part of the record. I never knew it was written.

Mr. RUSSELL. What was Mr. Donohue's position? I have forgotten.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Donohue was chairman of what is known as the county committee—probably either that or the city committee of Rockland.

Mr. MACDONALD. He was game and fish warden?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. In 1906? Yes; I think he was at that time. He was fish and game warden of the sea and shore fisheries.

Mr. RUSSELL. He was in some way then connected with the Republican Party?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, yes. Without knowing all the details, I understand he was a member of the county committee, or city committee. And then, Mr. Donohue was a man who had been pretty active in local politics and had been for a good many years.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did you know anything about the purpose of Mr. Donohue to keep the Democrats from the polls?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No. The first information I had about it was the publication of this letter here in connection with these hearisgs.

Mr. RUSSELL. You knew of no preconcerted arrangement with your managers and friends to pursue that sort of campaign at that time?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No, sir. If he had any scheme like that he did not communicate it to me, and I do not think Mr. Donohue is a man that would engage in that.

Mr. RUSSELL. There is a letter, however, which does indicate that he was calling for money for that purpose.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Well, it looks as if he was considering it; yes.

Mr. MACDONALD. Did you know Mr. George Henry, of Louisville, Ky., Mr. Littlefield?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. No. Is he in this list?

Mr. MACDONALD. He is mentioned in a letter here that I am trying to find as inclosing some contributions. I just wanted to ask you if he was there.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. He is not on this list.

Mr. MACDONALD. Here is the letter, No. 1119, August 25, 1906:

(1119 Con.)

D. 1452.

AUGUST 25, 1906.

HON. FRED W. WIGHT,
Chairman Hon. Chas. E. Littlefield Campaign Committee, Rockland, Maine.

MY DEAR SIR: Enclosed find New York exchange for $85.00 made payable to your order, representing contributions as follows:

Ballard & Ballard Co	$25.00
Jas. Clark, Jr., & Co	25.00
J. L. Strassel	10.00
J. N. Struck & Bro	25.00
	85.00

To be used as your judgment may dictate in the interest of the Hon. Mr. Littlefield in his campaign for re-election as a Member of Congress.

All the above-named contributors are members of the National Association of Manufacturers, and feel that Mr. Littlefield's cause is their own.

I enclose all letters received, with the respective contributions, and would request that you kindly acknowledge to each.

Wishing you a successful campaign, and that Mr. Littlefield may be returned by an increased majority, I am, in behalf of the before-mentioned contributors,

Very sincerely,

GEO. HENRY.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I never saw this letter before, but I have in here acknowledgments to J. N. Struck & Bro., J. L. Strassel, James Clark, Jr., & Co., and Ballard & Ballard Co., all of Louisville, Ky. Are those the names mentioned?

Mr. MACDONALD. Those are the names.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Mr. Henry's name did not seem to get in.

Mr. MACDONALD. Perhaps this letter identifies Mr. Henry—letter 1126, under date of August 28, 1906.

(1126 Con.)

D 1460.

AUGUST 28, 1906.

DEAR MR. HENRY: Surely you have done a loyal and generous thing, and I know our friends will appreciate it. There may be other cases of this kind very pressing, and yet none is so urgent as the one in hand. Please give my compliments to Mr. Struck and to any of our other friends in Louisville, and let us hear from you from time to time.

Yours, faithfully,

Secretary.

Mr. GEORGE HENRY, *Louisville, Ky.*

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not remember Mr. Henry.

Mr. MACDONALD. Evidently Mr. Henry simply forwarded these contributions.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I imagine so; yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. One question, Mr Littlefield. What can you say as to the activities of Mr. Mulhall about the Capitol?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I do not remember Mr. Mulhall about the Capitol to any extent, except, I think, perhaps some time in 1907, prior to the spring of 1908, he was taking some part in endeavoring to help out in this fight I was making in connection with the antipilotage bill. Perhaps I ought to state briefly just what that was, and how I happened to be interested in it. I had no personal interest in it; it was not any concern of mine. It was a bill that sought to prohibit the charge for pilotage service to the coastwise fleet that was not rendered.

The CHAIRMAN. That bill is in our record complete.

Mr. LITTEFIELD. The shipbuilders in my district were engaged almost entirely in building wooden vessels, and in these various campaigns I spoke of they probably had a larger interest than all the rest of the ship-owning people of the United States. Mr. Mulhall was about here some time during that session of 1907. The bill came out of the committee in the long session beginning in 1906 and ending in 1907, and came up for debate, if I remember, in the early part of the short session of 1907.

Mr. STAFFORD. December, 1906, is when the vote took place in the House.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Was it?

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. My recollection would have been later.

Mr. STAFFORD. That is according to my recollection.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. I believe it was, Mr. Stafford, right after the election. He was about more or less, doing something in connection with that legislation.

Mr. STAFFORD. He never called upon you or any other Member, so far as you know, to ascertain their views?

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Oh, no. Of course, this was reported from my committee. I was the introducer of the bill. I remember now what he said in connection with his lobbying with me. That came down to the fact that he asked me for the numbers of some bills; he never undertook to ask me for any information as to what I would do or advise me as to what I ought to do. I never got any opinion or advice from him. Of course, if he could help out in anything I was interested in I was perfectly willing. That is about the extent of his activities in that direction.

I am very greatly obliged to the committee for its consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very glad to have heard you, Mr. Littlefield.

TESTIMONY OF HON. JOHN J. GARDNER.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. I regret very much, Mr. Gardner, the long delay that has held you here longer than you anticipated. You can see it was impossible to prevent it.

Mr. GARDNER. I appreciate the circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gardner, how long were you a Representative in Congress?

Mr. GARDNER. Twenty years.

The CHAIRMAN. During a part of your term of service you were chairman of the Committee on Labor?

Mr. GARDNER. I was a member of the Labor Committee for the entire 20 years. I was chairman, I think, for 12 years; I am not positive about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember in what Congress you became chairman?

Mr. GARDNER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember by what Speaker you were appointed chairman?

Mr. GARDNER. I was appointed by Mr. Reed, on the retirement of Mr. Philips.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gardner, have you read the testimony that has been given in this case daily?

Mr. GARDNER. I suppose I should apologize to the committee, but I have been entirely engrossed. I have not followed the investigation; I have not read the testimony. I do not know what has been given in evidence here.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, do you care to make any original statement before any questions are asked? I will say to you that the usual course that has been pursued by the committee, where Members or former Members of the House have come before the committee, has been to invite them to make any statement they desired to make in advance of questioning.

Mr. GARDNER. I should be very glad to do that, if I had followed the testimony so that I would be prepared to make a statement. I can only say that during my entire term of service here I was in two storm centers very generally. I was during all that time a member of the Post Office Committee and the Labor Committee, and I was in the Industrial Commission, helping to compile that 28-volume report. I served two or three years in the United States Postal Commission, and so, in a general way, was engaged in the consideration of economic problems in connection with the Government during that entire term of service.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gardner, have you read the article that appeared in the New York World on June 29?

Mr. GARDNER. I did read that; that is, what I assume to have been correct. I read a clipping that was mailed to me at the farm.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you read the entire article, or do you know?

Mr. GARDNER. I think I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Or just that part referring to you?

Mr. GARDNER. I think I read the entire article.

The CHAIRMAN. It covered a number of columns in the New York World.

Mr. GARDNER. Well, I may have given attention only to those things which were of personal interest.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I will ask you, then——

Mr. GARDNER. I wish you would, and if there is any statement I want to make, with the indulgence of the committee, I can make it in some other place.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gardner, you introduced, did you, some labor bills during the course of your service?

Mr. GARDNER. I introduced a good many. I early became interested in the problem of the hours of labor, and the then Speaker, Mr. Reed, seemed also to be interested in that subject, and we often discussed it. We came to the conclusion that, as a general proposition, the world's work might be done in eight hours, and we set about drawing an eight-hour bill, which we tried to make a constitutional bill.

It is not necessary to call to the attention of this committee the fact that there has been a great evolution in even the legal view of those questions within that time. Twelve or fifteen years ago there did not seem to be any lawyers who believed that the Government could limit the hours of labor, save where it was the owner of the locus. The Tarsney committee passed the eight-hour bill in August, 1892, and, if you will take the trouble to look at the report, they held to the view then that they could go no further than they did go, which was to limit its operation to public buildings and like things, where the Government was the owner of the land.

I drew the eight-hour bill that has been introduced by a very great many people since, and finally has passed without substantial change.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have the support of the American Federation of Labor for the chairmanship of the Committee on Labor?

Mr. GARDNER. I do not know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know?

Mr. GARDNER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If I state to you that Mr. Gompers has testified before this committee that he, as president of the American Federa-

tion of Labor, wrote to the Speaker asking your appointment, what would you say about that?

Mr. GARDNER. I would simply say that I knew nothing about it. Of course, he may have done so. Thomas B. Reed was the Speaker of the House then.

The CHAIRMAN. If he gave any indorsement of you it was not at your solicitation?

Mr. GARDNER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never requested Mr. Gompers to indorse you for this position?

Mr. GARDNER. No, sir; I never sought the chairmanship of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you the ranking member of the committee at the time you were appointed, upon Mr. Phillips's retirement?

Mr. GARDNER. According to my best recollection, I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did you have the support in your district of the labor people—the labor unions and those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor? Was that ever an issue in your district?

Mr. GARDNER. I was elected first in 1892.

The CHAIRMAN. 1892?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes. In 1894, at my first reelection, the question did not arise at all. Of course, there were peculiar circumstances in connection with that presidential election in the East. New Jersey went 82,000 Republican, didn't she?

The CHAIRMAN. 1894 was not a presidential election; that was in 1892.

Mr. GARDNER. I was thinking of 1896. Well, the question did not arise, but the country was in a state of depression. If you will look at the record I think you will notice that it went pell-mell Republican all over the country very generally. But there was no opposition in my State to be felt. I am inclined to think that New Jersey elected a solid Republican delegation in that year.

The CHAIRMAN. I was a boy at that time, but my recollection is the country went almost universally that way, much to my regret.

Mr. GARDNER. The country went universally that way, almost. I think the New Jersey delegation was solidly Republican. There was no contest in that year—practically no contest.

The CHAIRMAN. When did it become an issue? Pass over all the campaigns that it was not an issue in.

Mr. GARDNER. In the summer or spring of 1908. In the spring of 1908 it became apparent that a campaign had been begun against me in my district. The source of it at that time I never located. It began to crop out in the papers here and there, and candidates began to rise, and people began to talk about being solicited to run for Congress, and so on. There was a very formidable move made in the district with a well-laid political plan. It went to pieces—now, I am talking as to the primary, or, rather, the election of delegates. We then had conventions. It went to pieces, and I think I received the unanimous vote of the convention. There may have been one or two votes the other way. It was a campaign that was most bitter and unscrupulous, backed by lavish expenditures, and, I think, was the most bitter, unjustifiable, and untruthful in its attacks of any campaign that I have ever witnessed.

The CHAIRMAN. That was for the election, was it?

Mr. GARDNER. That was for the election.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1908?

Mr. GARDNER. In 1908. I supposed the labor men were my friends, although I did not communicate with them, and I think I can say I never did. However, I did find that within the State that force was being manipulated by somebody to a more or less extent against me. I was elected by 3,400 plurality.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gardner, I want to call your attention to this language in the Mulhall article as it appeared in the New York World.

Mr. GARDNER. Very well, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It apparently referred to the campaign of 1908.

Mr. STAFFORD. Did I understand the campaign you just referred to was that of 1898 or 1908—where there was this formidable opposition?

Mr. GARDNER. 1908. "Nineteen-eight" is a common form of expression, I believe.

Mr. STAFFORD. Yes. I did not know whether it was 1898 or 1908.

Mr. GARDNER. No; 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want to read this entire article, but after explaining certain movements made by him, Mr. Mulhall speaks of having conferences with Judge Speer, Gov. Fort, and of seeking to reach in some way Ex-Gov. Murphy, and so on, and says this——

Mr. GARDNER. That was to get a candidate in the field against me.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; to get a candidate in the field against you. He said:

I had frequent interviews from that time on with Mr. Lewis regarding the Gardner matter, and I was kept posted on the campaign they were starting against him. It was only a brief period of time until Mr. Gardner became aware of the fact that there was an organization being built up against him.

I believe you said you were aware of the fact that there was an organization being built up against you?

Mr. GARDNER. I have said that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you learn that organization was being built up against you by the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. GARDNER. No, sir; I did not suspect them at that time. My suspicions were in other directions.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, this article continues:

He sent for me, and I had a meeting with him in his committee room in Washington, he, at that time, being chairman of the Committee on Labor of the House.

That is Mulhall saying "he" referring to you.

Mr. GARDNER. That would be in the summer.

The CHAIRMAN. Of 1908.

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And, then, this continues:

Gardner commenced his interview by asking me if I was aware of the fact that there was an active campaign started against him in his district and that he heard the National Association of Manufacturers was backing it up. He said also that he was told that one of the field agents of that association had had several interviews with the governor of his State. I told him I was

aware of that and that I was the party that had all those interviews with the governor, and the National Association of Manufacturers did propose to do all it could to stop him from being renominated and reelected. Gardner wanted to know from me why they were opposing him. He said that he had always served his constituents and his people to the best of his ability, and the people at large throughout the country for the 20 years he had been in Congress.

Mr. GARDNER. I had not been in 20 years then.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time you had not been in 20 years?

Mr. GARDNER. No; 16.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

I told him that the reason the National Association of Manufacturers was opposing him was on account of his eight-hour bill and measures of that stripe. I also told him that he was too much in favor of labor measures to suit the manufacturing interests, and, as his district was a large manufacturing district, there were a number of manufacturers who were opposed to him at the present time. I further told him that the National Association of Manufacturers was sending out letters and circulars to those manufacturers to put him out of business.

I am going to stop just there to ask you if you did have such an interview as that with Col. Mulhall at your office?

Mr. GARDNER. I did not have such an interview. I have no recollection whatever of knowing Col. Mulhall in 1908. The first time Col. Mulhall ever intimated to me he had been concerned in the opposition to my renomination, and more particularly election, was a year, probably, later than that date, but at some period after the election of 1908. Either during the short session of Congress that followed or at the time of the next Congress I was detailing to some persons, because I still suspected, and do at this moment, that much of the opposition was financed from other sources—I was telling some parties what had happened down here, because I thought they would make it understood where I wanted it to go that I knew who it was. Mulhall was in the committee room—I am not sure I knew well who he was, but when they retired he arose and said, "I am the man who did that." And then for the first time I learned in any authoritative way that the National Association of Manufacturers had authorized any active opposition against me or that Mulhall had been in any way concerned in it.

The CHAIRMAN. That was subsequent, you say, to the election of 1908?

Mr. GARDNER. That was subsequent to the election of 1908. It was either late in the short session following—I am inclined to think it was late in the short session following the election of 1908. If not, then, of course, it would have been after the 1st of the following December. But as for sending for him for such an interview, I did not. I never sent for him for an interview.

The CHAIRMAN. I read on:

Gardner disputed the fact that his district was a large manufacturing district. He said there were no factories at all in Atlantic City, his home town; that there were four counties in his district, and that two of these were largely farming districts and the most of the district was made up of farmers and working people, and for that reason he thought he was honestly serving the voters of his district.

I intimated to Gardner that he was too honest with the working people and not honest enough with the manufacturing interests. About three days later Gardner sent for me again and stated that Gov. Fort, ex-Gov. Murphy, Judge Speer, and Lewis, and such men as they, could beat him out, and wanted the fight stopped.

Mr. GARDNER. Right there. First, the statement is absurd that I should ever have said there was little manufacturing in the district. The glass business of the East is and always had been very largely centered in that district. The Roeblings wire works were already moved over in the district. The old iron foundries of the Woods are in the district, and if there is any kind of manufacturing that is not done in the district, outside of the woolen mills, I could not name it. It is a fine agricultural district, but it has also the towns of Millville, Bridgeton, Burlington, Riverside, Florence, Roebling, and Mount Holly, all important manufacturing centers.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it substantially true that two of the counties are almost wholly agricultural and that there are manufacturing interests in only two of the counties?

Mr. GARDNER. That is not true. There is not much manufacturing in Cape May County. There is much outside of the—oh, there is the shoe business and the cut-glass business, the knife-handle business, the manicure business. My own county has a good deal of manufacturing, but as to the other two counties, they are more specifically pleasure counties—summer resorts—than agricultural counties.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as to the next paragraph, the last paragraph, I read:

About three days later Gardner sent for me again and admitted that Gov. Fort, ex-Gov. Murphy, Judge Speer, and Lewis, and such men as they could beat him out, and wanted the fight stopped.

Was there ever any conference occurred between you and Mulhall at any time at which there was any suggestion of that sort?

Mr. GARDNER. No conference occurred whatever at that time, as I have stated. I had no suspicion but that the National Association of Manufacturers were against me now. I never heard of any opposition of Vivian Lewis until I read it in the New York World. My county, and it might sound egotistical to say it, in the last resort I myself, personally, nominated Lewis for governor. We had been his friends. Judge Speer I never heard of nor suspected of having any political interest down in my district. As for Gov. Murphy, I would have had no more concern about the ability of the National Association of Manufacturers or any other body turning him against me than I would have had of the nearest member of my own family.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the National Association of Manufacturers ever fought you?

Mr. GARDNER. Well, Mulhall says they did through him. But yet, after he told me that, I have talked with him again and again, I never could get him to specify anything he did for the convention—the work he was on or what work he did. I am inclined to think they did.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1908?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes; but if so, it was done through some other parties, as I think, for I did not know Mulhall personally in the district, and I was through it pretty fully.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember when you first became acquainted with Mr. Mulhall?

Mr. GARDNER. Of course, I have been trying to think about that. I have no recollection of Mr. Mulhall until, probably, in the short

session following the election of 1908. That is the only thing that makes me not doubt I might have seen Mulhall in the district and not have known him. But no gentleman could have been in there with the activities my recollection is he professed to give to the matter without my seeing him, and if I had known of him I should have taken cognizance of his presence.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember when he did tell you, when he first told you, the National Association of Manufacturers was fighting you, whether he then told you why they were fighting you? Whenever it was, did he tell you why?

Mr. GARDNER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ask him why?

Mr. GARDNER. No; I had no conversation like that with him, but I really do not think I would have had to ask him why, because if the National Association of Manufacturers were fighting me I would have known the why. I had drafted the eight-hour bill, and twice at least I got it through the House and sent it to the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. In what Congresses? Do you remember?

Mr. GARDNER. No; but once while Reed was Speaker and once while Henderson was Speaker. If it was three times, then it was twice while Henderson was Speaker. How long was Henderson Speaker?

Mr. STAFFORD. Two terms.

Mr. GARDNER. I got it through once or twice while Henderson was Speaker, and I got it through while Reed was Speaker.

The CHAIRMAN. You never got it through after that?

Mr. GARDNER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have any report from the committee after that?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. A favorable report?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember when was the last time it was reported from the committee favorably?

Mr. GARDNER. 1908, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. At what time in 1908; do you remember?

Mr. GARDNER. The long term, my recollection is.

The CHAIRMAN. That was prior to the election in 1908?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the last time it was reported favorably by your committee, was it?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You continued as chairman after the election of 1908; during the next Congress; during the Sixty-first Congress?

Mr. GARDNER. I did; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any efforts to get it reported the last term of which you were chairman?

Mr. GARDNER. I did. The last term that I was chairman there were sundry bills. You will recall that the activities of the post office committee had become very great. I was the second member on that committee, and I divided the labor committee into subcommittees. The eight-hour bill, as I recall, was referred to a subcommittee that I then and now believe to have been of most excellent and un-

prejudiced men save two. There were two men on the committee I was quite sure would vote to report the bill under almost any circumstances, whatever the constitutionality about it might be. In fact, one of them said he doubted the constitutionality of the bill, but he was going to vote to report it. I think the record will show that the subcommittee was Vreeland of New York, Judge Madison, of Kansas, Amos Allen, the man who had been the private secretary of Mr. Reed—and Mr. Reed had favored the bill and given me recognition to pass it through the House—Rainey, of Illinois, and Hughes, of New Jersey.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say except two you thought they were a fair committee?

Mr. GARDNER. No; I do not put it that way. I say I thought there was nobody specifically prejudiced against the bill, nobody who would not give it fair consideration. But as to Mr. Rainey and Mr. Hughes, everyone knows, or did at that time, they were ardently in favor of its report, and would vote to report it, as Mr. Rainey said, even though his view of its constitutionality was rather adverse.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gardner, do you remember when you appointed that subcommittee?

Mr. GARDNER. I do not remember the date.

The CHAIRMAN. That Congress began on the 4th of March, 1909—I mean to say the term began then.

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Congress convened on the 15th of March, 1909—that being the extra session called by Mr. Taft for a revision of the tariff—and it adjourned on the 5th of August, 1909. It was just about the time of adjournment that the committees of the House were appointed, if I remember correctly.

Mr. GARDNER. Yes; there was no Labor Committee——

The CHAIRMAN. There was no Labor Committee until about the close of that Congress?

Mr. GARDNER. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Committee on Labor organize at that time?

Mr. GARDNER. No; my recollection is it did not.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the Committee on Labor did not organize probably until the beginning of the regular session, which met in December, 1909?

Mr. GARDNER. It organized in the regular session.

The CHAIRMAN. Which began in December, 1909?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember when you appointed these subcommittees?

Mr. GARDNER. I do not remember, because I do not recall that there were questions about hearings. Hearings were applied for on the bill. Part of the committee thought the bill was so identical with bills we had had before that the old hearings might suffice. Then there were members of the committee, I think, who wanted hearings—that we have hearings before the full committee—and my recollection is that there was some delay about determining that matter and appointing the subcommittee to have the hearings on the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. There had been subcommittees before that committee? Before that Congress, had it been customary to have subcommittees?

Mr. GARDNER. I think there had been subcommittees only once before that Congress. I think only once before that. I mean, now, permanent subcommittees. There had been a pracetice, very often, of taking a bill and referring it by some motion to some subcommittee named by the chairman at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. But in only one Congress before this had there been permanent subcommittees?

Mr. GARDNER. That is my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gardner, did you consult with anybody about whom you should appoint as members of those subcommittees?

Mr. GARDNER. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have any talk with Mr. Mulhall about that?

Mr. GARDNER. I had no talk with Mr. Mulhall about that, but I think I ought, in justice to all parties, put it in this way, now: No man, either the Speaker or any representative of the National Association of Manufacturers or any representative of the American Federation of Labor, ever suggested to me a list for any subcommittee.

The CHAIRMAN. I desire to call your attention to the testimony on page 1011—to the testimony of Mr. Mulhall. This is a question by the Chairman:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mulhall, I call your attention to No. 3564, which seems to be a letter written by you to Mr. Kirby, under date of February 13, 1910, one paragraph of which reads:

"Mr. McMichael, one of our workers here, phoned me early this morning, advising me that Mr. Gardner was anxious to see me. I met Mr. Gardner at 9 a. m., and he informed me that he had appointed the subcommittee of the Labor Committee as we wished him to do, and he announced to me that he had appointed the following committee: Mr. Vreeland, Mr. Madison, Mr. Allen, Mr. Rainey, and Mr. Covington as subcommittee No. 2——"

Do you remember now whether it was Mr. Covington or Mr. Hughes who was the last man on that subcommittee?

Mr. GARDNER. My recollection is it was Mr. Hughes.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you will find, Mr. Gardner (it is not a very material matter), that it was Mr. Covington. I really had not thought of that up to reading this.

Mr. GARDNER. My recollection is wrong, then.

The CHAIRMAN. This continues:

"as subcommittee No. 2, and refer the eight-hour bill to that committee. This makes it almost impossible to get this bill out of committee this session, unless the Democrats can get the full committee together on next Tuesday, which I feel that it will be impossible for them to do, and if we can beat them in their next effort for a meeting on next Tuesday I feel that we are safe for the balance of the winter."

Now, what Gardner was that?

Mr. MULHALL. Mr. John J. Gardner, chairman of the Committee on Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. McMichael phoned you that Mr. Gardner desired to see you; is that statement correct?

Mr. MULHALL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you remember that independently of that letter, do you?

Mr. MULHALL. I know that Mr. Gardner frequently phoned me that he wanted to see me.

I pause just there to ask you about that statement.

Mr. GARDNER. I would feel wholly safe in testifying that I never phoned Mulhall in my life I wanted to see him.

The CHAIRMAN. This continues:

> The CHAIRMAN. Would he phone you directly or through Mr. McMichael?
> Mr. MULHALL. He would sometimes see Mr. McMichael on the floor and would tell Mr. McMichael and he would inform me or phone me.

Do you care to make any statement about that?

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman, I never knew Mr. McMichael until he began running the elevator over yonder and would talk about being put down on an elevator—about the bum job, and little by little I gathered what I could from him. But I never knew him as McMichael.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he never come to you in the House and hand you Mr. Mulhall's card and tell you Mr. Mulhall was outside and wanted to see you; or would you have known whether he did or not?

Mr. GARDNER. I would not have known whether he did or not. If somebody brought me a card I would take it as brought by some of the pages.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mulhall very often send his card in to you on the floor?

Mr. GARDNER. No; he did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have very many meetings with Mulhall at your home, hotel, or committee room?

Mr. GARDNER. I do not think Mulhall ever called at my hotel. I did not have many meetings with him in the committee room; oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. He was there at times, was he?

Mr. GARDNER. Mulhall was in there once or twice that I can remember; no more. I think he attended—I do not know why I think so, but I think he attended meetings held before the subcommittee at the time of the hearings on the eight-hour bill, and the arguments were held before the full committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever come there at your invitation?

Mr. GARDNER. He never did.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there ever anything you wanted to see him about?

Mr. GARDNER. Nothing whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever at any time solicit his aid in securing a cessation of hostility against you on the part of the National Association of Manufacturers or anybody else?

Mr. GARDNER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Emery?

Mr. GARDNER. I do; Mr.——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. James A. Emery.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. James A. Emery made not less than three—no more—constitutional arguments before the committee when I presided on the question of the constitutionality of the eight-hour bill then pending.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you, Mr. Gardner, after the appointment of this subcommittee and the reference of this bill to it, make any further efforts to get the bill out of the committee during that Congress?

Mr. GARDNER. Well, I said to the members of the committee that I wanted that bill reported. As to making any efforts to take it away

from the subcommittee or to defeat them in their purpose, I do not think I did. They were a committee for whom I had a very great respect, and I think they were admirable gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. You came to understand that they were, a majority of them, at least, definitely and unalterably opposed to the reporting of that bill, did you not?

Mr. GARDNER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever understand why they did not report it?

Mr. GARDNER. I understood that Mr. Vreeland was opposed to it. I understood that Judge Madison was not satisfied with the form. I never had any understanding with Mr. Allen, but at some stage during that Congress, I understood he would not vote with the others favorably to the bill to report it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever try to ascertain anything about their attitude toward it, Mr. Gardner?

Mr. GARDNER. I did not bother them much about it. I asked them about the bill from time to time.

The CHAIRMAN. You yourself favored the bill?

Mr. GARDNER. I myself have always favored that legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. And on at least two, and perhaps three occasions, it passed the House of Representatives under your leadership?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes; that is right, and I had at that time even gone so far as to go before the Senate committee and argued its constitutionality, or attempted to.

The CHAIRMAN. The attitude of the Speaker, Speaker Cannon, was one of hostility to the bill, was it not?

Mr. GARDNER. That has been very frequently stated. I heard it, in effect, from Mr. Littlefield here to-day.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever know personally what his attitude was, Mr. Gardner?

Mr. GARDNER. Not from him. I never asked him, but people close to the Speaker did tell me that he did not like to take any more responsibility in such matters than was necessary, or words to that effect; but Speaker Cannon never addressed me on the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember who the people were who told you that?

Mr. GARDNER. No; I do not believe that I can tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they making an effort to get you to stop the fight for that bill?

Mr. GARDNER. No; not what I would call an effort. Somebody, I think, wanted me to understand that it would be more agreeable if the bill was not pushed out.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean more agreeable to them or more agreeable to the Speaker, or in what way would it be more agreeable?

Mr. GARDNER. Well, to much of the House, as I understood it. It was one of those things like Mr. Littlefield was talking about here to-day, on which a great many men prefer not to vote.

The CHAIRMAN. One of those questions that was likely to cause the tall timber to be densely populated? I think that is the way he expressed it to-day.

Mr. GARDNER. I think so. I want to get at the heart of these things, Mr. Chairman, and not delay at all. I want to get at them with the utmost frankness.

The CHAIRMAN. I am very sure you desire to do that.

Mr. GARDNER. As to those bills, I was always endeavoring not to get them on the calendar until I saw an opportunity to get them through, and to get through without violent means—I mean in a parliamentary sense. On one occasion when the bill passed the House, I think I held the report on the bill in my own hand until a day or two before adjournment.

The CHAIRMAN. Final adjournment?

Mr. GARDNER. No; adjournment of that session, not the final adjournment of Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as a matter of fact, Mr. Gardner, if I understand the proper inference to be drawn from your last statement, it is that you did not believe you could get that bill through without a fight with the authorities of the House, if we may so term it?

Mr. GARDNER. Well, I would not exactly put it that strong.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not believe you could get a rule for it from the Committee on Rules, did you?

Mr. GARDNER. I did not believe I could. I have not a list of that committee here, but my recollection is that I was always doubtful about my ability to force that bill out of the full committee as then constituted. Of course I should have had a list here.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, at one time during that Congress, was there not a favorable vote in the committee and a favorable report on the bill ordered?

Mr. GARDNER. No; there was not. There was not a quorum, and I might as well say here and now, Mr. Chairman, that I had determined, in so far as my power went, that there would be no more fluke reports that did not represent the sentiment of the majority of the committee.

Now, having said so much. I will say this: In the Congress closing in March, 1908, my recollection is that there was a bill introduced that was not a complete draft; it being desired and understood by the friends of the measure in the committee that it would be perfected upon discussion and hearings, and could be thus amended with greater ease. I suppose you as a lawyer, as I understand, know that if you have wholly perfected a measure amendments are sometimes hazardous. Take, for instance, the eight-hour bill that has passed, and look about for places to stick in amendments and study what it will be.

Now, a meeting was called for hearings. Judge Payson, I think, was making a speech. There was a quorum of the committee present. A majority of the committee were not in favor of reporting the bill in its then form, but a quorum being present, and a majority of that quorum chancing to be in favor of it, Judge Payson was stopped and the bill was voted out in that incomplete condition in which it had been introduced, and it was politics. You will appreciate that if I called attention to that fact that that was not a complete bill, the answer would be, "Well, who drew it?" It was a matter upon which I felt very deeply, and after that I did not want a majority of a quorum to report a bill unless I was pretty well satisfied it would be sustained by a majority of the whole committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gardner, you were a member of some of the subcommittees of your committee, I take it?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How did it happen that you did not refer the bill to the subcommittee of which you were a member?

Mr. GARDNER. I had received a good deal of criticism from certain quarters. I remember once that somebody in the Industrial Commission threw that out at me, that I drew the bills and referred them to my own subcommittee, and so was practically the drafter and the committee. I do not know whether it is a good practice for a man to refer bills which he draws to his own subcommittee, and it is true that in that particular session the sentiment of the committee would not be changed, of course, as a whole. There was anticipated very great activity in the committee in regard to bills representing a subject to which I had given a good deal of attention, and I think I would be justified in saying a good deal of study, and I wanted to give my time more fully to that committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it or not true, Mr. Gardner, that you had, in a measure, lost interest in this labor bill?

Mr. GARDNER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. I should say rather this labor legislation?

Mr. GARDNER. No. I had not lost interest in it. It was very apparent then that the matter was going to be reached and accomplished, whether such a bill ever passed or not, by other methods. The rulings were growing more and more liberal in regard to limitations on appropriation bills, and I knew then, as now, that plans were then pretty well matured to begin an effort to get the desired legislation by way of limitations upon appropriation bills. I might have been slightly affected—we are all human—but I did not mean to be, by the actions in 1908. The only time I had felt in my district that I was in need of any real, loyal, earnest support from the friends of the labor cause, I did not observe it anywhere.

The CHAIRMAN. You failed to get any aid from them in 1908?

Mr. GARDNER. I did not find that support. In other words, I think the sentiment of the federation here was loyal, but it did not show any results there.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Gardner, did Mr. Emery ever make any suggestions to you about these subcommittees in any way?

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Emery never did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Mulhall ever hand you a list of names, with any suggestions concerning them, that they be appointed on any of the subcommittees of the Committee on Labor?

Mr. GARDNER. No, sir; he never did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever talk with you about the subcommittees?

Mr. GARDNER. If he had, he would not have come back there any more and stay.

The CHAIRMAN. Then I understand you to say you appointed these subcommittees wholly upon your own responsibility?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any extraneous influence exerted upon you to secure the appointment of certain men on the subcommittees?

Mr. GARDNER. No; not from any source whatsoever. If the committee was not a good one I was wholly responsible.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Emery and Mr. Mulhall ever visit your office in company?

Mr. GARDNER. No; I think not, never. Mr. Emery, I am sure, never visited my office—that is, the Labor Committee room—for any purpose whatever, except to arrange for hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever visit his office?

Mr. GARDNER. I was never in his office in my life. I would not know where to find it now.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to call your attention to this testimony of Mr. Mulhall on page 329 of the House hearings:

I frequently called on the chairman. I became quite well acquainted with the chairman of the Labor Committee, Mr. Gardner; in fact, got on intimate terms with him and his secretary; and I had frequent interviews at his hotel, and also in his office; and I even went so far that, after the campaign of 1910—if you will allow me to have my letters I can show that—he even appointed subcommittees at my solicitation.

That statement is made there by Mr. Mulhall.

Mr. GARDNER. One moment. That bears its own refutation on the face of it. The campaign of 1910 ended in a Democratic sweep and Mr. Gardner had no subcommittees to appoint.

The CHAIRMAN. You retired at that time. Mr. Gardner, do you know anything about an effort to break a quorum at any time, and the speech made by Mr. Rainey about the matter?

Mr. GARDNER. I can not answer that question with a yes or no. There was an effort made to get a quorum of that committee. I wanted the full committee. I wanted to know the sentiments of the committee. I think the interest of some people went only so far as to get a quorum, and a quorum favorable to the bill. Mr. Amos Allen, of Maine, was a member of what other important committee; do you remember, Mr. Stafford?

Mr. STAFFORD. No; I do not remember what other important committee he was a member of; he was on the Committee on Alcoholic Liquor Traffic.

Mr. GARDNER. Well, he came in at the time the committee should have met, at 10.30 o'clock. He said he had an important committee meeting and could not remain very long. If the committee was to be gotten together, and we wanted his vote, it must be gotten together promptly. Messengers were sent out and the telephone was used, and an effort was made to get the committee together. They did not come in. However, before there was a quorum there, Mr. Allen said he had stayed over the time; he told the committee he could not remain when he came in, and he must go: and he went. I think he met Mr. Rainey outside the door, and Mr. Rainey walked in and made a speech; the speech, I suppose, that has been talked about, and he said he was going to denounce the thing on the floor, that Mr. Allen had broken a quorum. The fact is that Mr. Allen had gone before Mr. Rainey arrived. Allen had waited longer than he had promised the committee he would wait. That is my recollection about that meeting which has been talked about. If the gentleman who had made the charge had been there as promptly as Mr. Allen was, there would have been a quorum.

Mr. RUSSELL. That was in the early part of the session, about February, was it not, that the committee was appointed and the bill referred to the subcommittee?

Mr. GARDNER. I think it was.

Mr. RUSSELL. That Congress adjourned the 22d of August, I believe?

Mr. GARDNER. I do not recall the date.

Mr. RUSSELL. The fact is that the subcommittee never did make a report on the bill?

Mr. GARDNER. The subcommittee never made a report on the bill.

Mr. RUSSELL. Do you know whether there was a preconcerted arrangement on the part of the majority of the committee not to permit a report to be made by the whole committee?

Mr. GARDNER. I do not know of any such arrangement. The committee had hearings, if I remember rightly, very extensive hearings, filling a large volume.

Mr. RUSSELL. Anyway, there was about six months' time which elapsed after the appointment of the subcommittee, and the time when the bill was referred to the subcommittee, and it never was acted upon, never reported?

Mr. GARDNER. The committee did not report it. My understanding has been that Mr. Vreeland and Judge Madison and Mr. Allen were opposed to reporting the bill. I only know that—I did not canvass them personally.

Mr. STAFFORD. The minute book of your committee has been presented in evidence, showing the entries in regard to references of bills during this period before February 10, and to refresh your recollection, I will state that it says on February 3, as I recall, the 2d or 3d of February, this bill was referred to subcommittee No. 2, and there are other entries showing other bills referred to other subcommittees, but the first entry in your minute book of any bill being referred, shows the date to be February 2, 1907. Now, I ask you whether the bill would have been referred to the subcommittee if it had not, at that time, been appointed?

Mr. GARDNER. Of course it would not have been referred to the committee if the committee had not been appointed.

Mr. STAFFORD. There has been called to your attention a letter from Mr. Mulhall stating that he handed this slip to you, which was the joint effort of himself and Mr. Emery, bearing date February 10. You are positive—and that is the way I always understood it—that no bills were referred to any subcommittee until the subcommittees had been appointed?

Mr. GARDNER. That is positively true, and the minute book ought to show it.

Mr. STAFFORD. The minute book does not show the appointment of any subcommittees, but it shows the references of bills under certain dates.

Mr. GARDNER. It ought to show the appointment of subcommittees. They were appointed before any bills were referred; otherwise they might have been referred long before February 2.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was there a select committee appointed for the purpose of reporting on this bill?

Mr. GARDNER. No.

Mr. RUSSELL. I want to read this testimony of Mr. Emery in that connection. He says, at page 2309:

On the 15th of February, the preceding day—I had left Washington about the 8th or 9th—I went to New York and from there to St. Louis. The

colonel had telegraphed me or communicated with me in some way that the eight-hour bill had been referred to a select committee, or a subcommittee, on the question of its constitutionality, and that committee was appointed at a meeting of the Labor Committee held on the 15th of February.

He is saying there was a committee appointed on the 15th of February.

Mr. GARDNER. He made that statement to Mr. Emery on his own account, and he was mistaken.

Mr. RUSSELL. I will read the balance of the answer:

The colonel's first telegram, the telegram of February 10, I believe, referred to that. I found out, as I remember distinctly, after getting back to Washington he had made an error in respect to the appointment of the select committee. It was not appointed until the 15th of February.'

That is the testimony of Mr. Emery, that there was a select committee appointed on the 15th of February to pass on the constitutionality of that bill. Mr. Rainey, I think, testifies to the same thing.

Mr. WILLIS. Did Mr. Rainey testify that it was referred to a select committee?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is my recollection.

Mr. WILLIS. I do not remember ever hearing any suggestion of a select committee before.

Mr. RUSSELL. I know that Mr. Emery stated distinctly that there was a select committee appointed to report on the constitutionality of the bill, and I think you will find that Mr. Rainey testified to that also.

Mr. GARDNER. There is the minute book. The subcommittees were appointed and the subjects specified, and the cards containing that ought to be here. The subjects were specified, and that bill was referred before the 5th of February. There is no doubt about that. If there was such a committee afterwards appointed I do not recall. It had no relation necessarily to the subcommittee considering the bill. It would have been only an advisory committee on the constitutional question. It would have been made up of lawyers; and the regular subcommittees were appointed before the 5th of February, according to my recollection, and the bill referred. But if there was a special or select committee I do not know about it. If there was one, which I doubt, to take into consideration merely the constitutionality of the bill, it would operate to delay the subcommittee having the bill in its charge in the consideration of the bill. I think they are somewhat mistaken about it, however.

Mr. RUSSELL. I am sure that Mr. Rainey stated there were three members of this subcommittee No. 2.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes; I think that is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. To pass on the constitutionality of it, and he was one of the three.

Mr. GARDNER. Did he testify to that?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; I think that exactly corresponds with Mr. Emery's testimony.

Mr. GARDNER. If that is so, I think it is only a part of the truth. The fact that a special committee might have been appointed in the middle of February to take into consideration the question of the constitutionality of the bill does not in any way contradict or refute

the record that the bill had taken its usual course, and before the 5th of February had gone to subcommittee No. 2.

Mr. RUSSELL. This does not contradict that, but it does establish the fact in my mind that after the bill had been referred to the subcommittee, then there was appointed a select committee of three out of that subcommittee to pass on the constitutionality of the bill. Mr. Rainey said they never could get a quorum of the subcommittee.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Mulhall's testimony is entirely concerning the appointment of this committee of five, three Republicans and two Democrats; he gave no testimony as to any select committee of three.

Mr. RUSSELL. I think you are right about that.

Mr. GARDNER. I desire to state positively that the regular subcommittees were appointed early in February, and that bill was referred to subcommittee No. 2 before the 15th or before the 10th. My recollection is that that was done right at the beginning of the month. What did you say the record shows on that, Mr. Stafford?

Mr. STAFFORD. February 2.

Mr. GARDNER. Very well. If there was a special committee created out of the subcommittee to consider the constitutionality of the bill, and the minute book does not show it, the inference is that the subcommittee appointed its own special committee to consider that phase of it.

Mr. WILLIS. Judge Russell, did you understand Mr. Rainey to say that this select committee was appointed out of the full committee? That is what I understood you to say.

Mr. RUSSELL. No; it was appointed out of subcommittee No. 2, as I remember it.

Mr. WILLIS. I think that is probably true.

Mr. RUSSELL. The inference is, in the absence of a record on the matter, that the subcommittee appointed this special committee out of its own membership.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gardner, there is a letter here under date of May 25, 1910, which purports to have been written by Mr. Mulhall to Mr. John Kirby, jr., president of the National Association of Manufacturers, Reibold Building, Dayton, Ohio. I am not going to read all the letter, but I will ask that all the letter be inserted. It is Senate No. 3717–3735.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

(3717–3735.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 25, 1910.*

Mr. JOHN KIRBY.
President N. A. of M., Raibold Building, Dayton, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. KIRBY: I arrived here Sunday noon, for before I saw you in New York on the 20th there was a message sent to my home in Baltimore, which was repeated to me to New York, stating that there was a very serious situation on here. Besides that, I showed to yourself and Mr. Bird on Friday some newspaper clippings confirming this message, so I got away from New York at the earliest possible moment to come over here.

On Sunday I saw Mr. Shrieve, of the Labor Committee, and the information he gave me concerning that committee started me off at a gallop to try and get the situation, which, in my opinion, was extremely serious. I called on several friends on Sunday evening, and Monday morning at 9.30 o'clock I called at Mr. Emery's office and carried out your instructions to the letter; that is, in a most

diplomatic way. I say this in the forepart of this letter, for you will see in the latter paragraphs that the situation here was at a crisis. Mr. Emery and I had a very pleasing interview, lasting about an hour. He told me that there was nothing at all of any importance going on here at the present time and that if I had any field work to do I could start away whenever I was ready. I told Mr. Emery, as I told you, of the situation in his office concerning the sending out of my letters and reports, and I should judge from the interview I had with him that he was in an embarrassed situation. He wished me to continue making my reports, as I had formerly done, from his office. This I flatly refused to do, for when I was over here on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday a telegram that I dictated to be sent to you to New York was sent to Dayton, Ohio, and the party in his office, as I stated to you in my last interview, not only refused to do my work, but was also insulting and gave me to understand that the office was in her charge when Mr. Emery was out of the office; so under these circumstances, when I saw Mr. Emery on Monday, I explained to him that this in itself would make it impossible for me to work from that office, but there are many other reasons, which you will see in this letter, made it dangerous likewise.

After parting with Mr. Emery on Monday my relations with him were extremely pleasant, and I went to see Mr. John J. Gardner, chairman of the Committee on Labor. For a number of years Mr. Gardner's and my relations have been strictly confidential and always extremely pleasant. It made no difference to me, in a certain sense, whether he was for or against us. I was always working to gain his friendship on account of the important position he retained in the National Congress relating to our affairs.

At 11 a. m. I saw Mr. Gardner at the Capitol, and I got a freezing reception, something I could not understand, and I demanded from this gentleman to know what was the matter. He flatly told me that he had me in his confidence for a long period of time, but any man that would betray that confidence and be treacherous he wished to have nothing more to do with. This so dumbfounded me that I appealed to Mr. Gardner for a hearing, and we went into his committee room. He began by telling me that there was confidential information that he had given to me and gave to no one else only me which was repeated to him at the Dewey Hotel in this city four or five days previous. I wanted to know in what way. He said he was calling on a colleague of his at the Dewey Hotel and he saw in the lobby of that hotel Congressman Townsend, of Michigan, ex-Congressman James E. Watson, of Indiana, and he thought the other man was Congressman Calderhead, of Kansas, and just as soon as he approached Mr. Watson and those gentlemen Mr. Watson began by asking him what the situation was in his district. He stated that, as far as he knew, it was good. Mr. Watson then wanted to know if the leaders of his district were with him. He said, judging from his reports, he should say they were good. He then wanted to know if the Senators were with him. Mr. Gardner said he was then getting curious to know what Mr. Watson was getting at. Then Mr. Watson repeated to him that they had working in his district a man by the name of Mulhall, and that he (Watson) was thoroughly posted on what was going on there. Then Mr. Watson started off and told Mr. Gardner a lot of confidential information that Gardner had given Mulhall on former occasions, and Mr. Gardner stated that he was so astonished and so humiliated that instead of staying in the hotel and replying to Mr. Watson he left the hotel without waiting a moment, and he felt that Watson's efforts were to humiliate him in front of those other two Members of Congress.

When Mr. Gardner told me this story I felt more humiliated than Mr. Gardner could ever dream of being, for it was the first time in my life that I was ever accused of treachery by a man that I valued and who trusted me with his confidence. I made a feeble attempt to talk with Mr. Gardner, and I told him that I thought I could convince him, if he would give me a few hours, that I was not in any way to blame for this information coming out or for Mr Watson's brutal attack on him, and I explained to Mr. Gardner that I was not in charge of the work in Washington, and that I made my reports to the officers of our association, from Mr. Emery's office, and to Mr. Emery's private stenographer, who was employed by our association to do confidential work. I asked Mr. Gardner to excuse me from any further explanation, and begged from him the privilege of allowing me to telegraph to the general manager of our association, Mr. J. P. Bird, and asked him if he would make this same statement on the following morning if I could get Mr. Bird to Washington. This he said he would do; that he would be pleased to meet Mr. Bird, and I made an engagement for Mr. Bird for the next morning at 9.30 a. m.

I asked, while I was in Mr. Gardner's room, if he would allow me to send a telegram from his office to Mr. Bird. This permission was granted, and I then asked him if he would have his private secretary send the telegram, so that he would know for a certainty that it was sent, so the following telegram was sent to Mr. Bird by Mr. Gardner's secretary, Mr. Shrieve:

"MAY 23, 1910.

"Mr. J. P. BIRD,

"*General Manager National Association of Manufacturers, 170 Broadway:*

"Am now at Capitol. Important matter has arisen. Meet me at Willard Hotel Tuesday morning 9.30.

"MULHALL."

I left Mr. Gardner's office, and I was at a loss to know what to do, for I knew there was great pressure being brought on Gardner by both the Democrats and the insurgents to report out the eight-hour bill out of committee.

I called at the offices of several friends on the House side, and not finding any of them, while going over to the Senate side of the Capitol I met Senator Cummins, of Iowa. He stated that he was on his way to Senator Dolliver's room and invited me to go with him. I was very much pleased on account of this meeting, for he was one of the gentlemen I had prepared to see when I was in New York on account of a speech made by Hon. Nathan E. Kendall, Congressman of the sixth Iowa district. Kendall had made a bitter attack upon the Committee on Labor, particularly Gardner, to have the eight-hour bill taken out of the committee's jurisdiction and bring it upon the floor.

As soon as I reached Mr. Dolliver's room with Mr. Cummins he took me to a private room and commenced to berate about our association having as its principal guest at our banquet on Wednesday, the 18th, the Hon. Joseph G. Cannon. I know it is not necessary for me to say to you that Senator Cummins is one of the principal insurgents of this Congress. He seemed extremely angry over the reception given to the Speaker at our late banquet. I did my best to convince Senator Cummins that our organization is a nonpartisan one, that there are thousands of leading Democrats in it as well as Republicans, and that our association has always been open to educational speeches, and that we would be just as likely to invite him (Cummins) next year, as we did a couple of years ago, when he was invited to the Indianapolis convention, which was held in February, 1909, to create a tariff commission. I stated to him that I had learned that Mr. Kendall was in the hands of the Democrats or he would never have made that speech to take the eight-hour bill out of committee. Senator Cummins replied that Mr. Kendall knew what he was doing. I replied by stating that this was Mr. Kendall's first term in Congress and that he was new in politics. Senator Cummins said, "Not so very new." I said, no; not so very new; he was the speaker of the Iowa house for one term; that he had served four terms in the Legislature of Iowa, two terms as county attorney; but this was his first term in Congress, and there was a vast difference between a member of a State legislature and a Member of a National Legislature. I merely cited these facts to Mr. Cummins to impress him that we knew of Kendall's record and that we were especially interested in the speech that he had made. When I first started in with Senator Cummins he seemed to be very aggressive against us, but after an interview of about 20 minutes he invited me to meet him in a day or so.

After leaving Mr. Cummins I went to the office of Hon. Harry M. Coudrey, of the 12th Missouri district. Mr. Coudrey has written me three letters lately, as he is extremely anxious to return to Congress and wants our aid. I found that there was no use in my telling my troubles to Coudrey, as he had troubles of his own, so at his request I sent the following telegram to Mr. F. C. Schwedtman:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 23, 1910.*

"Mr. F. C. SCHWEDTMAN,

"*1005 Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo.:*

"Two long interviews with Coudrey to-day. He is extremely anxious for our help in his district. That is the reason I called you over the long-distance phone from his room. He wants to have you give him the situation in his district regarding the manufacturers and would like to have me go to St. Louis for him. He insists on making the fight. Can you reach Otto F. Stifel (Boss)?

"MULHALL."

My interview with Mr. Coudrey lasted for about an hour and 30 minutes, when I left for my hotel, which I reached about 5 p. m., and met there in the lobby Judge Davenport and Mr. James A. Emery. Mr. Emery said that he was extremely anxious about the eight-hour bill and wished to know what I had learned since I left the office in the morning. I would like to have told him just what I had learned in my good old Irish way, for while I was fully convinced that Mr. Emery was entirely responsible for all the trouble I had with Mr. Gardner, I remembered what you stated to me when leaving New York, to "say nothing, but saw wood," so I kept my temper and in a very diplomatic way I told Mr. Emery that I had seen several friends who requested my efforts toward getting some of the half-way insurgents into a caucus that was to be held on Wednesday, and this was the work I was now on.

Not hearing from my telegram that I had sent to Mr. Bird, I went to my room and called Mr. Bird over the long-distance phone and was extremely pleased to get in touch with him. He promised to be in Washington the next morning at 9.30 a. m. as I requested. After supper I was engaged until near midnight seeing Members of the House on the caucus proposition, and in my own way I tried to better the situation for the eight-hour bill.

This morning I remained in the hotel until I met Mr. Bird at 9.30 a. m., when he and I left for the Capitol to keep the engagement that I had made with Mr. Gardner.

We went to Mr. Gardner's room, but not finding him there went around to the other rooms, and then went to Senator Dick's room, who is hugely delighted at the result of Ohio, he giving us a lot of credit for the work done there; and from there we went to the Vice President's room, and, not meeting anyone there, left Mr. Sherman's room and went to Mr. Gardner's room and waited there until he came. He arrived about 11 a. m.

I began by requesting Mr. Gardner to make the same statements to Mr. Bird that he had made to me on the day before, and he covered the situation fully to Mr. Bird, as he did the day previous to me.

I make this extremely plain, as I wish Mr. Bird to communicate the situation to you as he saw it before you knew what took place from this letter.

While the interview was on in Mr. Gardner's office, each of the gentlemen present pledged themselves under Masonic obligations not to give out anything which took place.

At 11.40 a. m. we left Mr. Gardner's office and met Vice President Sherman in the corridor of the Capitol on the Senate side, he giving us a very pleasant reception in a brief way. While talking with the Vice President I saw Senator Cummins coming through the corridor, and I attempted to open up the interview I had with Mr. Cummins the day previous, so that Mr. Bird could in a way learn Senator Cummins's attitude toward the eight-hour bill. The Senator did not seem inclined to talk in the presence of Mr. Bird, so Mr. Bird and I left the Capitol, I going with him as far as the Union Station.

I returned to the Capitol, as I had an engagement again with Mr. Coudrey for the afternoon, I promising him I would give him my entire time. I found Mr. Coudrey, and he took me to Mr. Southwick's office, of the twenty-fourth New York district, he requesting me to get busy on his work in St. Louis. He wanted me to write a letter to Mr. Schwedtman. I suggested we should call Mr. Schwedtman over the long-distance phone, and of this he fully approved of. For about an hour we were busy in Mr. Southwick's office, he leaving it in our charge, and at about 4 p. m. we got into communication with Mr. Schwedtman from St. Louis. The message sent by Mr. Schwedtman was extremely pleasing to Mr. Coudrey. From what I could learn over the phone Mr. Schwedtman was anxious and willing to help Mr. Coudrey for renomination. There is a very active fight against Mr. Coudrey for renomination in his district, and it is very much to our interest to get him back.

After I was through with Mr. Coudrey I came to the hotel and found Mr. Emery waiting there for me, he criticizing me very much for not giving him a full report of the work I was doing. He insisted that I should tell him why Mr. Bird was here. I have never seen Emery so completely lose his head with anger as he apparently did on this occasion. There was some fun in it for me, for I was "saying nothing, but sawing wood," so I told Mr. Emery a partial truth, that I was engaged in working on a list of eight names given to me by congressional friends for the past two days. He wanted to know if I was not aware that the Moon bill was out of committee. I stated yes, that I knew one Moon bill was out, which Mr. Moon was very much interested in, granting an appropriation for the deepening of the Delaware River near the harbor of

Philadelphia, and seeing that Moon was from Philadelphia this must have been the Moon bill that he was alluding to, for Mr. Moon had three bills in the House at the present time—one the Moon injunction bill, one the deepening of Philadelphia Harbor, and one for the protection of miners in Pennsylvania.

This seemed to relieve Mr. Emery's mind. Of course I did not tell him how impossible it was for me to divulge what took place the entire day, which information he insisted on having.

While my interview with Mr. Emery was a little strenuous on his part, it was apparently pleasant at the finish.

I have told him on several occasions while over here that I was here on field work, or, in another sense, political work, which I have been given by yourself and Mr. Bird to understand is no affair of his.

Of course I did not state to Mr. Emery this last paragraph, that the field work was no affair of his, for I have been doing all I know how to harmonize and not to create discord.

I called at Mr. Emery's office at 4 o'clock, thinking I would be able to see him, and Miss White told me that he had gone to the Capitol. I told Miss White I was busy on caucus work, at the request of some close friends; that I had eight names of gentlemen I was given to see, who were near insurgents, and to tell Mr. Emery this when he came in. This, I suppose, is the reason Mr. Emery called at the hotel at 5 p. m.

Just before leaving the hotel he called my attention to the following letter he had left in my box:

"MAY 24, 1910.

"Col. M. M. MULHALL,
"Hotel Willard, Washington, D. C.

"MY DEAR COLONEL: I am very much surprised to find that you will not be here at 5, as your failure to see me during the day has very much delayed important action.

"The report abroad concerning the reporting of the Moon bill is false. McMichael first made the statement to me, but investigation shows it to be without any foundation in fact.

"I understand that you have been busy concerning the caucus called some time ago for to-night to consider the postal savings bank bill and the amendment thereto, otherwise I would endeavor to reach you to-night, as the action of several of our officers is dependent upon your information.

"Please be at the office around 9.30 in the morning without fail.

"I am, very respectfully, yours,

"JAMES A. EMERY."

Senator REED. That last is the letter we read a little while ago.

Senator WALSH. I will read the remainder of this letter:

Also the following telegram from Mr. F. C. Schwedtman, in answer to the telegram I sent on May 23:

"ST. LOUIS, MO., *May 24, 1910.*

"M. M. MULHALL,
"Care J. A. Emery, Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.:

"I wrote you fully regarding Coudrey yesterday. Manufacturers are ready to help Coudrey, but situation seems unfavorable. Suggest you wire or write me after receipt of my letter to-morrow.

"F. C. SCHWEDTMAN."

I was told also by the hotel clerk at the office that Mr. Stephens, Secretary Nagel's secretary, would be pleased to see me. I went across the street to see Mr. Stephens but found the office closed, and until midnight I was engaged on the errand given to me concerning the caucus for Wednesday night.

On Wednesday morning I met a guest of the New Willard, Congressman Fairchild, of New York, whom I had seen the day previous. Fairchild is extremely anxious to have me go to Oneonta, his home town. Mr. Fairchild is a banker at 170 Broadway, in the same office building our New York office is in. I helped him in the campaign of 1904, when he first ran for Congress, and this year he is wanting help again. Of course you have got to offer everybody help that asks it. This is diplomacy here in Washington.

When I was through with Mr. Fairchild, about 9.15 a. m., I called up Mr. Emery's office and stated to him that I had a very important engagement at 9.30 a. m. Mr. Emery answered the phone himself, and the following conversation took place over the wire:

I asked him if he could not come down to the New Willard instead of my going to his office, as I had an important engagement at 9.30 for a prominent Member of the House. He then asked me if that was the stand I was taking, and I replied that I was taking no stand, that I had worked all day yesterday and last night, and that I had an important engagement this morning at 9.30. He then stated that he wished to see me, and he would give me one hour to come to his office and take his orders, and that if I was not at his office inside of that hour he would report me. I then stated that I was obeying orders, and he said he did not care. I replied, then, that he could report anything he damned pleased. * * *

I left the hotel and went to Speaker Cannon's home, where I had an engagement with him in Mr. Coudrey's behalf. Just as I reached his home I saw two prominent Members of Congress standing on the porch, waiting to be admitted, so I did not call, but went a block farther, to the Portland Flats, and inquired for Mr. James E. Watson. Senator Hemenway has apartments in the same house. He answered the phone, and when I explained who was calling he invited me upstairs. Just as soon as I entered I inquired for Mr. Watson, and Senator Hemenway told me he had gone home for two weeks to Indiana. I explained to Senator Hemenway in a brief way the situation that the Gardner incident had placed me in and the importance of being friendly with Gardner at the present time. The Senator stated that Mr. Watson on many occasions has been very indiscreet in letting information drop; that he felt positive that Watson did not do it purposely; that he must in some way have gotten the information from others. I called the attention of the Senator to Watson stating that he had Mulhall in Gardner's district. This seemed to surprise the Senator considerably, and he advised me to at once write Watson at Rushville, Ind., the entire incident. He also stated that there had been a good deal of leakage from his own office, which for some time he could not understand, and that he had cautioned Mr. Thomas Littlepage, his secretary, and that for several weeks Mr. Littlepage has been extremely busy and careful and trying to learn where the leakage was.

I called the attention of the Senator to what he knew to be a fact—that Mr. Littlepage and Mr. Emery frequently dined at the New Willard Hotel on Mr. Emery's invitation, and as Mr. Watson could not get the information he gave concerning Gardner from any place else but Emery's office, where he has had his typewriting done for more than a year and where he has been in touch with that office every day when he was in Washington, that was the only possible way that this information could leak out.

I left Senator Hemenway's room and reached the Speaker's house about 10 a. m., and I was engaged with Speaker Cannon until 10.30 a. m. on the Coudrey matter, the Speaker promising that he would write to St. Louis, to the editor of the Globe-Democrat of St. Louis, in behalf of Mr. Coudrey. I also called the Speaker's attention to Senator Cummins's interview, and he seemed to be thoroughly posted upon the matter and what Cummins and the others were attempting to do concerning labor legislation.

I had an engagement with Mr. Gardner, of New Jersey, at 11 a. m., which I hurried to keep, and I found him extremely anxious that the work I had been doing in his district should continue as it was going on. He stated he would do everything possible he could do to continue the pleasant relations that he had with us before this Watson incident. He also gave me a complete statement of a hearing that Gompers and others had been having before his committee, attempting to create a Department of Labor. This hearing was on the Sulzer bill, which Sulzer, of New York, has introduced at this session of Congress. Mr. Gardner called my attention to the speech made by Gompers here yesterday, where Mr. Gompers stated that he would not desert labor to accept a place in the Cabinet as Secretary of this new department if it is created.

The Congressman from New Jersey also stated that there was no danger, so far as he could learn, of any labor bills getting through at this session of Congress. He and I parted on the basis of our old relations, I promising that I would get back into his district at the earliest possible moment.

After leaving Mr. Gardner's office I called at the Department of Commerce and Labor and had a very pleasing interview with Mr. Stephens, Mr. Nagel's secretary. He explained to me why it was that the Secretary could not attend our meeting. He said that at the very last moment Mr. Nagel was so rushed by some important matters that he was unable to get the train as scheduled, so he knew it would be too late to take a later one. I explained to Mr. Stephens that I was instructed by the officers of our association to apologize for our not

having a delegation of some of our prominent members to go over with him from Washington. I told him of all the arrangements we made on the train, giving him a private compartment, and the difficulty we had at the last moment to do so, and I feel that if we had lost any ground with Mr. Nagel in our pursuit of Mr. Cannon that we regained it. Mr. Stephens turned back to me $28.25, the amount he received back from the railroad company for the tickets I left him.

For about two hours of the afternoon I was engaged getting up my reports.

About 4 p. m. I met Mr. Coudrey, and he gave me a copy of two letters that were sent to him by Mr. Schwedtman, the originals having been forwarded to my home in Baltimore, and I had not received them up to that hour. You will please find enclosed with this report copies of the same.

Several days ago I had been given a list of eight names of Members of Congress who are near insurgents that I might continue in my spare time to work on them, to try to get them to attend the caucus. This list was handed to me by a leading Member of the Senate, so for the balance of the afternoon during my spare time I was in this way engaged.

I was held over here on caucus work last evening, and I met Congressman Coudrey, and he stated that he had written Mr. Schwedtman a letter and that he had sent me a copy of the letter, which would reach me in the morning. This copy I received this a. m. at 9 o'clock, and you will please find enclosed with this report a copy of the same.

I have given, in a brief way, what took place over here for the past four days, for I was plainly told, as you can see by this report, that I would be censured by the man in charge of the work here by letter to you, or, in other words, as he states, he would make a report to you because I did not accept his orders. If I had obeyed these orders I am positive that the Gardner eight-hour bill would have passed the House by this time and would have had a host of friends on the Senate side, so I did what I felt was my duty to you and to the organization.

I will leave here to-morrow to continue my field work until I hear from you, so closing, as usual, with very best wishes, believe me to be, as ever,

Faithfully, yours,

———— ————.

The CHAIRMAN. In the first place, I want to ask you if there were any occasions on which any Masonic obligations were entered into in your office not to give anything out. I ask that question in order that I may know how to proceed.

Mr. GARDNER. Absolutely no.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; then it will not be embarrassing to you to ask any questions about that.

What about this letter I have read here?

Mr. GARDNER. First, Mr. Mulhall never had from me a confidential communication that I am aware of. Second, Mr. Mulhall never made an appointment to meet me at my committee room, with Mr. Bird or anybody else. Mr. Watson often came to the Dewey Hotel. We often talked politics. He did upon one occasion ask me specific things about the district. Without expressing any doubt as to Mr. Watson's loyalty as a Republican, or anybody else, I will say that that information which I had given in Washington in political talks with supposed friends—I don't know who they were, but from some of them—all that I had given out, supposedly for my own benefit, had been communicated in New Jersey and was used against me in 1908. I did not then, nor do I now, express anything that could be construed into, or that I would have construed into, an accusation against anybody, but somewhere about here there were persons that I had had confidence in who were not worthy of it in that campaign. I have no knowledge of any telegrams or anything of the sort.

One morning Mr. Mulhall came to my office and asked if he might introduce Mr. Bird—I think that was the name; I borrow it in part

from the letter; but it was some officer of the association who resides in New Jersey. He asked permission to bring him in and introduce him. Now, my recollection is pretty clear that some other officer of the association also came in—and I am inclined to think it was Van Cleave—looking for Bird. They did not talk legislation to me. It was just the mere matter of introducing Mr. Bird to me. I think it was Mr. Van Cleave who came in looking for Mr. Bird, so they must have had some meeting here in Washington. Mr. Mulhall asked me something about conditions in New Jersey and I said in a jocular way, "Why has all this interest sprung up of a sudden about conditions in my district?"

Mr. Watson was questioning me very closely about it at the Hotel Dewey. I said with a smile, I think—it might have been a grimace—"I am very careful about giving out information since 1908," or something of that sort. And then and there without any previous appointment or engagement Mr. Mulhall construed my remark into an accusation of some kind of treachery on his part. I laughed at him because it seemed to me utterly absurd. He had told me he was against me in 1908, as I have detailed here, and there would have been no treachery about using any information he had. It just seemed to me to be a piece of nervousness or absurdity on his part. Mr. Bird or Mr. Van Cleave—it was Mr. Van Cleave—paid no attention to it whatever.

They had some business, I suppose, of their own. However, they took their departure. The whole thing did not last five minutes. But there was no previous appointment, and if such a telegram exists I would be very much interested in seeing it because it might suggest something else, or some other reason, for their coming here. But Mr. Bird did not come to Washington in response to a telegram that an important matter had arisen in pursuance of any understanding had with Mulhall on that matter, because Mulhall the day before knew nothing about my having a talk with Watson, and I am as positive as I can be of anything that if he came here at that time it was to meet Mr. Van Cleave, because I am sure he had not been in the office a moment, hardly long enough to introduce Mr. Bird, before Mr. Van Cleave came in and they were immediately engrossed with something they had in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gardner, to what extent did the National Association of Manufacturers participate in the election in your district in 1910?

Mr. GARDNER. Not at all that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Mulhall in your district at that time?

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Mulhall reported himself in the district. I am not positive, but I think he came to my house. Mr. Mulhall told me there was friction in the National Association of Manufacturers; he was not going to stay with them and serve them; that Bird was not my friend and Emery was not my friend; and he knew me to be one of the squarest, most foresighted men on earth, and he was going to come in there and help me in the campaign, because he thought they were going to fight me. I saw no indication of that sort.

The campaign ended. There was no evidence of any work having been done in the district by anybody different from what had been done before. In 1908, when Mr. Mulhall says he was conducting the

campaign against me, I had 400 and something in Cumberland County, and a larger majority in Cape May. In 1910 I got 250 in Cumberland, I think, and 172 in Cape May. I received 700 and some plurality in Burlington County, if I remember right, in 1908, and I received 700 and some plurality in Burlington County in 1910. So there is no evidence of any change in results having been made. Now, I did get a very much larger majority—and I saw a statement in some of the papers that Mulhall had talked about that down here—I did get a larger majority in 1910, but the entire increase and more was in my own county. At that time we had there the party ballot—different from the blanket thing now. It was due to the fight made in my own county for Vivian Lewis, the man that Mulhall says was setting influence up against me. We felt, or our county felt—perhaps I should not say "we"—that they were responsible for Lewis's nomination, and there were reasons down there for that belief—why they wanted Lewis elected.

Mr. STAFFORD. Lewis was candidate for governor against Wilson?

Mr. GARDNER. He was the Republican candidate for governor. There never was such a fight made for a man in that county in the last 50 years—and I can speak from experience—as was made for Mr. Lewis.

The entire increase in my majority in 1910 and more was in the county of Atlantic, and it was because I went through along with the ticket on the fight made for Lewis. My majority was not increased in Cape May, Cumberland, or Burlington, and those are the counties in which he—Mr. Mulhall never told me——

Mr. STAFFORD. You actively campaigned throughout your entire district in that campaign?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STAFFORD. If any money had been expended, as is claimed by Mr. Mulhall in this World article, amounting to $9,000, to elect you in 1910, you would have known about it, wouldn't you?

Mr. GARDNER. I would have known about it if it had been spent for that purpose; yes, most assuredly. The facts are there, if you will just look at the letters. In 1908, with Mulhall, and, he says, the association behind him, fighting me—in Burlington County, for instance, my majority was 700. In 1910, when he says his efforts were toward increasing my majority in that county, it was between 700 and 800. In Cumberland it fell from 400 and something to 250; and in Cape May there was no material difference. Now, he never has made any profession of having done anything in my own county. That is the county stated by him a while ago to be agricultural, and all that sort of thing. That is where the increase came from, and it was simply because I went along with the furore for Lewis.

Mr. WILLIS. I call your attention to this language in the New York World article, on the same point as Mr. Stafford suggested. Mr. Mulhall says, "My expense accounts and letters show that I paid out in Gardner's district in 1910 between $9,000 and $10,000 to reelect him." If any such expenditure as that was made you would have been aware of it, wouldn't you?

Mr. GARDNER. First, I answer yes; secondly, there is no pretense that Mulhall or his association or anybody else from outside did anything in my own county where the majority was——

Mr. WILLIS. I understand your explanation about that.

Mr. GARDNER. If they had the tremendous influence talked about and were there in 1908, and were also there in 1910, there ought to have been some difference in the figures, but they are almost identical.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that I have called your attention to everything that seemed to be of any very great importance here, Mr. Gardner. Did I ask you if you sought the aid of the National Association of Manufacturers in any way in 1910?

Mr. GARDNER. I think you did, but to make it sure I will answer that I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how long Mr. Mulhall was in your district in 1910?

Mr. GARDNER. I do not; I do not know that he was there two days.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see him?

Mr. GARDNER. I do not know anything about him. Mr. Mulhall never made any assertion to me that he did any active or effective work in that district until last summer—I do not know but what it was this last winter; it was about the last day I ever talked with him here. He told me that he had expended this sum of money.

I think I ought to say this; I can not make the other thing clear without it: Mr. Mulhall never expressed any particular friendship for me until before the campaign of 1912 and along in that summer. He told me that his relations with the National Association of Manufacturers were severed, and he had bitter things to say about them. And then he began to talk about the great things he had done in 1910 in the district. He never talked to me about it before. I did not know what he was leading up to.

He went over there this fall two or three times in the last campaign, and I heard from him. I did not know what he was doing. I have no accusation to make, but I do say that in certain localities where he now says he worked for me, that it was there I got the worst results.

The CHAIRMAN. You said this fall. Was there an election in that district this year?

Mr. GARDNER. Well, this last fall—1912. Now, Mr. Mulhall began professing very great friendship for me personally after he was severed from the National Association of Manufacturers, as he has since told me, and that date fixes it. This summer some time, a few weeks before the New York World article appeared, I would go home on Saturday nights or Sunday mornings—I have not been home this summer; I have been trying to wring something from 800 acres of land—and my wife would say somebody was telephoning; that he said his name was Mulhall, and that he wanted to see me. After that had happened twice I think I said, "Wire him that I will be home next Sunday," either to her or to my clerk, I do not know which. I want the committee to get this because I want them to see the animus. Mr. Mulhall appeared on Sunday.

Mr. STAFFORD. Whenabouts was this?

Mr. GARDNER. At my home in Atlantic City.

Mr. STAFFORD. When?

Mr. GARDNER. I should say June.

Mr. STAFFORD. Of this year?

Mr. GARDNER. Of this year; possibly May. He appeared at my house on Sunday, and you can judge what I thought of his sanity when I have told you the story. That is one of the reasons why I have paid no attention to this proceeding. There was an impression left on my mind that I thought would be left on the committee's. He said that he was going to leave Baltimore; that he had been in politics so long that he wanted to stay in; his relations with the manufacturers' association, who were my enemies, were severed; he had talked to certain political leaders in the State, and mentioned, I think, Judge Speer and others, and that they had concluded I was the strongest man in the State; that I was the only man among all the Members of Congress that had always been exactly square and upright, fair to labor and fair to the manufacturers, and all that sort of thing; and he was coming over there to work for me. I said, "What can you do over here?" He said, "I can bring a couple of organizers over here and organize this State. You ought to be governor or United States Senator. I have talked with the leaders and we have agreed that you ought to run this State; you ought to be the boss of it. I can bring my men here and we will organize it for you. I will take great pleasure in it, by God"—I think it is the only time I ever heard him swear—"for you are the only square man I have ever known in public life."

I looked at him. It did not sound to me like the talk of a man that was right, because I found he was in earnest. I said, "That is all in the future; I can say nothing about that now." He jumped up and said, "You, with all your strength, are not going to lay down, are you?" I said, "That is all right now; don't let's talk about it now." He said, "Do this: Won't you look around, and if you can find a cottage that is within my means" (I know nothing about his means) "won't you write me and I will come over and buy it?" I said, "If you want to go in the real estate business and I see anything that is a bargain, Colonel, I have not any money to speculate with just now; I will let you know." I never communicated with him.

I hope the committee have grasped his purpose and the animus.

The CHAIRMAN. I think I am through, gentlemen.

Mr. RUSSELL. I want to offer this letter. I do not think it has ever been put in the record. It is dated June 3, 1910. It does not necessarily bear upon the matter you were testifying about, but it was a letter we were reading here last night where Mr. Emery wrote to Mr. Kirby about obtaining advance information from some friendly——

The CHAIRMAN. What is the number of it?

Mr. RUSSELL. No. F 502. It is marked 3306, in the Senate confidential print.

The CHAIRMAN. I have an impression it has been put in the record, but without objection it will be inserted.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

F. 502.

JUNE 6, 1910.

Mr. JOHN KIRBY, Jr.,
514 Reibold Bldg., Dayton, Ohio.

MY DEAR MR. KIRBY: In accordance with the warning received, an account of which was given you in my recent letter, an attempt was made by the Democrats to attach the eight-hour bill to the sundry civil bill on Saturday after-

noon. The colonel's authentic advance information enabled ample warning to be given to the Republican whip, and the prompt and efficient assistance which the colonel gave secured every precaution.

Kendall, of Iowa, moved an amendment containing the substantial features of the eight-hour bill. On a point of order made by Tawney, Mann, of Illinois, acting as Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, held the amendment out of order. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, treasurer of the miners' union, took an appeal from the decision of the chair, but the chair was sustained by a vote of 99 to 61. Kendall attempted two further amendments of the same nature, both of which were held out of order, but the crushing and unexpected defeat of the first appeal from the decision of the chair prevented further effort to use the same weapon.

The second and third amendments would have been more drastic than the eight-hour bill, as they made no exceptions in favor of contracts for transportation and the transmission of intelligence, and no provision for emergencies. The colonel deserves the greatest credit in the manner of obtaining his information and the promptness and efficiency with which he applied it.

With best of good wishes,

Ever yours, JAMES A. EMERY.

(Copies to Messrs. Hanch, Jarvis, and Bird.)

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Gardner, you stated that you continued to be in favor of your labor bill?

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

Mr. MACDONALD. And was all the way through?

Mr. GARDNER. Oh, that one and others. I drew the present labor bill, the original draft that is going around, and sundry others.

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Davenport, in the course of Mr. Emery's argument here, volunteered the information you were opposed to your own bill subsequently, and in that connection said:

Mr. Emery, in justice to Mr. Gardner, ought it not to be stated that that bill was not the original Gardner bill; that by reason of the exceptions written into it it was made so obscure that he repeatedly declared that he was not in favor of it?

Mr. GARDNER. That is going too far; but yet the man who said that may have meant to express my attitude. I was still in favor of the bill, but the exceptions written into the bill and accepted by the American Federation of Labor—accepted by them so that the membership of this House understood it—and in the bill as it now is, in my judgment, emasculated it so that it is not of half the value that the original draft was; and besides that, I still think that it is very difficult of interpretation. Without going into that, I have never felt sure whether a warship (and that is the amendment put in the the Senate and accepted there), whether a warship is an implement of government, a necessary implement of government, as much as a lead pencil and that sort of thing.

Mr. MACDONALD. I just wanted to get your idea.

Mr. GARDNER. I do not want the record to stand that I was opposed to the bill, but I do want it to stand saying that the friends of the bill accepting the amendments so emasculated it that (without the strenuous aid of the limitations that are put in appropriation bills) because of them its value is very much diminished.

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Gardner, I do not wish to detain the committee any longer, but I just wish to direct your attention to your espousal of the Post Office Committee for not permitting mail bags to be made by convict labor.

Mr. GARDNER. Yes.

Mr. STAFFORD. I just wished to show your attitude, as an associate of yours on the Post Office subcommittee, was always in line with that policy.

Mr. GARDNER. I am sorry I have not more time, because, as I said, I had not suspected the National Association of Manufacturers did start that fight against me in New Jersey until Mr. Mulhall told me he had done it. The convict-labor bills drawn by myself of course are a part of the public record. I have believed and still believe that from that source came a good deal of that opposition and maybe some financing. I do not know, but if I had had a comprehensive idea of the range of this thing I might have asked this committee to print a volume. I have what would make a volume of newspaper attacks, and that matter, coming not from the original party press, but from the special journals, where it bears evidence that it is a matter of finance pure and simple, because they are going to have their way.

Mr. STAFFORD. I wish to direct your attention, also, and I think perhaps you might wish to comment upon it, to the incident that Mr. Gompers testified to which was referred to in a letter he sent out in his district, stating that Mr. Nelson, a Representative from Wisconsin, a colleague of mine, had overheard some conversation.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Littlefield referred to that.

Mr. STAFFORD. As to your keeping back the eight-hour bill.

Mr. GARDNER. Mr. Nelson I believe a wholly honest and honorable man, but it is very dangerous to give an overheard conversation unless you are sure you have heard it all. My recollection is, mindful I am under oath, that Mr. Littlefield and I were talking over merchant marine matters and he remarked that he must go because he was going to sit on the lid of something down there. Mindful of the things that had happened in the 1908 campaign, I said, it does not make any difference, and I may have used an adjective, what you do, for I am accused of sitting on the lid when I am trying to pry it off—or words to that effect.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gardner, that is all we think of, sir, and you may be excused.

Before we adjourn, gentlemen of the committee, you will remember that Mr. Easby-Smith, the attorney for Mr. McDermott, requested, and Mr. McDermott has since twice requested, that those parts of the World article and the Chicago Tribune article referring to him should be published in our record in parallel columns. I do not know just why that is required, but it is desired, and if there be no objection it will be so ordered, and I will ask for a proper preparation and insertion of those parts referring to Mr. McDermott in the two papers in parallel columns.

(The articles referred to will be printed in a separate part as Appendix "A.")

The CHAIRMAN. One other thing. The committee has ordered that the testimony of Mr. Schwedtman—I understand that has been agreed to—taken before the Senate committee shall be made a part of the records of the House committee. That will be obtained and reprinted.

(The testimony referred to will be printed in a separate part as Appendix "B.")

The CHAIRMAN. It has also been suggested—I am not sure whether it has been agreed upon—that the testimony of Mr. Frawley, who was the expert employed by the Senate committee to examine the accounts of the N. A. M. and the N. C. I. D. should be made a part of our record; and if there be no objection that will be obtained and printed in the record.

(The testimony referred to will be printed in a separate part as Appendix "C.")

(Thereupon, at 7.08 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned subject to the call of the chairman.)

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Those parts of the World and Tribune articles relating to Hon. James T. McDermott, referred to in part 31 and ordered printed in parallel columns, are as follows:

[New York World, June 29, 1913.]

"LABOR" CONGRESSMAN M'DERMOTT "LOBBYIST AND TOOL OF TRUSTS."

I have been reluctant all through this story to bring into it any of the so-called friends of labor, but there is a gentleman in Congress who boasts of being a great labor unionist. He has a union card in his pocket. He has been elected to Congress four terms by "the labor vote," as he tells it, but there has never been a lobbyist or a tool in Washington who is more subservient to the trusts than Mr. James T. McDermott, Congressman from the fourth Illinois district, the stockyards district of Chicago.

It has generally been the rule of the National Association of Manufacturers to have its lobbyists interview all newly elected Congressmen to find out how they stood on measures that would interest the organization.

I first interviewed Mr. McDermott when he came to Washington in 1907. I told him of the organization I was serving in Washington. He used language at this interview which I thought was not possible for a man filling the high position he filled to dream of using to any stranger who called on him. Later on I became acquainted with his confidential secretary, Mr. J. H. McMichaels, and told Mr. McMichaels about my first interview with Mr. McDermott.

[Chicago Tribune, June 29, 1913.]

HOW CONGRESSMAN M'DERMOTT, FRIEND OF THE UNION, WORKED FOR ITS FOES—INTRODUCING PACKER AND BANKER TILDEN, OF LORIMER FAME, WITH AN INTERESTING SIDE LIGHT ON AN EPISODE INVOLVING A CAMPAIGN CHECK.

[By Martin M. Mulhall.]

I have been reluctant all through the story of my relations with the National Association of Manufacturers to bring into it any of the so-called friends of labor, but there is a gentleman in Congress who boasts of being a great labor unionist. He has a union card in his pocket. He has been elected to Congress four terms by "the labor vote," as he tells it, but there has never been a lobbyist or a tool in Washington who is more subservient to the trusts than Mr. James T. McDermott, Congressman from the fourth Illinois district, the stockyards district of Chicago.

It has generally been the rule of the National Association of Manufacturers to have its lobbyists interview all newly elected Congressmen to find out how they stood on measures that would interest the organization.

I first interviewed Mr. McDermott when he came to Washington in 1907. I told him of the organization I was serving in Washington. He used language at this interview which I thought was not possible for a man filling the high position he filled to dream of using to any stranger who called on him. Later on I became acquainted with his confidential secretary, Mr. J. H. McMichaels, and told Mr. McMichaels about my first interview with Mr. McDermott.

HE'D FIND M'DERMOTT USEFUL.

McMichaels and myself were extremely friendly from our first meeting, and I made Mr. McMichaels acquainted with the language Mr. McDermott had used when I first called on him. Mr. McMichaels assured me that McDermott did not mean what he was saying. He told me that McDermott was having a very hard fight on his hands for renomination and election, and wanted me to get into closer touch with him, assuring me that I would find him a very useful friend if we needed his friendship.

Mr. McMichaels also wished me to send out numerous letters to manufacturers in McDermott's district asking manufacturers to support him for renomination and election in 1908. To please Mr. McMichaels I sent out about 100 letters to different manufacturers in the fourth Illinois district. McMichaels made McDermott aware of the interest I took in his reelection, and from that time on he became extremely friendly, allowing me at all times to use his congressional frank, his secretary, Mr. McMichaels, not barring it from general use with three exceptions.

CAUTIONED HIM ABOUT FRANK.

Mr. McDermott told me that he thought it was not safe for me to use his frank to frank out documents to Mr. D. M. Parry, Mr. James W. Van Cleave, and Mr. John Kirby, jr., for these names were so well known to labor agitators that his frank with Mr. Van Cleave's or Mr. Parry's addresses upon a document would not look good to any labor leaders that might discover it.

In addition to using his frank he also suggested to me the advisability of having the chief page of the House, Mr J. H. McMichaels, his confidential secretary, use the seventy-five-odd pages upon the pay roll of the House to pick up any information of value on the floor of the House which would be of any benefit to the interests of the manufacturers. He said that these boys who were pages on the floor of the House would not be suspected if they were seen hanging around where the Congressmen met in private conversation, and that they could make themselves useful in the cloak room of the House picking up information which would be useful and which could not be got in any other way.

DID NOT MEAN WHAT HE SAID.

McMichaels and myself were extremely friendly from our first meeting, and I made Mr. McMichaels acquainted with the language Mr. McDermott had used when I first called on him. Mr. McMichaels assured me that McDermott did not mean what he was saying. He told me that McDermott was having a very hard fight on his hands for renomination and election and wanted me to get into closer touch with him, assuring me that I would find him a very useful friend if we needed his friendship.

Mr. McMichaels also wished me to send out numerous letters to manufacturers in McDermott's district asking manufacturers to support him for renomination and election in 1908. To please Mr. McMichaels I sent out about 100 letters to different manufacturers in the fourth Illinois district. McMichaels made McDermott aware of the interest I took in his reelection, and from that time on he became extremely friendly, allowing me at all times to use his congressional frank, his secretary, Mr. McMichaels, not barring it from general use with three exceptions.

NOT SAFE TO USE HIS FRANK.

Mr. McDermott told me that he thought it was not safe for me to use his frank to frank out documents to Mr. D. M. Parry, Mr. James W. Van Cleave, and Mr. John Kirby, jr., for these names were so well known to labor agitators that his frank with Mr. Van Cleave's or Mr. Parry's address upon a document would not look good to any labor leaders that might discover it.

In addition to using his frank he also suggested to me the advisability of having the chief page of the House, Mr. J. H. McMichaels, his confidential secretary, use the seventy-five-odd pages upon the pay roll of the House to pick up any information of value on the floor of the House which would be of any benefit to the interests of the manufacturers. He said that these boys who were pages on the floor of the House would not be suspected if they were seen hanging around where the Congressmen met in private conversation, and that they could make themselves useful in the cloak room of the House picking up information which would be useful and which could not be got in any other way.

HE WAS AFRAID OF A LEAK.

I was slow to use Mr. McDermott's suggestion, for I was afraid that there would be a leak in some way among the small boys employed by the House as pages. But McDermott assured me that the boys could report all the information they might pick up to McMichaels alone, who was in sole charge of them, and they would never question McMichaels's right to so instruct them or to get from them any information along the lines he suggested.

CHIEF LOBBYIST APPROVES.

I informed Mr. Emery, chief lobbyist in Washington at that time, of the suggestions made to me by McDermott, and he approved of the scheme at once. He not only instructed me to go ahead with the proposition, but later on he gave orders to me to have McMichaels send the pages of the House with documents and bills that he might call for and act as messengers from the Capitol Building to Emery's office, Nos. 611 and 613 Union Trust Building.

I informed Mr. Emery, our chief lobbyist in Washington at that time, of the suggestions made to me by McDermott, and he approved of the scheme at once. He not only instructed me to go ahead with the proposition, but later on he gave orders to me to have McMichaels send the pages of the House with documents and bills that he might call for and act as messengers from the Capitol Building to Emery's office, Nos. 611 and 613 Union Trust Building.

As a general rule the mails were too slow for Mr. Emery. Whenever I found it necessary I always asked Mr. McMichaels to send a page with any documents that Emery might require the moment they were introduced upon the floor of the house.

Mr. McMichaels told me on June 25 last that Emery owes him $16, advanced by Mr. McMichaels as car fare for page boys sent to Emery's office with reports and public documents. The page boys received no pay.

About the time that Mr. Emery approved of the suggestion he put on his pay roll Mr. McMichaels at $50 a month, with instructions that if any piece of information that McMichaels or McDermott might pick up would be useful we would pay extra for it. I want to say here that this service, suggested by Mr. McDermott and carried out under his instructions by McMichaels, was completely successful and effective, we getting information sometimes two weeks ahead regarding bills that had been or would be introduced on the floor.

GOT ADVANCE NEWS OF BILLS.

In fact, we got information of bills that would be brought up that the Republican Speaker or the Republican whip of the House did not know anything about until the bills would be introduced as riders on measures. On one occasion when I reported to Mr. John Dwight, the whip of the House, a

EXTRA PAY FOR INFORMATION.

About the time that Mr. Emery approved of the suggestion he put on his pay roll Mr. McMichaels at $50 a month, with instructions that if any piece of information that McMichaels or McDermott might pick up would be useful we would pay extra for it. I want to say here that this service, suggested by Mr. McDermott and carried out under his instructions by McMichaels, was completely successful and effective, we getting information sometimes two weeks ahead regarding bills that had been or would be introduced on the floor.

In fact, we got information of bills that would be brought up that the Republican Speaker or the Republican whip of the House did not know anything about until the bills would be introduced as riders on measures. On one occasion when I reported to Mr. John Dwight, the whip of the House, a

rider that was to be put on the sundry civil bill, Mr. Dwight did not believe me. I told him the rider would be offered two weeks before it was offered, and Dwight kept in Washington as many Members of his side of the House as he possibly could for two weeks before this measure came up.

He frequently asked me when the measure would come up, and he doubted it, for I did not tell him the name of the party giving the information or how it came to me. The rider I am speaking about was a general eight-hour bill which William Hughes, of the sixth New Jersey district, put upon the sundry civil service bill, and this rider was squarely defeated by a party vote of the House, Republicans voting against it and Democrats for it.

Another suggestion carried out by Mr. McDermott was that he allow me to use a room in the basement of the Capitol which was assigned to him for his own use. He gave me the use of this room for the purpose of meeting me there when he had important information, as we could talk it over more privately than we could otherwise, and he also supplied this room so that I could meet Mr. McMichaels on all occasions, as McMichaels was frequently sent there to meet me at the suggestion of McDermott.

rider that was to be put on the sundry civil bill, Mr. Dwight did not believe me. I told him the rider would be offered two weeks before it was offered, and Dwight kept in Washington as many Members of his side of the House as he possibly could for two weeks before this measure came up.

EIGHT-HOUR LAW DEFEATED.

He frequently asked me when the measure would come up, and he doubted it, for I did not tell him the name of the party giving the information or how it came to me The rider I am speaking about was a general eight-hour bill which William Hughes, of the sixth New Jersey district, put upon the sundry civil service bill, and this rider was squarely defeated by a party vote of the House, Republicans voting against it and Democrats for it.

As I went along with McDermott and his secretary, McDermott became bolder. He frequently met me at the Fritz Reuter Hotel, Pennsylvania Avenue and Four-and-a-half Street. I never met McDermott there when he had any information for me that he did not strike me for a loan. He never paid it back. This became so frequent that I got so that I used to shun him, for I had considerable difficulty in meeting his requirements in money matters. There are numbers of letters and notes which I have turned over to the Tribune which establish the dates of these transactions.

HE "GREASED" M'DERMOTT GOOD.

During my relations with McDermott, covering a period of four years, it is my best recollection that I personally gave to him in the aggregate between $1,500 and $2,000, always while Congress was in session, and in sums varying from $10 to $30. I rarely gave him more than $20, and never so much as $50 at one time. Most of my financial transactions with him were held at the Hotel Reuter.

Another suggestion carried out by Mr. McDermott was that he allow me to use a room in the basement of the Capitol which was assigned to him for his own use. He gave me the use of this room for the purpose of meeting me there when he had important information, as we could talk it over more privately than we could otherwise, and he also supplied this room so that I could meet Mr. McMichaels on all occasions, as McMichaels was frequently sent there to meet me at the suggestion of McDermott.

DID BIRD NEED "STEERING"?

I found this room very useful for many purposes, for the National Association of Manufacturers was continually asking, through their secretary, Mr. Boudinot, and their general manager, Mr. J. P. Bird, for all kinds of documents, instructing me to send out the Congressional Record and the Congressional Directory, the Yearbook published by the Department of Agriculture, and any public document which might be useful to the members of the association. There were hundreds of thousands of these documents sent out. Sometimes Mr. Bird asked for such things as charts of the harbor of New York, all kinds of maps of the United States and its colonies, compasses for the purpose of navigation, along with the charts. On another occasion Mr. Bird went so far as to insist that I should go to the War Department to get a list of bids and specifications issued by the War Department on shells, projectiles, guns, etc. Most of these things came through McDermott and, as a rule, were franked out by him.

M'DERMOTT WAS A CAUTIOUS MAN.

McDermott was always careful to keep away from me when any labor delegation was in Washington, for he did not want the working people or the officers of the American Federation of Labor to see him and me together. He often said that this would hurt his usefulness, as far as we were concerned. He frequently showed me letters that came to him from different labor leaders throughout the country, and at one time instructed his secretary, Mr. McMichaels, in my presence, to allow me to read any confidential matter coming from the labor organizations which would be of benefit to the National Association of Manufacturers.

HELPED M'DERMOTT COLLECT.

McDermott was very much worried about my leaving the national association, and said to me when I told him I was going to resign that the money he got from me on different occasions was very handy to have, as he had been able to reach me at any time he wanted help. After I did leave the organization he prevailed on me to send letters out to his district and had me visit Chicago on the 24th day of March, 1912, and stay there in his district and help him collect money from the manufacturers until the 18th day of April.

McDermott was very much worried about my leaving the national association, and said to me when I told him I was going to resign that the money he got from me on different occasions was very handy to have, as he had been able to reach me at any time he wanted help. After I did leave the organization he prevailed on me to send letters out to his district and had me visit Chicago on the 24th day of March, 1912, and stay there in his district and help him collect money from the manufacturers until the 18th day of April.

At this time he was having a very hard fight for renomination against Alderman McAnerny, of Chicago, who was seeking to be promoted to congressional honors. McAnerny and McDermott had a very stiff fight, and I was in Chicago only a very brief period of time until Mr. McDermott fully confided to me that he had been supplied with funds in the past through the Beef Trust.

In addition to having me solicit funds from the manufacturers he sent me to the Beef Trust, which comprises all the large concerns, such as the Armours and others, in the stockyards in Chicago, along with his political manager in Chicago, Mr. George Fleming, and instructed Mr. Fleming and me to see Mr. Edward Tilden.

HOLDUP OF MR. TILDEN.

Mr. Tilden is chief political manager for the Beef Trust, and McDermott told me plainly, as did his political manager, Mr. Fleming, that Tilden always stood his campaign expenses, not giving him less than $5,000 at each campaign, and frequently more.

Fleming and I made two or three efforts to see Tilden, but without success. Later on I went with Fleming to see the Sulzberger Bros., an independent packing concern in Chicago, and we saw the general manager of this establishment. When I made known our wants to him he, like the rest, told me he sent all business of this kind to Mr. Tilden, and advised us to see Tilden.

I chased Tilden, along with McDermott and Fleming, to his uptown and downtown offices for several days, but failed to land him.

M'INERNEY BAN HIM A TIGHT RACE.

At this time he was having a very hard fight for renomination against Alderman McInerney, of Chicago, who was seeking to be promoted to congressional honors. Mr. McInerney and McDermott had a very stiff fight, and I was in Chicago only a very brief period of time until Mr. McDermott fully confided to me that he had been supplied with funds in the past through the Beef Trust.

In addition to having me solicit funds from the manufacturers he sent me to the Beef Trust, which comprises all the large concerns, such as the Armours and others, in the stockyards in Chicago, along with his political manager in Chicago, Mr. George Fleming, and instructed Mr. Fleming and me to see Mr. Edward Tilden.

TILDEN STOOD HIS EXPENSES.

Mr. Tilden is chief political manager for the Beef Trust, and McDermott told me plainly, as did his political manager, Mr. Fleming, that Tilden always stood his campaign expenses, not giving him less than $5,000 at each campaign, and frequently more.

But on account of McInerney being also very useful to the Beef Trust, he getting through the city council several measures that were favorable to the trust, Tilden was slow this year about giving up. McDermoft said that if Tilden supported him in this fight he, Tilden, would lose the active support of McInerney and aldermen of his stripe, and for that reason he was wanting outsiders to bring influence upon Tilden to have Tilden to do as he had done in the past, and pay his campaign expenses.

Fleming and I made two or three efforts to see Tilden, but without success. Later on I went with Fleming to see the Sulzberger Bros., an independent packing concern in Chicago, and we saw the general manager of this establishment. When I made known our wants to him he, like the rest, told me he sent all business of this kind to Mr. Tilden and advised us to see Tilden (because any subscription he would make and that the Sulzbergers would make for political purposes would have to come from Mr. Tilden).

CHASED HIM BACK AND FORTH.

I chased Tilden, along with McDermott and Fleming, to his uptown and downtown offices for several days, but failed to land him. In the meantime

we had been collecting from a number of concerns around Chicago, but getting only small sums, for the manufacturers of Chicago were pretty well bled about this time in the primary fight that was going on, and they were slow about giving up to McDermott.

Among some of the people that McDermott had me solicit funds from were the liquor interests of Chicago. He told me that the liquor people were under many obligations to him for votes in Congress for all their measures and for the active support he always gave them in the campaigns in Chicago. Mr. Fleming and I saw the State agent of the liquor dealers in Chicago, but he, like Tilden, of the Beef Trust, was under obligations to McInerney and would not support McDermott in the primaries against McInerney, but would support him if he got the nomination.

M'CORMICK'S CHECK FOR $250 AND EVENTS THAT FOLLOWED.

Among the manufacturers we called upon was Mr. Harold F. McCormick, of the Harvester Trust, and son-in-law of John D. Rockefeller. Mr. McCormick told me when I called on him with Mr. McDermott that he was a member of the National Association of Manufacturers, and when I told him of the many good things that McDermott had done for that organization he agreed to give him a check for $250, and he told McDermott and me that the check would reach me in a few days, as all checks that were given for campaign purposes had to come from the McCormick estates.

HOW HE COLLECTED FROM M'CORMICK.

Among the manufacturers we called upon was Mr. Harold F. McCormick, of the Harvester Trust, and son-in-law of John D. Rockefeller. Mr. McCormick told me when I called on him with Mr. McDermott that he was a member of the National Association of Manufacturers, and when I told him of the many good things that McDermott had done for that organization he agreed to give him a check for $250, and he told McDermott and me that the check would reach me in a few days, as all checks that were given for campaign purposes had to come from the McCormick estates.

When Mr. McDermott went around with me, just the moment we got outside the door of the institution that would give us a check or cash I would turn the money over to McDermott, as he instructed me to always ask for the money in my name. For the last few days I was collecting for McDermott there his manager. Fleming, went around with me, as McDermott was busy making campaign speeches, and I turned the money over to Fleming in the same way.

USED PERSUASION TO MAKE HIM STAY.

About this time I had been in Chicago two weeks, and I became convinced that it would be a useless expense for me to stay there any longer. So I notified Mr. McDermott that I would leave about the 5th of April for Baltimore. McDermott used some persuasion for me to stay until after the date of the primaries, the 15th

instant, but I felt sore the way I was treated, for McDermott did not give me a dollar from the time I reached Chicago up to the 5th of April, and my expenses at the Hotel Sherman for room and board amounted to about $8 per day.

So on the morning of the 5th I paid my bill at the hotel and told the clerk at the Sherman House that if any mail came for me to forward it to my home address in Baltimore. My intentions were to take the train at 4 o'clock that afternoon, but about 2 p. m. on the 5th of April, 1912, Fleming called on me at the hotel and insisted on my remaining, telling me that he had a new list of manufacturers he would like to have me go around with him and see for the next few days.

HE CONSENTED TO REMAIN.

After a good deal of persuasion from Fleming and others I consented to remain over in Chicago until the primaries were over, so I registered again at the hotel and was assigned to another room, as I had given up my room and my baggage and everything was packed ready for departure.

I made frequent inquiries of McDermott and his manager to know if the McCormick check had come. I wanted it to meet my expenses. That was the only compensation I asked from McDermott while I was helping him in Chicago. McDermott instructed me that when the McCormick check came in to use it to pay my expenses.

I made frequent inquiries of McDermott and his manager to know if the McCormick check had come. I wanted it to meet my expenses. That was the only compensation I asked from McDermott while I was helping him in Chicago. McDermott instructed me that when the McCormick check came in to use it to pay my expenses.

M'CORMICK CHECK DOESN'T COME.

I remained in Chicago until April 18, and still the McCormick check did not show up. McDermott and Fleming told me that they had phoned over to McCormick's office and were told he was out of the city and that they could not get a satisfactory statement out of Mr. McCormick's private secretary.

I remained in Chicago until April 18, and still the McCormick check did not show up. McDermott and Fleming told me that they had phoned over to McCormick's office and were told he was out of the city and that they could not get a satisfactory statement out of Mr. McCormick's private secretary.

HE FOUND THE M'CORMICK CHECK.

I left for Baltimore on April 18, reaching my home in Baltimore on the 19th. When I got there I found the McCormick check, which had been forwarded by the hotel people on the morning that I gave up my room on April 5 with some other mail, to my home in Baltimore. I notified McDermott of this fact, and on June 1 I received notice from a bank in Baltimore that McDermott had asked for a duplicate check, telling McCormick that the

I left for Baltimore on April 18, reaching my home in Baltimore on the 19th. When I got there I found the McCormick check, which had been forwarded by the hotel people on the morning that I gave up my room on April 5 with some other mail, to my home in Baltimore. I notified McDermott of this fact, and on June 1 I received notice from a bank in Baltimore that McDermott had asked for a duplicate check, telling McCormick that the

original check sent to me was lost. He got a duplicate check from the McCormick people, which read as follows:

"Pay to the order of Col. M. M. Mulhall $250, Harold F. McCormick."

When I received this notice from the bank in Baltimore I was convinced that McDermott had committed a forgery, for the bank in Baltimore showed me by some letters from the Merchants' Loan & Trust Co., of Chicago, that there were two checks paid of $250 each, one on the 20th of April, which was the original check sent to me, and one later on, which was the duplicate, McDermott using this check and lying to McCormick and forging my name on the back of it.

I had considerable correspondence with Mr. McDermott's secretary, Mr. McMichaels, concerning this check. I tried to talk on several occasions when

original check sent to me was lost. He got a duplicate check from the McCormick people, which read as follows:

"Pay to the order of Col. M. M. Mulhall $250.

"HAROLD F. McCORMICK."

When I received this notice from the bank in Baltimore I was convinced that McDermott had committed a forgery, for the bank in Baltimore showed me by some letters from the Merchants' Loan & Trust Co., of Chicago, that there were two checks paid of $250 each, one on the 20th of April, which was the original check sent to me, and one later on, which was the duplicate, McDermott using this check and lying to McCormick and forging my name on the back of it. The following letter I quote in full is a copy of a letter sent to the Merchants' National Bank in Baltimore, June 1, 1912, by the Merchants' Loan & Trust Co., of Chicago:

ONE INDORSEMENT WAS A FORGERY.

DEAR SIR: We are inclosing original and duplicate checks issued by Harold F. McCormick, No. 19991, dated April 1, 1912, in favor of Col. M. M. Mulhall, No. 3933 Old York Road, your city, for $250. Both checks have been paid by us, the original on April 20, subsequent to the payment of the duplicate. The indorsement of Col. Mulhall on one of these checks, presumably the duplicate, is a forgery, and we shall thank you to communicate with him and procure from him an affidavit setting forth the fact that the indorsement appearing on said check is a forgery. We shall greatly appreciate any assistance that you may render us in the matter and shall be glad to reimburse you for any expense incurred.

Very truly,

MERCHANTS LOAN & TRUST CO.,
Chicago, Ill.

After receiving the letter from the Merchants National Bank of Baltimore I called on their cashier and made an affidavit that I did not sign two checks from Harold F. McCormick and that anybody who had signed my name to the duplicate check drawn in favor of my name had committed a forgery. That affidavit the Merchants National Bank still holds.

CORRESPONDED CONCERNING THE CHECK.

I had considerable correspondence with Mr. McDermott's secretary, Mr. McMichaels, concerning this check. I tried to talk on several occasions when

I came to Washington with Mr. McDermott about the check matter, but he always seemed to avoid this subject when I broached it. I felt angry at McDermott on account of his actions in this check matter, for I knew that he gave a wrong impression to his secretary, Mr. McMichaels, and to other friends in Washington concerning it. At an interview I had with Mr. McMichaels on the 10th of June, 1913, I first got a clear conception of McDermott's dirty work in the matter.

I came to Washington with Mr. McDermott about the check matter, but he always seemed to avoid this subject when I broached it. I felt angry at McDermott on account of his actions in this check matter, for I knew that he gave a wrong impression to his secretary, Mr. McMichaels, and to other friends in Washington concerning it. At an interview I had with Mr. McMichaels on the 10th of June, 1913, I first got a clear conception of McDermott's dirty work in the matter.

APPENDIX B.

The testimony of Mr. Schwedtman before the Senate committee, referred to in part 31 and ordered printed in the hearings of the House committee, is as follows:

FRIDAY, AUGUST 29, 1913.

TESTIMONY OF FERDINAND C. SCHWEDTMAN.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. McCARTER. Mr. Schwedtman, you are the Ferdinand C. Schwedtman of whom we have heard so much in this proceeding?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I am sorry that I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Spoken of as "Dear Ferdinand"?

Mr. McCARTER. "Dear Ferdinand." Where is your residence, Mr. Schwedtman?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. My legal residence is in St. Louis, Mo. I spend most of my time in Springfield, Ill.

Mr. McCARTER. What has been your business?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have been a manufacturer and an engineer all my life.

Mr. McCARTER. You are at present connected with what enterprise?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I am connected with the Racine-Sattley Co., a manufacturer of farm implements.

Mr. McCARTER. And previous to your connection with that company, what was your business?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I was connected with the Wagner Electric Manufacturing Co., as shop manager; I was chief engineer for the Missouri Edison Co. of St. Louis, and I was consulting engineer, in between times—consulting efficiency engineer.

Mr. McCARTER. When did you first become acquainted with the late Mr. James W. Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I had known Mr. Van Cleave for many years. I believe I became acquainted with him approximately in 1900.

Mr. McCARTER. You were very intimate indeed with him, were you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We were good friends.

Mr. McCARTER. How long have you been interested in the subject of industrial work and occupation?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have been interested in that since 1889.

Mr. McCARTER. When did you first become connected in any manner with the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In May, 1906.

Mr. McCARTER. And how did that come about?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Upon Mr. Van Cleave's invitation I attended the annual convention of the National Association of Manufacturers in New York, at the Waldorf-Astoria, in 1906. Very much to Mr. Van Cleave's surprise, he was elected president of that organization at that time. He stated to me soon thereafter that he was very much in need of a man who was familiar with the association's affairs and with manufacturing in general, to carry on his correspondence intelligently, and he asked me if I could not do that for him. I told him that I was engaged the greater part of my time, partly in connection with an association in St. Louis in which we were both interested, partly with consulting engineering work, and manufacturing, and I told him it would be very difficult to give the work of the National Association of Manufacturers more than one-fourth of my time, but that I would be glad to give it one-fourth of my time; whereupon we made arrangements that as his secretary I was to

give the affairs of the National Association of Manufacturers one-fourth of my time at a compensation of $3,000 per year.

Mr. McCARTER. What compensation did Mr. Van Cleave get as president of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. None whatever.

Mr. McCARTER. He gave his time and service to that without compensation?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Mr. McCARTER. That has been true, I think, of all of the presidents of that association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; so far as I know.

Mr. McCARTER. So that thereafter you devoted one-fourth of your time to the work of the National Association of Manufacturers, and the rest of your time was given to these other affairs which you have spoken of?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Mr. McCARTER. I do not want to go into it at any very great length, because I want to hurry along; but what was this local association that you and he were both interested in?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was the Citizens' Industrial Association of St. Louis.

Mr. McCARTER. You had been interested in that before?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Mr. McCARTER. Before you became connected with the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave and I both became interested in that in 1903.

Mr. McCARTER. That was entirely distinct from the National Association of Manufacturers, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It had no connection whatever with it.

Mr. McCARTER. Do you remember the fact that Mr. Cushing severed his relations with the association? I am going to speak of the National Association of Manufacturers here as "the association," to save space and time. Do you remember that fact, that Mr. Cushing severed his relations with the association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do.

Mr. McCARTER. When did you first meet or hear of Mr. Mulhall? By "you" I mean you and Mr. Van Cleave.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes. I stated that I became connected with the association in 1906. Mr. Cushing was secretary of the National Association of Manufacturers during the first year of my occupying the position of secretary to the president. During that first year Mr. Van Cleave took me along to New York on various visits, at which time I made an examination of the affairs of the New York office and made a lengthy report on it; and in May, 1907, when Mr. Cushing failed to be reappointed as secretary, and thereupon tendered his resignation, and we went back to St. Louis, soon thereafter Mr. Van Cleave called me up over the phone—in those days he spent usually only the noon hour with me to go over the association's affairs, being very busy in his own affairs—and he said, "Who is Col. Mulhall?" I said, "I do not know." He said, "I have here a telegram which states that he is coming to St. Louis. Can you not remember who he is?" I said, "I do not know anything about it."

I did not hear anything further until the next morning, when my stenographer came to me and said, "There is a man out here who says he is Col. Mulhall." I asked him to come in, and we had a little conference. I asked him if I could do anything for him, and he said no, he must see Mr Van Cleave personally I told him that Mr Van Cleave would not be there until noon. I think this was about 9 o'clock in the morning. He seemed disinclined to speak. After calling up Mr. Van Cleave I told him that he could not see Mr. Van Cleave until noon, and he said he would wait; so that he waited in the anteroom until noon, when I introduced him to Mr. Van Cleave; whereupon he went into the office which Mr. Van Cleave and I jointly occupied in the affairs of the association and he said that he would like to speak to Mr. Van Cleave privately. Mr. Van Cleave, in his jovial way, said "Mr. Schwedtman is a part of me, and I have not any secrets whatever from him. I never have any private conference with anyone on association affairs unless he is present, so that you may speak to me just the same as if I was here alone."

Whereupon Mr. Mulhall showed that he had received a letter from Mr. Cushing in which he was discharged. He stated that he was coming directly from Cleveland at that time, where he was engaged in pacifying labor troubles in the shops of a member who was, I believe, at that time the vice president from the State.

Mr. MCCARTER. Vice president of the association from Ohio?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Vice president of the association from Ohio. I am not sure about that. He was Mr. Cowles, I think.

He showed this letter that he was discharged. He explained at great length what good work he had done for the association in the past.

He uncovered a volume which he had at that time under his arm, and had had all morning—a volume of about this size [indicating]—that was filled with letters of recommendation of one kind and another, very impressive letters of recommendation, among which I have particularly in mind three letters from prominent men, one from our late President McKinley, which, however, was written before he was President, and when he was, I believe, Congressman from Ohio, secondly one from Senator Quay, and finally, I believe, two letters from the late Vice President Sherman, who was not, however, at that time Vice President. One of them was written, I think, in his capacity as Congressman, and the other in his capacity as chairman of the congressional committee, or some such title.

All of these letters spoke of Mr. Mulhall in the highest terms as a reliable man, as a man thoroughly to be trusted.

Mr. Van Cleave was impressed very thoroughly, impressed with Mr. Mulhall's qualities, and asked him what his work had been and what he really could do for the association. Of course, gentlemen, you will remember all this was in 1907. I have not had connection with the affairs of the association in an official way since 1909, so for three or four years I have not seen anything referring to this at all. Since 1909 I have served the association only in the way of chairman of its committee on accident prevention and workmen's compensation, and have devoted my whole association time to those affairs without pay. I therefore must beg your indulgence when I speak of those early days. In some ways my memory may not be as clear as when I speak of affairs that have happened yesterday or the day before.

As I remember, the three or four directions in which Mr. Mulhall stated he could be of special service to the association were these:

First of all, he said he had succeeded in establishing a labor organization which had not the objectionable features of some other organizations, namely, the closed shop; that he had an organization in Baltimore, and was ready to start similar organizations elsewhere, which would deal with employers, which would make collective bargains for time and pay, but be on the open-shop basis—such contracts as we had been accustomed to make with labor unions in St. Louis.

I personally had made such contracts for employers of St. Louis in the metal trades for four or five years. Therefore, we were very much impressed with that idea. He said that a great many members of organized labor did not like at all the attitude which organized labor, or, rather, the American Federation of Labor, was taking in going into politics, and that a great many men would be ready at that time to join a new organization which was opposed to going into politics. He believed that with an organization of that kind established in every part of the country we could do a great deal in the way of conciliating the many difficulties which existed between employer and employee and bring about more harmonious relations. That had been one of Mr. Van Cleave's great hobbies at all times. I had also been very vitally interested in that very thing ever since 1889, and we thought it was very good.

He stated that he had been of service to Mr. Cushing in helping Congressman Littlefield, who was blacklisted by organized labor, and that he had helped him by going into the district and calling the attention of the manufacturers in Mr. Littlefield's district to the good work that he had done and to their duty of helping him to be reelected. That was the third point.

Finally, he said that he had been able in the past to get new members of the association, and he could in the future do a good deal more good work in that direction if he was given more power and more privilege than he had had under Mr. Cushing, and he felt strongly the fact that he had not been known except by a number during all his connection with the association.

To make a long story short, Mr. Van Cleave was very much impressed with his sincerity, with his ability, and capacity, and he gave him orders to go back to the place where he had been working and to disregard Mr. Cushing's letter of discharge.

He asked him what money he had been paid. Mr. Mulhall told him he had been paid at the rate of $40 a week, and Mr. Van Cleave then told him he

could consider himself reemployed on the same basis and to make frequent reports to the St. Louis office.

Mr. McCARTER. That was the origin, then, of Mr. Mulhall's connection with the association, except as he had worked in conjunction with Mr. Cushing?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Correct.

Mr. McCARTER. You mentioned three lines of activity that he seemed to feel that he was efficient in. I think you overlooked one of the others. You spoke of his work with labor.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Mr. McCARTER. And you spoke of his activity in connection with Mr. Littlefield. You also spoke of the fact that he would solicit memberships. Was there anything else he spoke of? I think you said you had four points.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. His supporting—or, rather, his promoting—an independent labor union.

Mr. McCARTER. Yes. Did he describe his activities in the Littlefield matter more particularly than you have done?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he acquaint you with his familiarity with leading Republicans in Congress?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I beg your pardon.

Mr. McCARTER. Did he acquaint you with his familiarity and acquaintance with the leading Republicans of the country?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He stated that he was very well acquainted with a great many public men; he said judges, I believe, as well as other public men. He showed these letters. There was quite a book of them. I do not remember that they were particularly Republican public men, but public men in general, Senator.

Mr. McCARTER. He then entered upon his employment, and continued long after you ceased your active connection with the association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McCARTER. I wish you would briefly describe your personal relations with Mr. Mulhall from that time on; what you knew of his activities, what part you played in them, and what you understood he was doing, in a general way, first.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. You appreciate that I had practically no identity of my own in association affairs. I was a hired man; and even though Mr. Van Cleave and I were great friends, I tried at all times to never forget that fact, and to express Mr. Van Cleave's instructions, Mr. Van Cleave's views, to Mr. Mulhall. Mr. Van Cleave was impressed, as was I, with his sincerity, with his ability, and we attempted to treat him just as well as we knew how. If we have erred in that direction it is probably due to the fact that I have always believed a great deal more can be gained by treating everyone with kindness rather than with harshness, and we gave him the benefit of the doubt. However, Mr. Mulhall was a little hard to handle at times. I mean to say he had quite a temper.

The CHAIRMAN. We are called to the floor of the Senate, and the committee will suspend for a few moments.

(Thereupon, at 2.30 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee retired.

At 2.35 the subcommittee resumed its session.)

Mr. McCARTER. What did you conceive the functions and duties of Mr. Mulhall to be, and how did you understand he was carrying out in actual practice your conception of what those duties were? Just explain to the committee.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. His duties and the way in which he carried them out was a matter of evolution rather than any matter of program. You remember in June, 1907, or soon thereafter, political activities developed very rapidly. He called attention to the fact that several Members of Congress who were on the labor blacklist needed aid. Among them he pointed out especially Judge Jenkins of Wisconsin. He pointed out that Mr. Watson, who was also on the blacklist of labor, was endeavoring to run for the governorship of Indiana, and that he was entitled to our aid. We received his letters every day or every two days, or every few days, and he was sent into Indiana and later on into Wisconsin, and was permitted to a large degree to suggest how his activities had best be mapped out. He, however, said at that time—and if I remember the correspondence files correctly, you will find it sustained there—that the two places, namely, Judge Jenkins's in Wisconsin and Mr. Watson's in Indiana, were the two most important things that we had at stake in the political campaign. Meanwhile, however, he was for months busy in Cleve-

land settling labor difficulties, and from there later on he came to St. Louis to be occupied in a similar way.

Mr. McCARTER. That reminds me. You remember his being in St. Louis in that strike matter there?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McCARTER. He has testified—and I do not care to take the time to specifically refer to the testimony unless the committee desires it—that in the case of his activities there you raised and deposited in the safe in a hotel at St. Louis the sum of $3,000, which you said he could use for the purpose of breaking or terminating a strike, or bribing strikers, and that he succeeded in doing what he undertook to do about it, and that then the $3,000 was not given to him and he never had it. Did you ever make that promise; did you ever have any such fund; and what is the fact about that thing?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. There was never any such fund; there was never a word of discussion about it; there was never any such action; and the first and only thing I have heard of that was when I listened to Mr. Mulhall's statement here in the committee room. I had never heard of it before; nor at that time nor at any other time in my life have I bribed a leader of organized labor. It is true that during strikes we time and again have had to pay bonuses to get men to go into a shop in which a strike was on—individual men—and the St. Louis strike in particular was one of the many unfortunate cases where it was not so much a question of the employer with his employees, but it was a rivalry between shoe workers' organizations, each one claiming to be the only Simon pure; and the employer stood between the two, and he would either have to take action and get his shops filled, or he had to wait until the two organizations settled the difficulty between themselves.

Mr. McCARTER. Did you attempt to organize an association out there in St. Louis following along the lines that you and Mr. Mulhall had in mind, with regard to a union still believing in the open shop?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We did. I was very much impressed with what he had told me of the Workingmen's Protective Association in Maryland, and how they were dealing with their employees. I said a little while ago that for years I was the president of what we called the St. Louis Metal Trades Association, not a position of honor, but which was the head of all the employers, organized, of that particular line, and yearly we met the members of organized labor who were part and parcel of the American Federation of Labor as much as the International Machinists' Union, and we made yearly contracts providing for hours and payments; but we had a definite clause in each one of those contracts very much like the celebrated clause in the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission settlement, that there should be no discrimination——

The CHAIRMAN. Do not go into all that. Please just answer the question.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. All right. Very well. We endeavored to organize a labor union along those lines.

Mr. McCARTER. And was a concern incorporated for that purpose?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Mr. McCARTER. And you have here, I think, the by-laws?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McCARTER. If anybody wants to see them he can see them.

Senator REED. I should like to see them.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. They are a part of the proceedings.

Mr. McCARTER. To go back now to the Watson and Jenkins campaigns—the political work—they were the first two that you had any familiarity with?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McCARTER. Up to that time had you had any political experience?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. None whatever.

Mr. McCARTER. Had Mr. Van Cleave, so far as you know, ever engaged in any political work, technically so called?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. None whatever.

Mr. McCARTER. You were both business men?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Mr. McCARTER. But interested in fights in industry?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McCARTER. You personally and Mr. Van Cleave personally approved of the activity of Mr. Mulhall in the Watson campaign for the governorship, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We did.

Mr. McCARTER. And lent him what assistance you could?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCCARTER. Do you know what money, if any, was raised by the association as such, and given to the campaign of Mr. Watson for governor of Indiana?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. There was no money raised by the association outside of Mr. Mulhall's field expenses—I mean his daily expenses—which we in a way always separated from politics. At least we had repeatedly consulted our attorneys, and we were told that while under our charter we must not engage in political activities, the activities of a field man, who might go into a district to call the attention of the manufacturers to the qualifications of a man, and who might raise among those manufacturers local funds, would not come under the description of political activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you encourage these local associations to contribute for that purpose?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes. Not associations.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean individuals.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Mr. MCCARTER. Local concerns?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Mr. MCCARTER. Many of whom I assume were members of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Mr. MCCARTER. So, if I understand you correctly, the association as such, beyond the actual expenses that Mr. Mulhall had for this personal work, did not contribute anything to the Watson campaign?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Not to my knowledge, and I have knowledge only of the St. Louis office.

Mr. MCCARTER. So far as your knowledge goes, that is the fact?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Mr. MCCARTER. You have spoken of the charter limitations. What was the advice that you have from your counsel—I mean the counsel of the association—with regard to the limitations upon the political activities of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave sent me, while Mr. Cushing was still in office, to the office——

Mr. MCCARTER. It does not make any difference what the office was. What was the advice?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The advice was that under our charter, as we were incorporated not for gain, we had no right to go into gainful pursuits nor into politics.

Mr. MCCARTER. What part did you take, and what part did the association through you take, so far as you know, in the Jenkins campaign? By "you" of course I mean Mr. Van Cleave as well as yourself.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We sent Col. Mulhall to Wisconsin after a request for his services which, I believe, came originally from Mr. Littlefield. We had some letters from Congressman Jenkins and from Mr. Mulhall up there, every letter asking for money. Mr. Van Cleave went over those propositions daily. I wrote Mr. Mulhall repeatedly that it was impossible to furnish the money. He finally came back and said it was absolutely necessary to have money. We had none to give him from the association, but finally, convinced by the telegrams that something was necessary to be given, Mr. Van Cleave got somewhere, I can not tell you where—from his personal funds or in some other way—$1,000. Upon Mr. Mulhall's request I wired Judge Jenkins that the package was on the way, but just about as I was to send it to the express company we received a telegram from Mr. Mulhall, "Do not send help." So I took the package and returned it to Mr. Van Cleave. In other words, we did get a thousand dollars ready. Mr. Van Cleave gave it for that purpose, but it was never sent into Mr. Jenkins's district; nor was any other money, so far as I know.

Mr. MCCARTER. I think that already appears. You do know that that money, wherever it did come from, did not come from the association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It did not come from the association.

Mr. MCCARTER. You have spoken of the Watson gubernatorial campaign and the Jenkins campaign. What next came up, that you can recall?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. During the time—it was a sort of an endless chain—came the activity of the association during the presidential campaign, during the Republican convention in 1908, at which Mulhall was present, Mr. Van Cleave was present, and so was I, with other officers of the organization.

Mr. McCARTER. You mean at Chicago?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. At Chicago; yes. He was of great aid to Mr. Van Cleave there in arranging for interviews with various men, and so he was at the various times when Mr. Van Cleave came east. I remember, as an illustration, that he arranged a meeting with Mr. Littlefield and one with Congressman Sherman, who was later on Vice President Sherman, and I believe again he was sent out to Mr. Walter Page, whom Mr. Van Cleave also met in the same way in which he met these other gentlemen in New York: and in that sort of way he was of aid. I believe he had three or four candidates in the East. I do not now remember their names, though I think one of them was Hughes, whom he believed ought to be defeated because he believed that he was definitely employed or engaged in aiding organized labor. But all those things he said at that time were secondary to these two issues, and he devoted most of the time to those.

The CHAIRMAN. You say he was sent out for Mr. Walter Page?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Mr. McCARTER. He introduced him to Mr. Page?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I know that Mr. Van Cleave met Mr. Walter Page in the same way, for instance, that he met these other gentlemen, and if I remember correctly, Mr. Van Cleave used Mulhall in that sort of way, as a select messenger; not to influence anyone, but simply, instead of sending a letter by mail, he would meet these gentlemen and see if they would come or would meet Mr. Van Cleave in New York if it was convenient for them.

Mr. McCARTER. As a means of bringing them together?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. To discuss public affairs. Mr. Van Cleave was quite an enthusiast. He liked to meet this kind of men and discuss with them what he considered the duties of a business man to aid good politics and good economic propositions.

Mr. McCARTER. Did you personally have any connection with the activity of Mr. Mulhall in any of his New Jersey campaigns?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Not outside of the letters which were written in reply to his, and always in accordance with instructions from Mr. Van Cleave. In other words, nearly all his activities were away off, and we had to direct them by letter.

Mr. McCARTER. While the correspondence between you and Mulhall seems to be very voluminous, were you brought much in personal contact with him?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Only a few days during all of our relationship. For instance, in Chicago——

Mr. McCARTER. During the convention of 1908?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir. Once or twice in Washington, and once or twice in New York, and during several weeks in St. Louis.

Mr. McCARTER. From the correspondence, Mr. Schwedtman, you became apparently quite fond of the man.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I did.

Mr. McCARTER. Did anything occur, for years, to break that confidence and esteem for the man?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Nothing really broke or disarranged my esteem until this matter happened. I did not, in spite of what a great many people said, believe he was anything but a faithful man; probably a man weak in some directions, as we all are, but I thought he was a faithful, honorable, square man.

Mr. McCARTER. Do you remember the fact that there was a movement for the formation of what has been known as the council—the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Which one? There have been a dozen.

Mr. McCARTER. The National Council for Industrial Defense.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. There have been a dozen movements.

Mr. McCARTER. How early did you have any acquaintance with a movement along that line?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe it was the first attempt in 1900 or 1901, then again in 1905, and so periodically every two or three years.

Mr. McCARTER. We will not go into the details of the meetings in the Waldorf Hotel, and what not, in August and October, 1907, and January, 1908, because that is all in the record and I want to save time. I think Senator Overman the other day asked a significant question that was overlooked, and not, to my mind, satisfactorily answered, and I will ask it again so we can get an answer.

If you had this National Association of Manufacturers, why was it necessary to have any other organization? I think this committee would be glad to hear why it was that you could not make the National Association of Manufacturers a concentrated embodiment of your desire to help in legislative matters at Washington and elsewhere.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Anyone who has had experience in association affairs, as I have had for 25 years, will realize, I am sorry to say, that there are jealousies of the various organizations against each other, which is probably the greatest reason for having such an organization. I mean to say that in all organizations are the heads and officers who are probably big men. Sometimes the paid men are not quite so big, and every man that holds a position has a great fear that by an amalgamation or coordination of organizations he will lose his job. That fear exists on the part of a great many of them. Consequently, every time we had made an effort in that direction in the past we had failed. It was absolutely necessary, if we wanted to exert any power at all, to take notice of the excellent organization which the American Federation of Labor has, an organization which is nation-wide, and not only take in the manufacturer, but the employer as well, if you please, and we attempted to get all the officers together in an organization similar to the American Federation of Labor, but we could not accomplish it on account of the jealousy of the various organizations or their officers; so that finally the idea was conceived that probably simply a standing committee, which had ties with the various organizations, but which was just as loose as you could possibly make it and still have its members all cooperate, was the only thing that could succeed in that direction, and we proceeded along those lines.

Mr. MCCARTER. Could you have gotten these separate organizations, of whose idiosyncrasies and jealousies you have spoken, to have permitted the National Association of Manufacturers to assume the entire, absolute, and total control of such a scheme?

Senator REED. I rather think that would hardly be regarded as a proper question. It is a mere matter of speculation whether they could have gotten them or not. The facts as to what they did do are of importance, however. This is a question calling for his opinion. I hardly think you will urge it.

Mr. MCCARTER. I do want to urge it, if I may. Senator Overman asked, and I think with a great deal of significance, why did not the National Association of Manufacturers do this thing.

I ask you now, Mr. Schwedtman, why could not the National Association of Manufacturers do this thing?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Because we miserably failed in bringing the other organizations together, during several attempts.

Mr. MCCARTER. What reason existed for that failure?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The jealousy of the very organizations, and their desire not to be part and parcel of the National Association of Manufacturers.

The CHAIRMAN. You wanted one central organization around which all these other organizations, like the sun and stars, would revolve, and give cooperation and support?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You wanted one central organization, and that all other organizations should support that central organization and contribute to its activity.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is what we would have liked to have.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you did finally have?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is what we finally did have, but very loose. In other words, we made it specific in all of our letters that it would take nothing away from their own organization or their own management in any way or shape, but simply would give them the coordination and cooperation of our central or standing committee.

Mr. MCCARTER. Let me ask you this question now, if you please, Mr. Schwedtman. Was there ever any concealment or doubt of the fact that the National Association of Manufacturers was a dominating influence in the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. There was a great deal of controversy about it, but there was no concealment. Anyone who ever knew Mr. Van Cleave knows that he would never conceal anything. He was a very direct man, and he thoroughly believed in having the National Association of Manufacturers take as leading a part in that work as possible. They had some very serious correspondence with various other members of the National Association of Manufacturers who

did not believe in that. There were some of them who believed it ought to be as much as possible the National Association of Manufacturers. Others said that the National Association of Manufacturers must only take such part as the other associations took. It was finally conciliated, so that although the National Association of Manufacturers took the leading part, it nevertheless is only part and parcel of the council. I believe later on the letterhead was definitely arranged. There was a good deal of controversy about the letterhead, which stated "Under the leadership of the National Association of Manufacturers."

Mr. McCARTER. Attention has been directed by some member of the committee to a speech that was made by Mr. Van Cleave at the Twelfth Annual Convention of the National Association of Manufacturers in New York in May, 1907, proposing a $500,000 fund. Were you present at that time?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I was.

Mr. McCARTER. Prior to its being made did you know of a proposition to make such a speech?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No.

Mr. McCARTER. In other words, it was sprung even on you, was it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Entirely.

Mr. McCARTER. The record discloses the appointment by Mr. Van Cleave at that meeting of a special committee "on council." Do you recall that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do.

Mr. McCARTER. When was that list prepared?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave called me to the platform immediately after he had made that announcement, and he said, "This came to my mind right now. Now is the time to spring it. I wish you would let me have a list of the men present here who ought to meet with us to-night to get this council going."

Mr. McCARTER. And was that list made up in that way?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McCARTER. What occurred that night?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. McCarter, I believe the report of the proceedings of one of our conventions shows what was done that night. That meeting occurred during the 1907 convention, and I believe you will find in the minutes some general information about it. Anyway, nothing came of it.

Mr. McCARTER. Mr. Van Cleave continued as chairman of the council between the time of his surrendering the presidency of the association and the time of his death, did he not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He did, yes.

Mr. McCARTER. What position do you hold in the council?

Mr. SCHEWEDTMAN. Secretary.

Mr. McCARTER. At the time you were made secretary of the council, were you a member of the association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think not. I joined the association about that time. It might have been half a year ahead or half a year later. I can not speak definitely.

Mr. McCARTER. I want to turn your attention for a minute to the question of the tariff commission. What were your views and Mr. Van Cleave's views with regard to a tariff commission?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave soon after he became president, or during the first year of his administration, was aware that things were being carried on in a loose fashion. Nobody seemed to know exactly what our position was on some of these questions. He insisted that he write down in some sort of fashion the principles and activities of the association. The result was a handbook which we got out in St. Louis. Twenty-five thousand copies of it were sent out at various times. This book was never, to my recollection, passed by the executive council or by the association as a whole. Nevertheless this is Mr. Van Cleave's creed, as he saw it, of the objects of the association.

Mr. McCARTER. Hand a copy of that to the committee for examination.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN (after handing pamphlet to Senator Reed). Our tariff activities are carefully stated there.

Senator NELSON. Do you offer that in evidence?

Mr. McCARTER. Yes, Senator, we offer that in evidence.

Let it be marked "Schwedtman Exhibit No. 1."

The document in question, "A Handbook of the National Association of Manufacturers, 1907," was thereupon marked "Schwedtman Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. McCARTER. When was that handbook published?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Immediately after the Cushing incident in 1907. We attempted to live up to that as religiously as we knew how.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood that was Mr. Van Cleave's own individual view.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He interpreted the activities of the association as outlined in that book, and it was sent out officially, although I appreciate it was never passed upon officially by the board.

The CHAIRMAN. So that was his own individual idea?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. His own interpretation, as he saw it.

Senator NELSON. He thought it was his duty?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; he thought it was his duty. A greater part of it was taken from our official proceedings, so far as we could do so. It was a sort of a platform, or something definite to go by; because he appreciated that in the past we had not done that, and it was wrong.

Mr. MCCARTER. I suppose copies of this were given to every officer and director of the association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Twenty-five thousand copies were sent out, and every officer and every member of the association had one, and a great many were sent out to others.

Mr. MCCARTER. The sincerity of Mr. Van Cleave's views with regard to the tariff commission has been challenged here, I think, by Mr. Mulhall, and I shall be glad if you will, without taking too much time, read from the handbook what in 1907 was the expression of his views touching that matter.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Here is what he said.

Senator REED. From what page are you reading?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Page 12 of the handbook, Senator. I read as follows:

"THE ASSOCIATION'S TARIFF POSITION.

"While practically all the members of the National Association of Manufacturers are protectionists, a large majority of them want the tariff to be revised at the earliest practical moment, which means immediately after the inauguration of the new President in 1909.

"The association urges the appointment of a commission the coming winter to be composed of men of practical experience as tariff experts as well as level-headed, public-spirited men, in which both parties, all important interests, and all sections of the country shall be represented, that body to have power to summon witnesses, and to get all possible light on the subject from every source, the commission to go over the tariff schedule by schedule, to adjust the duties to the conditions of the time, and to frame a provisional bill, to be placed in the hands of Congress when it meets early in 1909.

"In carrying out this policy the association will urge the Republican Party, in its national convention of 1908, to pledge itself, if successful in the election, to revise the tariff at the beginning of the ensuing presidential term.

"The new President, if a Republican, at his inauguration on March 4, 1909, shall call Congress in session at once to revise the tariff. And Congress, with the elections far in the distance, and the clamor of the politicians silenced, will, using the commission's report as the basis of its work, then speedily be able to frame a measure which will meet all the demands of the situation intelligently, and which will keep the interests of the employers, of the workers, and of the consumers constantly in view. And all of this can be done with the least possible disturbance to trade.

Mr. MCCARTER. You are familiar with the holding of a convention at Indianapolis for the formation of a tariff commission?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I am familiar with a great many of the facts.

Mr. MCCARTER. Have you brought from Mr. Van Cleave's files a couple of letters from a former prominent United States Senator which were received by Mr. Van Cleave before that time?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir; as well as the volume of the New York report; all of which, I want to explain to you, were found after my return from here to St. Louis the first time. In other words, the documents of the association have been filed away for years, and my secretary in St. Louis, where I spend very little time, found these upon my return to that office.

Mr. MCCARTER. I now produce and offer in evidence, and want to read, if I may, a couple of letters from ex-Senator Beveridge to Mr. Van Cleave, and the reply of Mr. Van Cleave to one of the letters of Mr. Beveridge.

Senator WALSH. What is the purpose of that, Mr. McCarter?

Senator NELSON. He wants to show the origin of that National Tariff Commission Association.

Mr. MCCARTER. As I remember the evidence, it was stated boldly by Mr. Mulhall that the tariff commission matter was gotten up by the National Association of Manufacturers as a mere football for the purpose of preventing congressional action in the reduction of the tariff, and we desire to show, by this correspondence carried on in February, 1908, between Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Van Cleave, that these gentlemen were corresponding about this very subject, these letters showing the genuineness of their views upon the subject which were exchanged at that time, and that they collaborated in the bringing about of this convention.

The CHAIRMAN. It is admitted he made a speech upon the floor of the Senate in favor of the tariff commission. Is not that correct?

Mr. MCCARTER. Do I understand there is objection made to the introduction of these letters?

Senator WALSH. I did not want to object.

Senator NELSON. I should like to hear those letters.

Senator REED. Let me ask a question here, because I think of it at this time.

These letters, Mr. Schwedtman, which you now produce, are some that were found since you sent your files on to the committee?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you find any others?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I said I found this volume of the New York investigation of the affairs of the National Association of Manufacturers. In other words, I made a report in 1907.

Senator REED. All you found were these two letters and this volume with regard to the investigation which you made of the New York office?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. My secretary found these. I have not been in my St. Louis office since that time.

Senator REED. That is all.

Mr. MCCARTER. I will read this letter:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, February 19, 1908.

MY DEAR MR. VAN CLEAVE: I am sending you herewith a correct copy of my tariff commission speech, which I thought perhaps you would like to have. We are making astonishing progress. In strictest confidence, I tell you that Aldrich has promised me to report the bill whenever I say; and although he may report it adversely, that gets the bill into the Senate and I can then move to take it up. What do you think of that for progress?

Again, Mr. Payne last week announced that he would appoint from his own committee a commission to do the work proposed by our bill. Of course this is merely a method of heading off the uprising in the House for our proposition, and will be unsatisfactory. But it shows how thoroughly we have them on the run, does it not?

I saw Senator Harris in Chicago, and he tells me that he is traveling all over the country all the time, and that there is nothing short of an uprising for this measure.

At the largest meeting in its history the Lincoln League of Indiana (50,000 of the young Republicans of Indiana) "unreservedly indorsed" the bill and demanded its support by Indiana Senators and Congressmen.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, February 19, 1908.

I think it of the utmost importance that you gentlemen keep more earnestly at the work of sending in letters of manufacturers and resolutions of boards of trade from all over the country to Senators and Congressmen—having a copy of each one sent to any Senator or Congressman sent to me.

Here they were three weeks ago saying that nothing would be done and laughing in our faces, and here they are declaring first in favor of a maximum and minimum tariff and second, proposing a commission from the House committee.

I had a long talk with the President—he is with us horse, foot, and dragoons—but confidently I am afraid he thinks that you gentlemen will not keep up the fight until it assumes the proportions of an irresistible movement. If I may say one word of criticism to you, it is this: That where organized labor beats you

as agitators for legislation which they desire is that they come down here, get just such rebuffs as you got from Mr. Cannon and Mr. Payne and a good deal worse; but instead of quitting they go to work harder than ever, keep able representatives here on the ground and plug away day in and day out, month in and month out for years till they get what they want.

Don't you think it a good thing to profit by their experience? In my nine years in Washington I have never seen anything start out so well as you gentlemen started this out. If you will only keep it up you will win, and possibly this session.

Senator Harris suggested in Chicago, and several of your association suggested here that my speech was so short and condensed, and so carefully covered all the points that it should be scattered broadcast by the various associations that came to Washington to advocate our cause. I have written Miles substantially as I have written you.

Let me hear from you, and believe me, always.

Faithfully your friend,

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.

Mr. JAMES W. VAN CLEAVE,
National Association of Manufacturers, St. Louis, Mo.

Senator WALSH. The signature would seem to be scarcely necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I should say so.

Mr. MCCARTER. I read the reply to that letter, as follows:

FEBRUARY 22, 1908.

Hon. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, *Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for your letter of February 19. It is certainly encouraging and you deserve great praise for the energy and efficiency that you are displaying in this tariff commission matter. Men who can not understand your position and mine at the present time will appreciate later on that we saw the tide coming, and that our stand for a tariff commission was not only good business policy, but good Republicanism as well. Having my ear to the ground constantly I can not understand how the Republican Party hopes to be successful in this year's campaign unless it takes away from the Democrats their strongest issue, that of tariff revision. From a business standpoint, and from that of political expediency, such a commission should be appointed, and it should be done at once.

You say that we are not persistent enough; that we have something to learn from labor unions in our Washington campaign. Pardon me, my dear Senator, I know that we are not exactly on the same platform when it comes to labor matters, but I sincerely hope that we never will use the methods of organized labor in Washington work. We have come to Washington; we have told the men in power what we want. We have given them our reasons for it. We are now following the advice given us by our friends, including yourself. We are finding out where every Congressman and where every Senator stands on this issue. Mr. Miles has this especially in charge and I am sure he is doing everything that can be done to push this poll to an early conclusion.

I dare say organized labor would have followed, in a case like this, its former methods. It would have assembled in the various committee rooms and demanded that such and such be done, whether it is right or wrong, and if not done would threaten every member of the committee with defeat at the next election, to learn only when the election comes around that the labor vote is a myth, and that they can not deliver the goods. Maybe such methods must be employed to be successful in Washington, but I can not persuade myself that such is the case. I have never been strong either in bulldozing or fourflushing, although I have been told that I have invariably played a good game with the cards that were actually in my hands.

We are not through with this by any means, but, as I have already said in a former letter, there are a great many questions of importance confronting the manufacturers at the present time. Some of these questions are of even greater importance than the tariff proposition to a large number of our members, and, unfortunately, the average manufacturer, including myself, have just a little business to attend to outside of organization affairs.

I am sending copy of your letter, as well as my reply, to Mr. Miles. As already stated, he is in charge of this special work now, and he and the men associated with him will no doubt see to it that additional communications, resolutions, and letters are sent from various organizations.

I have looked over your address with a great deal of interest, and I am very anxious to have it sent not only to every member of the National Association of Manufacturers, but to a selected list of some eight or ten thousand manufacturers interested in this question. Let me ask you whether it would be possible to send these to our New York office by express and to have them addressed there and to send them out under your own frank. If this is not possible, of course, we will send them out through the regular mails but you can see that it would be a great deal more impressive to have them under your frank and, as I understand the situation, this would be in absolute line with your privileges as a United States Senator. If this can not be done the next best thing would be to send our card cases to Washington and to have them addressed there. We can easily make good use of 10,000, and if the address is followed up with a circular letter it will serve the purpose of bringing in many additional resolutions and communications.

To have no more delay than necessary in sending out copies of your address I should like to have you wire me at my expense on receipt of this, as to which method you prefer, so that I may advise our New York office accordingly, and to leave the matter in as definite shape as possible I outline the three methods suggested, as follows:

First. Ten thousand (or less if you can not spare that many) copies of your address with your frank sent to the New York office of the National Association of Manufacturers, 170 Broadway, to be addressed and mailed there.

Second. Card index of 10,000 manufacturers to be sent to Washington and 10,000 (or less if you can not spare that many) copies of your address under your frank to be addressed in Washington under the supervision of our representative.

Third. Ten thousand copies (or less if you can not spare that many) to be shipped to 170 Broadway, New York, without your frank, to be mailed and addressed there.

Thanking you again for your splendid cooperation, I am,

Very truly, yours,

——— ———,

President.

Dict. but not read by J. W. Van Cleave.

I next read this letter of February 27, 1908.

Senator NELSON. That is from Senator Beveridge?

Mr. MCCARTER. Yes; this reply is from Senator Beveridge:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, February 27, 1908.

[Personal.]

MY DEAR MR. VAN CLEAVE: On getting out of a sick bed, I find your extremely clear, intelligent, and energetic letter of the 22d.

I think you misunderstood my reference to the methods of the labor men down here in my comparison of their persistency with what the "standpatters" down here think and give of your lack of persistency. The fact is just this: Organized labor not only has a very efficient set of men down here all the time, but they keep up the agitation through their periodicals, through speeches, and generally are constantly at work on public opinion. The result is that every measure they propose, while at first received with coldness and hostility, finally assumes the proportions of a movement, and great numbers of Senators and Congressmen vote for such measures through fear; while, of course, others vote for such measures after study and from conviction.

But the point I am trying to make with you is that they keep right at it, bringing constantly increasing pressure to bear on Congress and each Member thereof, and never letting the pressure up for an instant.

Now, here are you gentlemen and the other great producing interests of this Nation demanding the very reasonable and conservative plan of a tariff commission, and having back of you almost solidly the public opinion of the country. If this opinion is organized, marshaled, and brought steadily to bear on Congress for the next 90 days, we shall certainly achieve results.

I say this now, although at the beginning of the session, as I wrote you, I did not think then there was any chance whatever.

With reference to the sending of the tariff-commission speech—the 10 000 requested have been sent to your New York offices. Aside from the fact that I made this speech, I think perhaps it is your best campaign document upon this

question because it marshals all the arguments and condenses them; and also shows the great number of producing interests that are demanding this legislation. I should imagine that you ought to use 100,000 copies, rather than 10,000 copies, but that is something which, of course, you gentlemen can best determine.

I know just how busy you are and I appreciate your unselfish devotion to this cause. I also am extremely busy with other matters; but I have never yet seen the day when I was not willing to give all my time and strength to a measure so necessary to the business interests of the country as this measure is.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,

Faithfully, ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.

Mr. JAMES W. VAN CLEAVE, *St. Louis, Mo.*

Senator NELSON. That is a kind of a "Dear Ferdinand" letter.

Mr. MCCARTER. Yes. Mr. Schwedtman, do you know enough about that tariff commission movement to know who this man Riesenberg was?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; he was a cigar manufacturer of Indinanapolis.

Mr. MCCARTER. Was he in anyway connected with your association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; but he was a friend, or at least an acquaintance, of Senator Beveridge, and while this was in progress he conceived the idea, and I believe discussed it with Senator Beveridge, of calling a tariff commission convention.

Mr. MCCARTER. Yes.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The association fell in with him, and I believe bore part of the expense of sending out letters, and so on.

Mr. MCCARTER. In other words, Riesenberg was not an underling of Mr. Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir; and he never had any connection with our association. Mr. Van Cleave never met him until after that convention in Indianapolis.

Mr. MCCARTER. You were concerned with Mr. Emery in a trip abroad on behalf of the association, resulting in the publication of a book, a copy of which I believe has been produced here, were you not? You were the Mr. Schwedtman who was engaged in that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCCARTER. And the association, through your efforts and those of others, interested itself along those lines?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. For the last four years it has been my most enthusiastic activity. I have given my services to it gladly, without a penny of compensation of any kind.

Mr. MCCARTER. Yes.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We have spent something like $50,000 in promoting workmen's compensation legislation, and in preventing accidents. I have three inspectors now going all over the country, putting in safeguards against accidents on machinery in the shops of our members.

Mr. MCCARTER. Something has been said with regard to your candidacy for membership on the proposed tariff commission. What did you know about that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Some of my friends were kind enough to propose me for that sort of work. Investigating has been the greater part of my life's work, and without wishing to qualify for such an honor as that, I do believe that my training has been in the direction of good work, and I have been accustomed to work hard, wherever I have been; so that I had no objection to standing for the nomination that was made by my friends, or the recommendation made by them.

Mr. MCCARTER. You are a sincere believer in a tariff commission?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Absolutely.

Mr. MCCARTER. Did you or did you not have any idea that if you were elected on that commission you would use whatever influence you had to prevent any modification of the tariff?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. McCarter, in all my efforts, all my life, I have always been sincere, and I have worked honestly to the point, and I would have worked honestly to the point of seeing what the actual difference in cost of production was here and abroad, and having that duty on everything. I do not care whether on anything that I manufactured, or that anybody else manufactured.

Mr. MCCARTER. After Mr. Van Cleave's death, you remained for a while as secretary of the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes. But, remember that I never really was an active officer of the council. I mean to say that it was simply a position to aid Mr. Van Cleave. It never was a paid position in any way, and I attended to the duties to the best of my ability, and never had anything to do except with the correspondence of the chairman. The affairs were carried on in the New York office.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Emery have anything to do with the discharge of the first secretary, Cushing?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Did I have anything to do with it?

The CHAIRMAN. I say did Mr. Emery have anything to do with it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Emery? I will say that this report probably had more to do with it; but I will not say that Mr. Cushing was discharged. He failed to be reappointed, and thereupon he tendered his resignation.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not hear the question. What, if anything, did Mr. Emery have to do with the discharge of Mr. Cushing?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The discharge of Cushing?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know that he had anything whatever to do with it. I do not believe he had anything whatsoever to do with it; at least, he had not to my knowledge.

Mr. MCCARTER. I do not think that I have anything more to ask of Mr. Schwedtman. I would be very glad to have the committee interrogate him.

Mr. Schwedtman, if I have omitted anything, I would be very glad to have you speak of it.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think of nothing; except that I want to make this one statement, gentlemen. All of my life I have been a manufacturer; I have not been a politician or anything else. All of you have some hobby, it may be horse racing, or golf, or some other sport. I have devoted all of my spare time to this work. I believed that it might be to the interest of American business men to get together and to do things constructively, all together. If I have committed any fault, it must necessarily have been a fault of the head; it has never been a fault of the heart. I mean to say that everything that I have ever done in my life has been done sincerely and honorably.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Walsh, do you want to interrogate the witness?

Senator WALSH. What connection if any did you have, after Mr. Van Cleave's death, with any of these associations?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I was president of the Citizens' Industrial Association of St. Louis, which of course had no part in the National Association of Manufacturers. I was vice president for the State of Missouri of the National Association of Manufacturers, which position I still hold.

Senator WALSH. You remain vice president of the Missouri branch of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. There is really no such thing as a Missouri branch.

Senator NELSON. What he said was that he was vice president for the State of Missouri.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. For the State of Missouri, yes.

Senator WALSH. That entailed no duties on you? That was entirely honorary?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Entirely honorary. I have had no paid position outside of the three years when I devoted 25 per cent of my time to Mr. Van Cleave's correspondence, as his secretary.

Senator WALSH. You were also president of the Citizens' Industrial Association of St. Louis prior to Mr. Van Cleave's death?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. You really got up that association yourself, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave and I organized that association of 8,000 business men in St. Louis.

Senator WALSH. What was the salaried position you held?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. With the Citizens' Industrial Association or the National Association of Manufacturers?

Senator WALSH. The latter.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I said the position was that of secretary to the president, for which I received $3,000 a year during all the time Mr. Van Cleave was president—namely, three years—$9,000 in all.

Senator WALSH. And what salary, if any, did you get from the Citizens' Industrial Association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. For a number of years, while I was actively engaged, I received $5,000 a year from the Citizens' Industrial Association of St. Louis; and for a good part of the time, when I did not have time for that salaried position, it was an honorary position without salary.

Senator WALSH. Do you now recall for about how many years, altogether, you drew that salary of $5,000 a year?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe for seven years.

Senator WALSH. And over what period did that seven years extend?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Naturally, I am now speaking from memory. I believe it began in 1904 and extended up to 1911.

Senator WALSH. And what years were embraced in the three-year period of your occupancy of the position of secretary to the president of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was from May, 1906, to May, 1909.

Senator WALSH. Have you had no association with the National Association of Manufacturers since May, 1909?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Only honorary; that is, as chairman of its committee on accident prevention and workmen's compensation, and as vice president of the society for the State of Missouri.

Senator WALSH. And since 1909 have you had any association with the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. During this period you were engaged in some business of your own, were you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. During all this time since 1904?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. What line of business were you engaged in?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Part of the time—for 10 years—I was chief engineer of the Missouri Edison Co.

Then I became manager of the Wagner Electrical Manufacturing Co., which position I held for 15 years. That company I organized, and it was manufacturing under my patents up to a few years ago. I can not say exactly the time, but it must have been up to 1905 or 1906 or 1907; I do not know which of those three years.

After that I was a consulting engineer, devoting part of my time to consulting engineering work for the Wagner Co., and for other concerns, such as the Racine-Sattley Co., of which I am now vice president and general manager.

Senator NELSON. For what company do you say?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The Racine-Sattley Co. In that I am connected with Mr Miles.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that company manufacture?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Agricultural implements, and especially traction implements; engine plows, and such as that.

Senator WALSH. You were at one time anxious to get into the Consular Service, were you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I was.

Senator WALSH. And that would pay a salary of about how much?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Oh, the salary was almost nominal. At least, I understood the salary was something like only two or three thousand dollars a year. But I traveled a great deal, both in South America and in Europe, and the possibilities of foreign trade always very strongly appealed to me. I have made trips abroad to investigate manufacturing possibilities in the electrical line, and therefore it was a matter of pleasure, and I was at one time well enough fixed financially to devote my time to it at very low compensation.

Senator WALSH. You were quite willing to give up your salaries of $5,000 from the Citizens' Industrial Association and of $3,000 as secretary to the president of the National Association of Manufacturers to take a position in the Consular Service that would pay possibly $2,000 or $2,500 a year?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In addition to some four or five thousand dollars which I was earning.

Senator WALSH. You mean in your private business?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator NELSON. I will say in that connection that under our new consular law which we have adopted there are nine grades, and it is only the two lower grades to which outside men can be appointed. One pays $2,000 and the other $2,500 a year. All the other positions, all the way up, are filled by promotion

from the lower grades; so that under the present law no new man can get in except in grades 8 and 9.

Senator REED. How long has that been in effect?

Senator NELSON. Since we passed the last consular bill.

The CHAIRMAN. That has been established since you made application to be appointed in the Consular Service?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes. I believed that with my knowledge of foreign affairs I would be able to work my way up to the higher grades.

Senator NELSON. The highest grade is probably that of consul general at Liverpool. I think that office has the highest salary paid. But they go up by promotion from the lower grades.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; which is the proper way.

Senator NELSON. But once a man is in one of those grades, the Government can jump him to the top grade if it desires.

Senator WALSH. In this connection I read this letter from you to Mr. Mulhall, dated St. Louis, July 29, 1909:

(2949, 2950.)

Personal.]

ST. LOUIS, *July 29, 1909.*

Col. M. M. MULHALL,
624 Oak Avenue, Waverly, Baltimore, Md.

MY DEAR MARTIN: Do you remember Mr. Van Cleave's cure for too much work? He used to say to give a man twice as much to do and he will forget to worry. He figures this out on the principle explained by David Harum when he says that some fleas are good for a dog because they make him forget that he is a dog.

Now, on this same principle I am going to ask you to do something for me, or at least to try to do it. You will remember that I have always been more or less interested in the Consular Service, but up to a short time ago I did not know that I could get my own affairs into shape to follow my inclination and try to enter that service. It now looks as if I will be able to arrange my affairs; however, you are no doubt aware that the Consular Service is now placed on the merit system. Candidates for the Consular Service must make application in due form, and are eligible only after they have passed the right kind of examination. All the information as to how to go about this matter is contained in a pamphlet which I inclose herewith.

After reading this I would like to have you find out, if you can, if there is anyone in Washington who can coach a man for the examinations. I am not conceited when I claim to have all the qualifications necessary to make a mark as a consul, and I have always been very much taken with that kind of work, but after a man is away from school for a while he is liable to forget some of the strictly technical points which make up part of the examination.

I would not burden you with this matter if I did not feel confident that you are as anxious to do this for me as I would be to do it for you; and, furthermore, I am convinced that there is not a man in all Washington whose training and special qualifications enable him to get a line on this subject as quickly and as thoroughly as you can. I am aware that most of the outsiders will tell you that a course of three or four years at some university would be the proper thing. That is all right for some boy of 16 who has not learned in the school of practical experience, but I am confident that there is a short cut, especially since I studied all the subjects covered in the examination pretty thoroughly when I was younger, and it is only a question now of getting up to date and refreshing my memory. With the right kind of coach I should be able to master all that is needed in a few months, especially since I am a student and easily master things of that kind.

Please do not mention my name in connection with this matter, but bear in mind that I am perfectly willing to pay the right kind of coach liberally for instructions, and if necessary to devote some months entirely to this work; I can and will do that, much preferring, though, to take it up for a while in correspondence.

With the information that I have placed before you here you can and will give me some information, but remember that if the whole business never amounts to anything, there is no special harm done. I am at an age now where I will either have to take it up promptly or drop it definitely, and I mean to do one or the other inside of the next year.

In conclusion let me say that when the time comes to back you up as Senator from Maryland or mayor of Baltimore or ambassador to China you will find me as ready to be of assistance to you as I know you are to help me now.

Faithfully, yours,

FERD. C. SCHWEDTMAN.

What salaries were you drawing at that time, Mr. Schwedtman?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That was in 1909?

Senator WALSH. That was July 29, 1909.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. My income was approximately $12,000 a year.

Senator WALSH. At the time that Mr. Mulhall first put in his appearance at St. Louis, having received his discharge from Mr. Cushing, what was the reason, as it was detailed to you by Mr. Mulhall, assigned by Mr. Cushing for his discharge?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. As I remember it, Mr. Cushing had not given him any special reason except the fact that he was no longer connected with the association, and on that account he was discharging Mr. Mulhall.

Senator WALSH. He assigned no reason at all?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Except Mr. Cushing's discontinuation——

Senator WALSH. I say Mr. Mulhall was unable to give you any reason assigned by Mr. Cushing for his dismissal?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe Mr. Cushing stated in the letter that he was not any longer secretary of the organization, and therefore thought it his duty to discharge Mr. Mulhall as field man.

Senator WALSH. But Mr. Van Cleave thought it advisable to continue him in the same character of work in which he had theretofore been engaged?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. The nature of that work he detailed to you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. As I have outlined here.

Senator WALSH. How long had Mr. Van Cleave then been president?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He had been the president one year and a month. This was about June, 1907. Mr. Van Cleave became president in May, 1906. But Mr. Cushing remained for one year, remember.

Senator WALSH. Apparently Mr. Van Cleave had never before heard of Mr. Mulhall.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Apparently not.

Senator WALSH. And he did not really know there was any such man in the employ of the association—did not know anything about the character of the work he had been doing?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator NELSON. Do you refer to Cushing?

Senator WALSH. No; I refer to Mr. Van Cleave's ignorance of Mulhall or what he had been doing.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. What was the nature of the duties devolving upon Mr. Van Cleave as president of the association, and how did it come about that he was so ignorant of these important duties that had theretofore devolved upon Col. Mulhall?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The office of president being always an honorary one, not a paid office, it had always been carried in a sort of honorary way. I mean to say, the president had probably not dug down into the details of the work that had been carried on by Mr. Cushing, who was the secretary and as such manager of the association; and, without any reflection on Mr. Cushing, on some of those points it was difficult to get information from him, which I believe to a very large extent was responsible for the breach between Mr. Van Cleave and Mr. Cushing.

Senator WALSH. You think it was because of the secretive methods that he employed that the breach came about?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In my investigation of the New York office, carried on during that year, I criticized those very methods, and I was probably the innocent reason for Mr. Van Cleave's and Mr. Cushing's break.

Senator WALSH. Was that something in the nature of a revelation to Mr. Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was quite so. However, remember that we did not learn what was done. All the facts concerning Mr. Cushing's management and Mr. Mulhall's activities in the association prior to 1907 were as new to me, when

I learned them sitting here in this room, as they were to any one of you gentlemen.

Senator WALSH. And how did it come about that you made this investigation of the New York office?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Various criticisms of the New York office were expressed in letters from our members. For instance, a great many letters were sent out "Confidential," and without any signature. Mr. Van Cleave was a very straightforward man, and he said "No business affair must run in that way. We must not send out any document of which we are ashamed, and therefore we must not have any of that.

Senator WALSH. Mr. Cushing had a custom of not signing the letters he sent out?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. There was some criticism expressed upon that very point in letters coming to Mr. Van Cleave from members of the association.

Senator WALSH. I say it has come to your notice that that was a custom of Mr. Cushing?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. All right. Proceed, then.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Pardon me; I am afraid I have lost the question.

Senator REED. It was something about expenditures.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave sent me to the New York office to discuss affairs with Mr. Cushing and other officers, and to examine the expenditures, and so forth, knowing I had had experience in that sort of thing, and I submitted this volume [indicating], in which I criticized those various methods. I said the New York office was not being run on a business basis, and that it ought to be changed in a good many ways.

Senator NELSON. If that is not too long, I should like to have it read.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I should like to read an extract from it.

Senator WALSH. It is quite long.

Senator NELSON. Perhaps it will make the record easier to understand.

Senator WALSH. I was going to ask the witness to give it.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe this will give it briefly.

Senator REED. I have been examining this book and glancing through it. It seems to be somewhat lengthy.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I read his extract from it:

"While there is no fault to be found with the personnel of the general office, there is a deplorable absence of system and cooperation in the ordinary sense of the word, and such as is covered by my experience with mercantile, manufacturing, or general corporation practice. Each department is handled more or less as an independent proposition. There is a lack of records necessary to keep track of the performance of the departments. Bookkeeping is of most primitive description. There is no trial balance, and no possibility of drawing one from the books in use.

"In my remarks about bookkeeping I wish to except the freight bureau, which has a double-entry set of books. It seems to be in reasonably good shape, although the report of the audit company indicates that the books and trial balances are not kept up to date.

"It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to investigate to one's complete satisfaction some of the expenditures and the vouchers therefor. The audit company's reports for the last three years are full of criticism and suggestions, and it would be a discredit to anyone connected with the association, particularly to the officers, to have the audit company's reports made public.

"In making this statement I do not wish to insinuate that a single dishonest transaction has been discovered, either by the audit company or by me, nor that I suspect dishonesty. Quite the contrary, my belief, gained by only a short personal observation, is that every employee who has charge of association funds is absolutely honest; but this makes a change in office methods just that much more necessary, because the expenditure of approximately $150,000 per year under the present office system would reflect upon the individuals who kept the books, as well as upon the higher officials.

"Two books are kept at present; in one of them all receipts are entered, in the other one all expenditures. At the end of the month a statement is made out for the treasurer in which the resources are gathered from the balance of the previous month, and the income and expenditures of the current month. It is my impression that the present system of bookkeeping is a result rather of an exaggerated idea of simplicity and avoidance of red tape than from ignor-

ance or carelessness, but I strongly recommend at once the starting of one set of double-entry books, covering all departments, by a thoroughly reliable and experienced double-entry bookkeeper, who I am sure can be had for a salary of approximately $100 per month. I recommend further that an expert be engaged from one of the audit companies to lay out an office system, including card or loose-leaf records for the various departments; a system of billing and charging of the various departments; a system of numbered voucher checks, and a system of departments which will set forth in future the expenditures of the association under headings better understood by the general membership."

Then I outlined here a tabulation of all the expenditures of the association from 1901 up to the end of 1906.

Senator REED. State what page of the book you refer to, so that it may appear in the record.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Page 35.

Senator REED. Do you find there is a column for keeping charges for legislative service?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. None.

Senator NELSON. He kept that all hidden, you know.

Senator REED. But I am talking about the future.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. This is not the future; this is the past.

Senator REED. You have outlined there a system by which the books should thereafter be kept, have you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, no. This is an analysis of the past expenditures.

Senator REED. Did you find there anything to indicate the moneys that had been expended in legislative work?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. Did you find anything to indicate the moneys they had expended in strikes?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. The books were blind on that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. On that particular subject Mr. Cushing knew the points and nobody else. That is the point.

Senator WALSH. Was that before or after you made the acquaintance of Col. Mulhall?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That was before. That was in 1906.

Senator WALSH. And even an examination of the books in New York did not give you any information of the existence of Mr. Mulhall?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. How was that? Was he not carried on the pay roll?

Senator NELSON. He was carried only under a number, if you will remember, Senator.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He was a number. He was No. 11, if I remember rightly.

Senator WALSH. You found that these field agents, at least, were designated by numbers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; I did not. As I say in my preface of that volume, I was in New York only about five days. That is all the time I had to give to it, and, as I say, it necessarily had to be a brief report, and I did not go into it fully. I did not know whether No. 11 expenditure meant a man or not. It simply meant a certain expenditure of some kind.

Senator NELSON. You found something under the number 11, and you did not know whether it referred to a man or not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No. I am not even sure that I found a statement giving No. 11.

Senator REED. You found numbers, whether you found No. 11 or not; and you did find things carried in the books under numbers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is my recollection; yes.

Senator WALSH. And you learned afterwards that Mr. Mulhall was No. 11?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Now, about these various associations you were connected with in St. Louis. You had a workingmen's protective association, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; or, rather, we endeavored to establish one.

Senator WALSH. What year did you begin the organization of that body?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I must necessarily speak from memory. It was incorporated on February 14, 1908.

Senator WALSH. That was after Col. Mulhall had gone there?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. What was that called?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The Workingmen's Protective Association.

Senator WALSH. There had been a workingmen's protective association in existence in Baltimore prior to that time, had there not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. You had learned of that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. Who had informed you about that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Mulhall.

Senator WALSH. And the organization in St. Louis apparently took the same name as the Baltimore organization?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. We gathered from that that its purposes and principles were somewhat similar.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. As I understood them; but when I attempted to get from Mr. Mulhall a written document as to what the purposes and principles of his organization were, for some reason or other I could not get it, and therefore I definitely outlined here the platform on which the St. Louis organization should stand, regardless of Baltimore.

Senator WALSH. The St. Louis organization took its name, doubtless——

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. From the Baltimore organization, yes.

Senator WALSH. From the Baltimore organization; and doubtless was suggested to you by Col. Mulhall?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. And it was suggested by Col. Mulhall, of course, with the view to make it serviceable in the same way that the Baltimore organization was serviceable.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. As I understood, the Baltimore organization had been so.

Senator WALSH. And you readily fell in with that idea?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Very readily.

Senator WALSH. You speak in such a way as leads me to believe that it never really came into virile existence.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; it did not.

Senator WALSH. It did not seem to appeal very strongly to those people out there.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Here was the real situation. You can draw your own conclusions. Mr. Mulhall brought to me a number of the workers who seemed to be desirous of getting up such an organization. He asked me whether I could help him to the extent of assisting them to get a constitution and by-laws. I told them an organization of that kind must be run by workingmen and for workingmen, but I would be very glad indeed to help them in any way I could. I aided them in the matter of money, and I then left it to them entirely. I said, "You can count on my cooperation, but you must do the work." The incorporators are named here. They came to my office a few times, but they dropped out later on.

Senator WALSH. That is, having seemed to receive your active aid and support, the effort proved abortive.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. And the workingmen themselves apparently were not inspired to go on with the organization?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Correct.

Senator WALSH. Let us take the Citizens' Industrial Association. It consisted of what?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Of men interested in the industries of the city of St. Louis, but not necessarily employers. I mean to say that we felt that every citizen had an interest in having industrial peace in St. Louis. In 1913 we had some serious outbreaks. We had a number of hired thugs brought to St. Louis who injured seriously a number of our citizens, and killed horses, and also killed drivers, and an organization of citizens was gotten up who insisted that that sort of thing must stop. That was the origin of the Citizens' Industrial Association. We sent some of those hired men to the penitentiary, in the same way in which Kansas City acted so ably, and in the same way in which Senator Reed showed so splendidly good citizenship; and it was exactly in the same sort of a way we had to work in St. Louis. This man Bailey, for instance, was hired, I understand, in St. Louis and in Chicago, as well. I believe he came from Chicago, and he was in St. Louis and then he went to Kansas City.

Senator REED. You do not mean to say that I had anything to do with an organization like yours?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Oh, no, nothing whatever; not the slightest. But I mean it was necessary to take that sort of thing in hand to have peace, and that was the origin of the Citizens' Industrial Association.

Senator REED. You are not connecting me with this movement of yours?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; not in the slightest.

Senator WALSH. Apparently you had a strike in St. Louis, and this Citizens' Industrial Association came into existence in consequence of that strike?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. And it seems to have been working quite harmoniously with the National Association of Manufacturers. You and Mr. Van Cleave at least were very prominent in the organization in some way or other?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. And I take it from that harmony in respect to its officers that it expressed generally the same principles.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Not exactly. The Citizens' Industrial Association was strictly an educational movement. It had every month, in our largest hall, lectures, to deliver which we tried to bring men posted on industrial questions to discuss such questions and lay them before the citizens of St. Louis; and, secondly, it had trained lawyers who followed up the lawlessness in connection with strikes.

Senator WALSH. However, in reference to all these labor questions, injunctions, and contempt proceedings, and that sort of thing, it advocated exactly the name principles as those urged by the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It did; yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Now, about the lecture course you got up; the Citizens' Industrial Association was a constituent member of the Council for Industrial Defense, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It became one after the formation of the council.

Senator WALSH. Of course in that way it attested its approval of the principles for which that organization stood?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. As to these lectures you got up, you had quite a large number of distinguished gentlemen to lecture there?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. They lectured usually upon these industrial questions?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. Do you remember any speakers that you ever brought there to St. Louis to lecture before you who took the other side of the contest and presented to the people lectures representing the principles and aims of organized labor?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe that nearly all the speakers advocated the principles of labor organizations——

Senator WALSH. They always do, of course.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. But they are found always, some way or other, in antagonism to them, just the same. Do you remember having brought there, for instance, any speaker of national repute who was advocating any legislative measures for which organized labor of any kind stood?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The correspondence files will be the best guide, and if there are any such letters I can very much better get to the point; but I have an idea that possibly you are referring to Senator Bristow. He came there at one time and made an excellent lecture; but part of it, some of our members seemed to feel, was too much on the side of labor organizations. I remember that only indistinctly. I can not speak definitely.

Senator WALSH. They thought it was rather a mistake to select him?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Well, I do not think it was a mistake at all, but some speakers naturally——

Senator WALSH. Really, the organization and the lecture program was arranged with the view to propagate among the people these ideas in connection with organized labor for which the Citizens' Industrial Association and the National Association of Manufacturers stood? Is not that correct?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We attempted to find speakers who were friendly to those principles; yes, sir. But at the same time, we always made it definitely understood by each speaker that he was to speak exactly as he cared to, and that there was no restriction as to what he wanted to say.

Senator WALSH. Certainly. You would not attempt to restrict them?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator NELSON. May I ask a question or two here, in order to get my bearings?

This Industrial Association of St. Louis was composed of employers, or laboring men, or whom?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. A great many laboring men, and also employers.

Senator NELSON. Belonging to organized labor?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I doubt whether very many of the laboring men who came to our meetings belonged to organized labor, although I have no information on that point.

Senator NELSON. What proportion of the men belonging to the association were laboring men, and what proportion, so far as you can tell, were employers of labor?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I should say that probably the professional men together with the employers of labor made up about one-half of the organization, and the laboring men made up the other half; but I want to put myself on record as saying that a good many of those laboring men were brought in by the employers. I am not attempting to——

Senator REED. Then they were brought in to give it a kind of labor appearance?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir. Quite the contrary. We endeavored to get the laboring men and their wives and familes there, so they might have light upon our ideas.

Senator REED. You mean at the meetings; but I am talking about the members. You did not have any laboring men as members of the organization?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; there were.

Senator REED. It was an employers' association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was a citizens' association. It had preachers and lawyers, and a great many laboring men, as members.

Senator REED. You and Van Cleave ran it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave was the president, and later on he was the chairman of the board and I was the president, and we had a board of directors of 300 business men.

Senator REED. Did they ever meet?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. They met regularly every three or four months.

Senator REED. Three hundred business men?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. They were called together, and oftentimes had meetings of as many as 150 or 175.

Senator REED. What lines of business were they in?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. When I say business men, I think I had that wrong, because they were prominent preachers; preachers of every denomination—and we had them in our executive committee as well—so as to have the movement as sane as possible.

Senator WALSH. But the point is that, so far as you had laboring men, they were brought in by their employers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Some of them were. Quite a number came in of their own accord.

Senator WALSH. And how many laboring men did you have on this committee of 300?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Probably there were very, very few on that committee of 300—very few.

Senator WALSH. In addition to that you made some effort to introduce your lectures upon the Chautauqua circuits, too, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That was entirely independent of the St. Louis movement; but we had so many prominent men—thinkers—the clergy and lawyers——

Senator WALSH. Cardinal Gibbons, for instance?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Cardinal Gibbons never spoke before our association. But take, for instance, the Rev. Daniel F. Tuttle, the presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church in America. He said:

"I assure you of my hearty sympathy with you in your earnest efforts to stand by liberty, public and private, and to try reasonable ways to explain classes to each other, and to remove friction between them."

Senator WALSH. What I directed your attention to was your effort to get your lecturers into the Chautauqua circuits.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. As I say, believing well of that movement, we endeavored to get it upon the Chautauquas; yes. At least, I think it was more a notion of mine at that time than it was a concerted movement, but I asked Mr. Kirby's permission to try it.

Senator WALSH. To what extent were you successful?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I saw several Chautauqua managers. It seemed a difficut task to make any real headway, and after an attempt of four or five months it was given up, with probably a total expenditure for that sort of work of about $350, if I remember correctly.

Senator WALSH. Tell us very briefly just exactly what your plan was.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Our plan was to have these Chautauquas addressed, for instance, on these subjects which we felt were essential to the efficiency of American industry; I mean to say the open shop, industrial education, workmen's compensation, and all those matters, but the open shop included.

Senator WALSH. And anti-injunction?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; anti-injunction, if you please; and no amendments to the Sherman law—all those things for which we stood.

Senator WALSH. Contempt proceedings?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Contempt proceedings, and all those things.

Senator WALSH. And all these principles for which these organizations stood?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes. However, more particularly labor——

Senator WALSH. Just exactly what was your proposition in that connection to the managers of the Chautauqua lecture courses?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The thing was new to us, but after some consultation with some of the managers we understood that the way in which those things are done is that the lecturers are sent out according to their ability, or they become popular according to their ability, and according to the price which they cost; and as an illustration, therefore, if we were able to furnish a good speaker upon our principles which seemed sound to the manager, and if we would pay part of that man's expenses or part of his salary, he necessarily could afford to appear at a lower salary on the Chautuaqua platform, and therefore we would have engagements of that kind.

Senator WALSH. What proportion of the amount were you to pay?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It never came to a definite proposition, but it was suggested that we should pay from $25 to $40 a lecture.

Senator WALSH. That you were to pay?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That we were to pay.

Senator WALSH. That is to say, you were to provide a man to the Chautauqua societies. His compensation would be, say, $100 a night, and they would pay him $60 and you would pay him $40; or at least you would contribute $40 to them with which they would pay him $100 a night?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is correct, except for one point. We were not to supply the men. They were to supply the men to make the talks. We were to hear them talk, and thereafter say whether we were interested in the subject and how it was treated. We were not to furnish the lecturer or the lecture, but they were to furnish the lecture and the man.

Senator WALSH. But you were to make to them suggestions of men who would be able to talk?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That was not excluded, but it was was not especially detailed. They were to furnish the man and the lecture.

Senator WALSH. And if they had command of some man who was prepared to talk upon these questions, his lecture would be submitted to you; and if approved by you, then you would approve the payment of your funds to him?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. And we had very few, if any, because we had difficulty in finding even——.

Senator WALSH. Now I understand the matter. They were to provide men who would talk upon subjects satisfactory to you. The lectures which they were to deliver were to be first given to you, and if approved by you then you would become obligated for your proportion of the payment?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is correct, except that we were given the opportunity to hear those men.

Senator WALSH. Or you would yourself suggest men who would be able to talk upon these subjects; and if they were satisfactory to them, they would put these men upon the circuit, and so on?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Correct.

Senator WALSH. Were these men, who thus went out, to be advertised as paid employees of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. Or under the employment of the regular lecture bureau?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Under the employ of the regular lecture bureau.

Senator WALSH. Why did you not like to take to yourself the credit for thus contributing to the educational advantage and enlightenment of the general public, Mr. Schwedtman?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We were not in that business. We believed that a Chautauqua manager knew his specialty, as we are supposed to know ours. and therefore the thought had never come to us to send them out as our employees or as employees of the National Association of Manufacturers; because they were probably receiving their compensation from two sources, and a much smaller proportion from us.

Senator WALSH. Do you not think the public was entitled to know that although most of the pay of the lecturer came from the Chautauqua circuit, he was in a sense your hired man?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; I think the public was entitled to judge the lecturer only upon his ability and upon the subject he selected. We found through correspondence with a great many associations that they very much wanted that kind of speakers, if they really knew industrial subjects. They were difficnt to find.

Senator WALSH. I gather from these letters that it was a part of your plan to have Mr. Emerey go out on the Chautauqua circuit.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We thought that where Mr. Emery could be placed to advantage, he would go out as the representative of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Senator WALSH. You never thought of having him go out on the platform as a Chautauqua lecturer?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. Why not? Mr. Emery is apparently very well informed upon these industrial questions, and he went to Europe to make a study of them. Why should you not want to send him out on the Chautauqua circuit?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He would be a Chautauqua lecturer, of course; but I mean that in his case he was an employee of the National Association of Manufacturers or the National Council for Industrial Defense. Therefore, in his case, I suppose, he could speak to advantage because he had given special study in the capacity in which he was employed.

Senator WALSH. But you understood, as a matter of course, that as the paid employee and representative of the National Association of Manufacturers he would not get such an audience as he would get if he went out as an ordinary lecturer on the Chautauqua circuit?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I did not understand that. If that is the case, I am not sufficiently informed on that. It did not strike us that that might be the case.

Senator WALSH. So, if you thought you were going to manage a lecture tour for Mr. Emery for the purpose of getting him as large audiences as you could, you would prefer to put him on the platform as a lecturer of the National Association of Manufacturers, rather than as a student of industrial questions lecturing under the auspices of the Chautauqua circuit?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In the meetings with which I have had anything to do where Mr. Emery has spoken, I have always found that to be the case, namely, that he has had overflowing meetings where he was known and his position was known; and in trying to get into some territory where the National Association was not known, and where we were spoken of as missionaries, we had, practically speaking, small meetings.

Senator WALSH. You naturally would think, for instance, that out in my State it would be better to bill him as a Chautauqua lecturer than as a lecturer from the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know anything about the billings: therefore I could not speak understandingly at all. Nor am I a Chautauqua manager.

Senator WALSH. You would not have had the hardihood to put Mr. Emery out as a Chautauqua lecturer, would you——

Senator NELSON. Before the federation of miners out in Butte, Mont., for instance?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe in telling the truth and speaking your creed before the heathen rather than before Christians, and I should like to speak before

this kind of men. I want to make a limitation, that I would like to carry my head away with me.

Senator WALSH. Really that was the idea, was it not, that instead of having your men, as hired men of the National Association of Manufacturers, to go out on the platform and talk about these matters, and having the public understand that they were such paid employees, you felt they would get a more hospitable reception if that relationship were concealed and they appeared as ordinary lecturers under the auspices of a lecture bureau?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I am afraid, Senator, you have really gotten ahead of our own plans. I am afraid we never really reached a point where those things were intelligently discussed. We left those matters entirely to the Chautauqua managers. We did not know anything about them.

Senator WALSH. I am not speaking about their ideas.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We made no plans of that kind.

Senator WALSH. I am speaking about your ideas. You felt that these men, whom you were going to pay, would be beter received by the public if the public assumed that they were the ordinary lecturers sent out under the auspices of a lecture bureau, than if they were advertised as paid employees of the National Association of Manufacturers, and the public was thus fully advised that they were paid employees of the National Association of Manufacturers. Is not that true?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. If I ever had any such idea at all, Senator, it must be embodied in letters, and if there are any such letters, I should like to hear them; and if there are no such letters, I do not know that I personally ever cared anything about it, one way or the other. All I did care about was to have these men go out and preach the gospel.

Senator WALSH. Let me ask you why you did not get up your corps of lecturers and put them out on the platform and advertise them as being sent out and paid by the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. For the reason, as I stated a moment ago, that we are not chautauqua men; we know nothing about these things at all. We are specialists in our own line, and we know how our work ought to be done. We felt the chautauqua men must be the men to know how it should be done, as long as the thing was to be done. It was their business to know how.

Senator WALSH. Who were the lawyers who gave you this advice about the prohibition existing against the National Association of Manufacturers engaging in political work?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I must confess that I do not quite remember the firm name. I think it was Goldstein, or something like that, in New York. Later on that was taken up again, and I believe Mr. Nevin, our own counselor, gave us the same advice.

Senator WALSH. When was that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was during the year 1907. The first time was in 1906, when Mr. Cushing and I went to this law firm. I was comparatively new in this location, and I do not remember the name. Later on the same question came up with Mr. Bird, who since has become manager of the association; and then it was taken up with Mr. Nevin, our counselor, and he again gave the same advice.

Senator WALSH. Did you yourself confer with Mr. Nevin about the matter?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. Apparently you know about that only from the correspondence and from such conversations as you had with others?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. In the first instance, you actually went with Mr. Cushing to see the attorney?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. What was the occasion for your getting advice on that subject at that time?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave, as he was very anxious to have everything straight, open, and aboveboard in the affairs of the association and the office, wanted to know personally just how that sort of thing must be done under the charter which we had secured in New York. Upon his request, I went with Mr. Cushing to this lawyer, and then made my report to Mr. Van Cleave.

Senator WALSH. Did you understand that the corporation theretofore had been engaged in political activity of one kind or another?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Political activity really came in secondary. The first thing was doing work for gain. In other words, we had a publication——

Senator WALSH. Yes; but let us have the gain left out, now.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Really that was the principal work. At that time they had a black list issued against these Congressmen, and therefore Mr. Cushing made a special point, during my presence there, to ask if ye were to help and field men were to be sent out, to what extent we could go along that line, and if that was considered political expenditure; and the lawyer said no, it was not.

Senator WALSH. That is to say, you contemplated at that time sending out some men that you called field men?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Into the districts of these various Congressmen?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Congressmen who had been blacklisted by the American Federation of Labor.

Senator WALSH For the purpose of promoting their election?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. You were advised that that was not political work?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. So that it did not fall within the inhibition?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. But that the association was prohibited from engaging in political work, or making any expenditures on that account?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe it was specified that we could not contribute either to the campaign fund of a candidate or to the campaign fund of a party.

Senator WALSH. But that you could make your own expenditures as you saw fit?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Did that seem reasonable to you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have no knowledge of those things at all, so I always go by the advice of the specialist—the lawyer.

Senator WALSH. On the second occasion when this inquiry was made, what was the matter that came up when Mr. Bird became manager?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. As I said, Mr. Bird was not familiar with the advice which Mr. Cushing had received in my presence, and therefore he took it up.

Senator WALSH. What was the subject matter that was up at that time, that caused him to make of counsel the inquiry in relation to the right to spend money for political purposes?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. If I recollect correctly—and bear in mind that what I say on lots of things must be more or less a guess, because I have not looked at that correspondence for years—it was Mr. Mulhall's activity. It was certainly in connection with Mr. Mulhall's work.

Senator WALSH. You told us about some particular political work and referred to the Jenkins campaign.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. You told us that Mr. Van Cleave got somewhere $1,000 to be sent. Where did he get it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know.

Senator WALSH. Did he tell you anything about it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. In what form did you get the money?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. As I remember it, in bills.

Senator WALSH. Mr. Van Cleave gave you $1,000 in bills?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. And you were going to send that by express?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes. sir.

Senator WALSH. That was a very unusual way of transmitting money, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir. It was suggested by Mr. Mulhall.

Senator WALSH. What reason did he advance for that method of transmission?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe his letters specified that. I only know that he asked that it be sent by express. I do not know sufficient about that to say. I have not gone into that correspondence enough to know his reasons.

Senator WALSH. At any rate, you sent it that way without——

Mr. MCCARTER. He did not send it.

Senator NELSON. He did not send it.

Senator WALSH. You prepared to send it in that way.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I prepared to send it in that way.

Senator WALSH. Was that method of transmission called to the attention of Mr. Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave instructed me to send it that way.

Senator WALSH. The information that came to you from Mr. Mulhall was conveyed by letter or by wire?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Both by letter and by wire. I believe he wrote and wired every day that money was needed up there, and he wanted $10,000 or $15,000 or $20,000, I forget which.

Senator WALSH. I am speaking about the countermanding.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. It was not by word of mouth?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir. The original telegram must be in the correspondence.

Senator WALSH. Do you recall that in his desperation, in order to get money to enable Judge Jenkins even to leave home to go out on the stump in his district, he suggsted that you make an effort among the brewers in St. Louis?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Did you do so?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think I saw Congressman Bartholdt. I did not see any brewers, no, sir; but I think he suggested that I see Congressman Bartholdt, and I showed the letter, I believe, to Congressman Bartholdt, and I believe he said he would see what he could do to help Judge Jenkins; but that is as far as I went. I had no further information from that source.

Senator WALSH. You never got any report from him?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. When was this that Mulhall came to St. Louis in connection with the strike there?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I can not give the exact date, but the correspondence will doubtless reveal it.

Senator WALSH. After this extended examination of the books in New York that you made in 1907, how often did you have an opportunity to look over the records of that office?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Not ever. It was not my affair.

Senator WALSH. You told us you were there frequently with Mr. Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Oh yes; but I had no authority whatsoever in the New York office. Remember, I was only Mr. Van Cleave's secretary, and not the association's secretary.

Senator WALSH. Of course. But Mr. Van Cleave had the direction of affairs there?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir; but Mr. Van Cleave often went without me. He had a manager there at that time, and if he had anything to confer about, he conferred directly with the manager.

Senator WALSH. At any rate, your duties on any of these subsequent visits did not require you to examine the accounts at all?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Not at all.

Senator WALSH. Did you ever see any of Mulhall's accounts?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think that several of them have passed through my hands, although I can not speak definitely on that subject. I believe most of them went through the New York office, but I remember seeing some of them.

Senator WALSH. Then I suppose you saw some of the accounts, at least, which showed his employment of labor leaders in connection with strike work that he was doing?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I remember distinctly several items of that kind. I want to state right here that all the while I thought, of course, that his payments to that sort of men were entirely in the promotion of the open-shop movement, which he thought so much of and everlastingly spoke of.

Senator WALSH. You never had any kind of idea he was going out and by means of money inducing the strike leaders to abandon their cause and come over to his side?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. Such an idea as that never entered your head at all?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. He rendered you an account, however, of his proceedings in St. Louis, did he not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Accounting to you for whatever moneys you put into his hands there?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. I will go over a few of those with you.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. And here I want to say, Senator, so as to leave no misunderstanding about that, that when I speak of amounts that were paid, ordinarily, to labor leaders, that is speaking of peace.

Senator NELSON. What is that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is speaking of the ordinary peaceful relation. It goes without saying that a strike is war, and you know what Gen. Sherman said war is. During a strike you naturally have to become informed as to what the strikers are doing. We made every reasonable effort to find out what they were doing.

Senator REED. The question whether war is what Gen. Sherman defined it to be depends somewhat on the combatants.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir. That is why we were anxious to have yearly agreements, as we used to have in St. Louis.

Senator WALSH. I have here an account rendered to you under date of October 22, 1907, which is as follows:

(979–982.)

ST. LOUIS, MO., *October 22, 1907.*

Mr. FERDINAND C. SCHWEDTMAN,
Secretary to the President National Association of Manufacturers,
Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR SIR: Please find inclosed an itemized statement of moneys that I have paid out to people I have had employed to spread information concerning conditions among the shoe workers of St. Louis and vicinity in relation to the strike which is now taking place in that industry.

Paid to James McDonnell, Hickory Street, October 15 (for labor performed) $30.

Just exactly what kind of information do you understand Mr. McDonnell was spreading?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Time and again Mr. Mulhall brought McDonnell and several other shoe workers to my office to give information. They were a fine lot of boys; boys who had been working in these shops for a number of years, and who were not in sympathy with the strike and who wanted union conditions if possible, but wanted above all else their own employers and to get in touch with them. These men were being paid, as I understood it, for all the time they were losing on account of the strike, because they did not want to strike; and they in turn gave us good, hearty cooperation in bringing men back into the work. I think otherwise this very strike in St. Louis, where thousands and thousands of workers were out of employment, would have have cost a great deal in bloodshed, whereas there was not a solitary case of lawlessness.

Senator WALSH. You are getting away from the case. What I want to know is what he did for the $30.

Mr. MCCARTER. He told you.

Senator WALSH. What did he do for the $30?

Senator NELSON. He said they were paid for the time they lost.

Senator WALSH. That was paid for the time they lost?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. And the good efforts they were making to bring back the strikers.

Senator WALSH. What were the good efforts?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Discussing the situation with other strikers, and showing them it was better for them to go back to work than to stay out on strike.

Senator WALSH. Let us see. Here is the payment to this man McDonnell, $30. Do you remember what his wages were per day?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. Do you know for how long a time this $30 was paid him?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. Really, it had not any reference at all to his daily wage, had it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe it did have.

Senator WALSH. How did it come to make even $30?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Twelve times $2.50 would be $30.

Senator WALSH. You paid him for 12 days' work?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I did not say that, but I mean that perhaps it was brought about by that sort of figuring.

Senator WALSH. What I want to know is, if you can tell us——

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I can not.

Senator WALSH. How was this $30 arrived at?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I can not tell you, because Mulhall had charge of that.

Senator WALSH. It seems that on the 21st you paid him $20 more.

Senator NELSON. He did not pay him. Mulhall paid him.

Senator WALSH. Mulhall's account shows:

"Paid to James McDonnell, 2749 Hickory Street, October 21 (for labor performed), $20."

Can you tell us what that was for?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. This account shows another item:

"Paid to Charles Golke, 1018 South Eighth Street, October 16, $25."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I can only state that Mulhall and I had a talk about all those amounts, and it was arranged that these men were to be paid for the time they had lost. They were to be paid full time for the time they had lost.

Senator WALSH. I find also the following items:

"Paid to Walter Vredenburg, 5553 Terry Avenue, October 15, $30.

"Paid to J. W. Rickey, 2596A University Place, October 16, $25.

"Paid to H. E. McKennion, 3858 Maffitt Avenue, October 19, $25.

"Paid to George M. Shanklin, 3846 Labadie Avenue, October 19, $50."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Shanklin was the foreman, I believe.

Senator WALSH. We come now to an item as follows:

"Paid to 10 workers on Oct. 20, for incidental expenses, to visit the homes of friendly workers who were on a strike, to persuade them to return to the shops, $50."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is self-explanatory. In other words, these men were to go to the homes of friendly workers and persuade them it was good for them to go back to work.

Senator NELSON. I should sooner think it was for beer and pumpernickel.

Senator WALSH. Then I find this item:

"Paid to Miss ——— Oct. 16 and 21, for information furnished and seeing friends, $30."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. A great many of those were women workers.

Senator WALSH. Could you define "seeing" for us as used in that account?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. On October 21 Mr. Mulhall credits himself with the following:

"October 21. For incidental expenses and courtesies extended to seven friends who were assisting me in getting information, $23.25."

Do you know exactly the character of the courtesies that were extended?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He repeatedly took a number of these people to restaurants and gave them supper; and maybe beer, too.

Senator NELSON. You see, I am vindicated.

Senator WALSH. I find that under date of October 31 he schedules:

Received from Ferd C. Schwedtman:

October 14, 1907	$150
October 18, 1907	100
October 19, 1907	150
October 25, 1907	100
October 31, 1907	150
Total cash received	650

That was all received from you. Why did not you yourself give checks for these amounts, Mr. Schwedtman? Why did you not give checks to these men yourself?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The ordinary workman would not know what to do with a check. They much prefer cash. That is the way we pay in all our factories in St. Louis, and not by check. I have come near having a strike on hand because I paid by check.

Senator WALSH. I have paid a good many workmen in my time, myself.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I am speaking of St. Louis workmen. I am confident 9 out of 10 are paid in cash.

Senator WALSH. I do not know what the procedure is in St. Louis. Of course you gave that money to Mr. Mulhall?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. You could have paid these men at your office just as well, could you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. If I had not been too busy for that sort of thing. But I had an agent for that work.

Senator WALSH. Under the date of October 23 I find this item:

"Paid, October 23, for labor performed as per agreement to member of the shoe workers' union for working among the members of the executive committee of that organization, $25."

That was substantially the same character of service, I suppose?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; I think so.

Senator WALSH. Of course he was necessarily a member of the union or they would not have let him get into an executive meeting?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Oh, I think that most of these men belonged to one side or the other. There were two shoe workers' unions that had trouble among themselves.

Senator WALSH. These men you employed were members of the union, were they not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe so, Senator. I can not speak definitely, but I believe so.

Senator WALSH. Under date of October 28 I find the following:

"Paid out to two members of the shoe workers' union, as per agreement, for working among their fellow members and advising them to return to the shops, $50."

That shows they were members of the union.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. There was a letter introduced this morning, Mr. Schwedtman, concerning which I should like a little enlightenment. Under date of December 30, 1909, you wrote to Mr. Jarvis:

"Again referring to your communication of December 23, which, upon Mr. Van Cleave's instructions, I answered as fully as I knew how on the 28th, I want to attach hereto copy of a letter written by Mr. Kirby on this same subject in answer to an inquiry similar to yours, inquiry coming from the president of the Brill Co.

"The two letters, you will notice, treat the same matter simply from a little different viewpoint. If you are asked by a member of the National Association of Manufacturers about council affairs copy of Mr. Kirby's letter would make the best argument. If you are asked by an outsider, copy of my letter would be the best argument."

I wish you would kindly explain that to us.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Senator, a little while ago I said that it was very difficult at any time to get employers together into a general organization. Even after we conceived the idea of having a very loose organization, such as the National Council for Industrial Defense, we found quite a decided difference of opinion on the part of different members of our association and other associations. If I remember correctly, Mr. Jarvis was one of the men very much believing that the National Association of Manufacturers should be more prominent than other members thought it ought to be. Mr. Van Cleave was rather on his side. He believed that the National Association of Manufacturers should cover all the others. On the other hand, Mr. Emery, Mr. Post, Mr. Drew, and others, sincerely objected to that proposition; and therefore, all in friendly meetings, we finally agreed upon a substitute, as I say, which I believe was carried through later, where we said, "The National Council for Industrial Defense, under the leadership of the National Association of Manufacturers." Instead of calling it the "National Council for Industrial Defense," without any reference to the association, or instead of calling it "The National Association of Manufacturers' Council for Industrial Defense," we simply said "National Council for Industrial Defense, under the leadership of the National Association of Manufacturers," meeting half way those different factions who saw it in a different light.

Senator WALSH. The point was that if you met a fellow who was outside of the National Association of Manufacturers, you would talk to him in one way, and if you met a man who was inside, you would talk in another way?

Mr. MCCARTER. He did not say that at all.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In talking to a member of the National Association of Manufacturers I would bring out specially the points which favored his posi-

tion, without saying too much about the other, and when it was a member from outside, bring out the special points in his favor, without talking too much about the National Association of Manufacturers; not misquoting anything, but not necessarily bringing out the objectionable points.

Senator WALSH. How did Mr. Van Cleave come into communication with Mr. Riesenberg?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. A letter was received either from Mr. Riesenberg direct or from Mr. Lewis, who was the editor of American Industries, which was our official organ at that time. Either one or the other brought a letter from Mr. Riesenberg, in which mention was made of the fact that he wanted to have a tariff commission convention in Indianapolis, and asking would we aid in that movement.

Senator WALSH. When did you commence this agitation in favor of a workmen's compensation act?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was discussed in our executive board meetings two or three years ahead of the time, until we finally took affirmative action; and if I remember correctly, this action was taken in the summer of 1908, I believe at our convention at Niagara Falls. Several of us urged it strongly. I was immediately appointed the chairman of that committee and set actively to work.

Senator WALSH. When did you commence?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe it was in the summer of 1908, but it may have been in 1909. I can not say definitely.

Senator WALSH. As I understand you, you have recently been actively engaged in the installation of devices in the establishments of your members, with a view to lessening the number of accidents?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. When did that work commence?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe it was a natural evolution. We began it, in a way, in 1909, and we found that we had very little to go by. Therefore Mr. Emery and I went to Europe in 1910, and from the moment of our return from that trip dates the very active prosecution of that program.

Senator WALSH. So that the two lines of activity, one in favor of a workmen's compensation act, and the other in the installation of accident-prevention devices, or the installation of systems of accident prevention, date from 1908 and 1909.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. Of course, prior to that time many of your associate members, and the organizations with which they were connected, had been called upon to meet lawsuits without number for injuries sustained in their various industries?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. That had become a great burden upon them?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. And it was with a view to lessening that burden, among other things, that that work was undertaken?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; it was brought out very definitely at that time that while that was a business consideration, it was easy enough to get insurance for that sort of thing. It did not cost very much to be insured for that, but that did not bring back the limbs or the lives, and therefore we felt it our humane duty above all else to prevent accidents.

Senator WALSH. The humanitarian side of it, however, was a rather recent development?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was talked of every time we brought it up in our own board.

Senator WALSH. I say it was rather recent, however.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was in 1909. At least, it was executed in 1909.

Senator WALSH. There is a letter here, 1855–1856, that caused some surprise on the part of most of those who heard it. Let me read from it, as follows:

(1855, 1856.)

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS,
St. Louis, August 28, 1908.

Col. M. M. MULHALL,
Indianapolis, Ind.

MY DEAR MARTIN: Really, old man, I ought not to answer your letter of August 27 at all. Unless you give me a serious overhauling soon I shall get conceited and you know the natural size of my head is such that if it should

do much swelling I would not be able to find a standard-size derby for fall wear.

You know how much good it does a man to have efforts appreciated, and if my letters make you feel good they certainly serve their purpose well. There is mighty little in this world that is worth having more than the confidence of your friends and the respect of all honest people. And, indeed, you and I would not be worth the friendship that is being shown us by the greatest men in the country (our chief and our associates) were we to work less hard and faithfully than we are now doing. When I say "the greatest men in the country," I make no exceptions. I don't consider Teddy, nor Taft, nor Sherman, nor Foraker, nor the rest of those great men equal to Van Cleave, Parry, Kirby, and the others who have given freely of their energy and their money to the great cause which is expressed in the principles of the National Association of Manufacturers. It is easy enough to bear the burdens of national campaigns if the offices which they secure us glorify us before the people, but it is quite different when positions, such as that of president of the National Association of Manufacturers, are accepted by our great men in the manufacturing world. Of course, it means some glory and some satisfaction because the business man, the manufacturer, appreciates (at least some of them do) what the occupancy of this office means, but the large majority of the people, the politicians, the labor element, give nothing but ridicule, hatred, and opposition to the men who dare to speak for righteousness and condemn wrong regardless of personal popularity or business prospects.

There will come a time when the world will know that the Parrys, the Van Cleaves of to-day are like John the Baptist of old, speaking truthfully of events to come, and condemning fearlessly the present wrongs, clearing the way for righteousness and honesty. But do let us hope that this is not appreciated too late, and that they have a better lot than John had, because all the monuments that are built us amount to very little after we have our heads chopped off. All that I say of our great chiefs holds good in a small way of us. Our names are not known as theirs are, but this is not necessary to our happiness. No one can take away from us the knowledge that we have served our chiefs and our cause to the best of our ability, faithfully and conscientiously, and this should be, and is, sufficient reward for us. But now, let's come down to earth.

I note all that you say about the Indiana situation and the Wisconsin proposition, your coming to St. Louis, and your going East.

Was that written in seriousness?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator NELSON. I never before knew, but it has come upon me now, that we have a second Sermon on the Mount.

The CHAIRMAN. There is the bell. We will have to go and vote.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Pardon me one moment, gentlemen. It is easy enough to live for a cause, as all those gentlemen did, in a glorious way. It is not so easy to die for a cause, as Mr. Van Cleave has done.

(At 4.49 o'clock p. m. the subcommittee took an informal recess. At 5.11 o'clock p. m. the subcommittee resumed its session.)

Senator WALSH. Mr. Schwedtman, I am not going to enter into any controversy with you about the martyrdom of Mr. Van Cleave; but I am particularly interested in your view about the greatest men in the country. Next to Van Cleave, Parry, and Kirby, you have listed "Teddy"—that is, I suppose, Mr. Roosevelt—Taft, Sherman, and Foraker. Does that express your idea of the four next greatest men in the country?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Senator, I hope you will pardon me when I say that there was no intention whatsoever of setting myself up as a proper judge of who are the greatest men in the country. I believe I am not negligent, any more than is any other American citizen, of the great duty we owe to all of our Presidents, without regard to party. No one had a higher opinion than I had of Mr. Cleveland. I voted for him a number of times.

Senator WALSH. Of course he was not in the country at the time.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir, of course not; unfortunately for all of us.

Senator WALSH. We will confine ourselves to 1908, and I want to get a plain answer from you as to your judgment whether these four men were the four greatest in the country—of course next to Van Cleave, Parry, and Kirby.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I had no intention of stating that. It was a letter dictated on the spur of the moment, and probably he had been in touch with those men, and that was why I mentioned those names.

Senator WALSH. That is, because Col. Mulhall had been in touch with these four men—Roosevelt, Taft, Foraker, and Sherman?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think I wrote that because they were the most recent occupants of high position.

Senator WALSH. I want to go back for a minute and inquire about the negotiations you had in connection with the Chautauqua people. Did you canvass the employment of Mr. Watson in the manner you have indicated?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe so.

Senator WALSH. And did you close any arrangement in relation to him?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know what definite arrangement—there was no definite contract made with anyone, but I believe there were a number of talks made by Mr. Watson along that line, and I think the association paid something like $350—somewhere about that—for the service of Mr. Watson. That was not paid to Mr. Watson, but to the Chautauqua managers.

Senator WALSH. So that the arrangement was carried out so far as to have Mr. Watson go on the platform, and the association contributed that much toward his compensation.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. For a short period—a tentative period.

Senator WALSH. Of course, Mr. Watson was apprised of this arrangement?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think not. If he was apprised of it, it was the duty of the Chautauqua manager. Please let me say here that Mr. Watson came to us in St. Louis through the Chautauqua manager. I had never met him at that time. He made a talk at that time which seemed to me to be especially well adapted to bring employers and employees together, and he gave it to the hard employer more severely than he did to the radical labor unionist, and I think his talk was ideal.

Senator WALSH. We are getting away from the mere question of his employment. You did not know anything at all about Watson, as I understand you, until he appeared in St. Louis under the auspices of the Chautauqua circuit?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is right.

Senator REED. When was that?

Senator WALSH. Do you recall when that was?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir; that was in the autumn or winter of 1907–8, as I remember it.

Senator WALSH. And was that the only time that he appeared there?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes—I am not sure. Wait a minute.

Senator WALSH. If he appeared in 1907–8, that was under the auspices of your Citizens' Industrial Association, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; but all our speakers were gotten from the Chautauqua managers, or nearly all.

Senator WALSH. And under such an arrangement as this you speak of?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. You simply communicated with the Chautauqua people as to what speakers would be available to discuss these subjects?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. And then your association communicated with them and engaged them?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The Chautauqua manager sent the speaker down there.

Senator WALSH. You did, as a matter of fact, get Col. Mulhall to get you quite a number of speakers from Washington, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Oh, yes; we tried to; but the most of our speakers were secured through the Chautauqua association.

Senator WALSH. We will get back to this effort to get your speakers on the platform through the Chautauqua circuit. That was somewhat recent, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe the letters must disclose that. I think that was after Mr. Van Cleave's presidency. Consequently it must have been after May, 1909, if I remember correctly.

Senator WALSH. That is when you embarked on that plan?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. When we tried it out.

Senator NELSON. Senator, you have not been here so long as some of us. Senator Reed and I know that there are a good many Senators and Congressmen who have been in the habit of going out on the Chautauqua platform at times.

Senator WALSH. Yes.

Senator NELSON. I know Mr. Dolliver and Speaker Clark would go in couples and hold meetings.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Senator Dolliver was one of our honored guests. He was with us twice, I believe.

Senator WALSH. In following that, I understood—you gave me the impression—that there never was any idea on your part of sending Mr. Emery out under the auspices of the Chautauqua circuit, but you did think of sending him out as a lecturer of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Oh, yes; of sending him out by all means to the Chautauqua circuit, but giving him the title of counsel of the National Council for Industrial Defense, or counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers, just the same as some one else might have been advertised as the rector of some church.

Senator WALSH. That is, while he would have the title of counsel for the National Council for Industrial Defense, or attorney for the National Association of Manufacturers, he would be billed as an ordinary lecturer of the Chautauqua circuit?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He would be billed as a speaker through the agency of the ordinary Chautauqua circuit, and a speaker who is ordinarily the representative of the National Association of Manufacturers, and able therefore to speak on subjects with which he ought to be especially familiar.

Senator WALSH. Did the arrangement contemplate the payment of anything to Mr. Emery for his lectures?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I really do not believe it would have mattered. I do not know whether that was even discussed, because Mr. Emery would gladly have given his services to that sort of thing.

Senator WALSH. Your recollection may be refreshed by this letter of November 20, 1909, E 1630–1632, from which I read as follows:

"In our various conferences Mr. Kirby and Mr. Emery agreed that I take upon myself the problem of getting a number of Chautauqua lecturers for next season. I have kept you and them fairly well posted as to the progress of the work. Definite arrangements have been made for Watson at a cost of $40 to the council for every lecture which he makes to Chautauquas or to organizations on subjects approved by us. Ex-Congressman Landis, who is a great Chautauqua speaker, is ready to get in on a similar basis. Mr. Emery has been placed at the disposal of Chautauqua managers, and they are trying to arrange dates for him."

Who made the arrangement with Landis?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know Congressman Landis at all. Both those names were given to me by the manager of the Chautauqua association in Chicago. I believe his name is Ferguson.

Senator WALSH. That is, the manager of a Chautauqua circuit told you that Landis was willing to go out on the platform——

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. So I understand.

Senator WALSH. Under an arrangement by which you were to contribute $40 per night toward his compensation.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That would be indicated by that letter. I do not remember that.

Senator WALSH. That implies that you must have had some former correspondence or communication with Mr. Ferguson, indicating that you were willing to make that kind of an arrangement.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Either correspondence or talks. I believe I had several conferences with him.

Senator WALSH. I continue reading from the letter:

"Mr. Emery has been placed at the disposal of Chautauqua managers, and they are trying to arrange dates for him."

That was the case, was it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think I listened to Mr. Emery at one Chautauqua lecture. Consequently, I know there must have been something of that kind, but I do not believe that came directly from me. I listened to him at one of the Chautauqua meetings.

Senator WALSH. Did your association contribute anything toward any compensation he got for that work?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Emery?

Senator WALSH. Yes.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I can not tell you that, Senator. I do not know. I am inclined to think he was not paid anything for it. If he was, it was simply the association's money.

Senator REED. Did any association with which you were connected have any newspaper writers employed?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; the National Association of Manufacturers, during my connection with it, I believe, had an arrangement with the Century Syndicate—a contract with Atherton Brownell of the Century Syndicate—by which they were to try and start, and aid in every way, a campaign of education through the newspapers. Of course, Mr. Van Cleave made all the arrangements. I only know just what happened.

Senator REED. You had an arrangement with a man who ran a sort of press bureau or newspaper syndicate bureau, and through that you expected to get into the press such matters that he could reach as you wanted to have go in?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave made all the arrangements. I do not know just exactly how far he expected to accomplish anything, because I personally never was particularly in sympathy with the movement. I mean——

Senator REED. That was what was called the Century Syndicate, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. And it represented a large number of papers. It was engaged in work a little similar in its nature to that of the Associated Press, although it was not so large a concern.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think that is what it claimed to be.

Senator REED. And you were trying to reach the public by getting speakers on the Chautauqua platform who would represent your ideas, and to whom you would pay at least a part of their compensation. That is right, is it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. And, as you told Senator Walsh, with the exception, perhaps, of Mr. Emery, to whom I will come back later, these speakers would go out as regular Chautauqua lecturers. They would have no brand upon them. I mean there would be nothing upon the bills to show that they were the special representatives of your organizations. That was the situation with reference to the Chautauqua platform, was it?

Mr. MCCARTER. There is only one who appears. That is Mr. Watson.

Senator REED. I do not think these corrections are proper.

Mr. MCCARTER. You make assertion of facts which have not appeared, Senator, that is all. You said these speakers——

Senator REED. That was the program, as I have outlined it, was it not, Mr. Schwedtman?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I did not follow your statement all the way through.

Senator REED. Let me state it again, and you try to follow me.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I will.

Senator REED. I say the speakers you were trying to arrange to have put upon the Chautauqua platform, with the exception of Mr. Emery, were to go out without anything to indicate in any way that they were employed by these associations with which you were connected?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We never did come to an arrangement of any kind, Senator.

Senator REED. I am talking about what you tried to do.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I did not care which way they got on, just so they would preach our gospel. And I want to say to you that I would even go further——

Senator REED. Now, wait, Mr. Schwedtman. We will get along much faster if you will just answer my questions.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I will if I can.

Senator REED. Let us do that; because I am inquiring about a certain thing, and you may talk about half a dozen, and then I shall have to ask you about the entire half dozen, and I do not want to do that. I want to get through some time.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; and I do.

Senator REED. You did, however, tell Senator Walsh that as to these speakers whom you contemplated sending out, who are referred to in the letter, you did not expect any of them, except possibly Mr. Emery, to be known as representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers. That is right, is it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is not right at all. I did not care whether they were known or not known. I said that was the business of the Chautauqua manager to decide.

Senator REED. Have you not already said in your testimony that you did not expect that any of them except Mr. Emery should be known as representatives of your associations?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have not said so, Senator

Senator REED. You have not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. To the best of my knowledge I have not. To the best of my knowledge I said that with regard to Mr. Emery we wanted it known, and we did not care whether it was known or not with regard to the others. We would arrange it any way the Chautauqua manager thought best.

Senator REED. Very well. That question was merely preliminary. By the way, before I pass it, this ex-Congressman Landis who is referred to in this letter is the gentleman who did go out upon the Chautauqua platform at about this time, is he not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know. I do not know the gentleman, and had nothing to do with his appearance.

Senator REED. Is he not the man who was afterwards employed by the sugar interests and sent out on this same educational campaign, on the chautauqua platform?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have no information whatever on the subject.

Senator REED. You did not see the gentleman when he came here to testify?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have not seen him here, nor would I know him if I did see him. I have never met him or talked to him, and I would not know him.

Senator REED. Very well. You had some correspondence with Mr. Brownell, who ran, or was connected with, this Century Syndicate, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. A great deal.

Senator REED. I call your attention to this letter of October 10, 1907, which is E 111-112:

E 111-112.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT, AMERICAN INDUSTRIES,
New York, October 10, 1907.

Mr. FRED C. SCHWEDTMAN,
The National Association of Manufacturers,
Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo.

MY DEAR MR. SCHWEDTMAN: Replying to Mr. Van Cleave's telegram of the 9th, in response to mine of the 8th, let me say that the situation is as follows:

You are already apprised of what we are doing and the amount of matter that is going out. You will also see from my letters that there are certain other matters planning that will be productive of good results. I am bearing in mind, however, Mr. Van Cleave's expressed strong desire for space in large quantities, and in order to accomplish this by telegram, looked toward entering into a contract with the Western Union Newspaper to carry in all its papers about one half column each of our résumé and analysis of the Gompers editorials under the heading—"Gompers Incites to Treason." The expense of doing this would be $1,400 and it would give us, as I say, about one half column in each of 4,594 country weekly newspapers, lying mostly west of Ohio and east of the Rocky Mountains. I do not consider this as being the most effective kind of publicity from an educational point of view, and I do consider that simply on this ground alone the money can be better spent. Nevertheless, as Mr. Van Cleave wants a record, the following of this course will give us as you will see—2,287 columns of newspaper space on this line alone. If this meets your approval and will wire me at once, this matter can be published during the week from October 21 to the 28th.

I am also prepared to enter into a contract with another company which plates matter, and we propose to put out a half-page story regarding the general uprising against the methods of organized labor and quoting Cardinal Gibbons freely. This will cost us $3 a paper, and will reach dailies in cities of 25,000 inhabitants or less. This expense can only be estimated on this basis of $3 a paper as we shall not contract this expense for any paper that will not use it. The expense is merely for the making of the plates and shipping of the same. Thus, if we get 100 papers, there will be a $300 bill in connection therewith. Or, if we get 1,000 papers, it would run to $3,000. We probably would get nearer the first figure than the last.

Both of these matters must be put in hand without delay and in no event later than Saturday, so that I ask you to wire me immediately on receipt of this.

Very truly, yours, ATHERTON BROWNELL.

I have just received a report showing about 30 cuts per day, and we expect 500 cuts to October 15 in regular course.

I read that to refresh your recollection. Can you tell me now to what extent you did adopt this plan of reaching people through this newspaper syndicate?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I can not tell you. The correspondence must disclose that. A great many conferences were arranged directly between Mr. Van Cleave and Mr. Brownell, and a very small part of that passed through my hands.

Senator REED. In sending out this news matter, you did not put anything on it to indicate to the papers that received it that it was being inspired and put out by this organization, did you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know, because that was in Mr. Brownell's hands. I think he easily can be gotten here to testify fully on that subject.

Senator REED. I call attention to the following letter:

E 790–791.

This agreement made this 1st day of August, 1907, between the Century Syndicate, a corporation of the State of New York, hereinafter referred to as the syndicate, and the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America, a corporation duly incorporated under the laws of the State of New York and hereinafter referred to as the association, witnesseth:

The syndicate agrees to faithfully and diligently conduct a campaign of education throughout the United States and in such other places as may be from time to time mutually agreed upon, for a period of three months beginning on the 1st day of August, 1907, and terminating on the 1st day of November, 1907, covering the labor problem, tariff revision, merchant marine, and such kindred subjects as may be made a part of the policy of the association, following the direction of thought determined by the association's president, executive committee, and board of directors.

The association reserves the right on the expiration of the said three months if such services of the syndicate are considered satisfactory to renew this contract in writing on the same conditions as herein set out for a period of two years and nine months, beginning on the 1st day of November, 1907, and terminating on the 1st day of August, 1910.

The syndicate will devote all the facilities that its organization has toward giving to the subject as widespread publicity as possible, through the public press and all other available channels. The syndicate further agrees to take over and edit American Industries, a newspaper published at New York City, as well as supply such matter as is required by other newspapers directly or indirectly under the association's care, and as may be determined upon from time to time.

I pause here to ask you what these other papers were that were under the association's care, either directly or indirectly?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I know of only one. The Citizens' Industrial Association of St. Louis had a monthly publication called The Exponent. It was only for a short time. I do not know whether that is intended herein. I do know that for awhile they furnished us cuts and stories.

Senator REED. You say that may have been under the care of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was not under the care of the National Association of Manufacturers; but Mr. Van Cleave being president of the Citizens' Industrial Association, he may have had that in mind. I know of nothing else that he could have had in mind.

Senator REED. I read on:

The Association agrees to pay to the Syndicate for services rendered by it, its connections, and its establishment the sum of $2,000 per month and in addition thereto to pay the actual cost of such members of the Syndicate's staff (exclusive of the executive force, which include all the officers of the Syndicate) who are withdrawn from other work, and placed exclusively at the service of the Association, together with such traveling expenses as may be incurred in the service of the Association.

The Association agrees to pay for such expenditures as subcontracts with organizations, newspapers, syndicates and magazine writers especially assigned, after the same have been approved by the president or the executive committee

or the board of directors of the Association and billed to it at the actually net cost to the Syndicate, plus 10 per cent for its services for directing the same.

The Syndicate agrees to carry out the whole project, as above set out, rendering bills and statements for all expenditures, to the Association, on the first of each month.

It is understood and agreed that the total expense on this contract for the first three months as above set out, shall not exceed an average of $5,000.00 per month.

The Association reserves the right to cancel this contract on sixty days notice in the event that it should for any reason decide to abandon this campaign as above set out. The Association will protect the Syndicate in such contracts which have been approved by the President or Executive Committee of the Association.

At the termination of this contract, the Syndicate agrees to turn over to the Association all the material collected, data, statistics, newspaper lists, etc., photographs, manuscripts, etc. In other words all the visible parts of the organization created for the Association under this contract.

In witness, whereof, the said parties have hereunto set their hands the day and year first above written.

[SEAL.] attest THE CENTURY SYNDICATE,
By CARLYLE ELLIS, By ATHERTON BROWNELL, *President.*
Secretary.

[SEAL.] attest THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS,
By JAMES W. VAN CLEAVE, *President.*
By
Secretary.

Word "and" stricken out, and word "or" substituted. Word "or" inserted after "President."

A. B.

Letter attached hereto is a part of this contract.

J. N. V.

You knew of that contract, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You knew of that scheme for sending out news, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, in a general way.

Senator REED. You, of course, thought it entirely justifiable to get hold of news syndicates and pay them for putting particular matter in their papers, or putting the matter in plate form and having that matter in turn sent out to papers that would publish it under the impression that it was ordinarily unprejudiced news, collected by unprejudiced agents? You thought, of course, that was perfectly justifiable?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Senator, I do not see what my own opinion could have to do with it, or that it would have any bearing. I was no party to it, as Mr. Van Cleave did it. My opinion certainly can not change it.

Senator REED. In view of your opinion, and the fact that you looked upon Mr. Van Cleave as one of the greatest men of the country and described him as a martyr to the great cause, I thought maybe your opinion on this would be of value.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think Mr. Van Cleave would never have uttered a wrong word or have done a deed he thought was wrong.

Senator WALSH. That is to say, the idea is that if Mr. Van Cleave did it, it would make it right?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir; but I believe Mr. Van Cleave thought it was right, or he would not have done it.

Senator REED. Did you have any other newspaper writers in your employ who were connected with great dailies, and so forth?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe that at various times writers from some of our St. Louis papers have aided Mr. Van Cleave in the preparation of various matter.

Senator WALSH. I suppose you could not remember the names of any of those people, could you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I know very well the name of one, and that is Mr. Charles M. Harvey, of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat. He is a contributor also to the Atlantic Monthly, and that kind of papers.

Senator WALSH. Did you ever pay Mr. Harvey for writing articles for the Atlantic Monthly or other papers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. Did you ever pay him for writing any newspaper articles of any kind?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No.

Senator WALSH. You know he was for a long time on the pay roll of this association, do you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do know that he was paid a certain amount per word for articles and various things which he wrote for Mr. Van Cleave.

Senator WALSH. Those articles afterwards appeared where?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Oh, in various directions. For instance, he is a very able writer on economic subjects, and I am sure that a good deal of the material—a good deal of the data—which Mr. Van Cleave used in his speeches, was prepared by Mr. Harvey.

Senator NELSON. Do you mean Mr. Van Cleave's speeches?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. Mr. Harvey did not write for newspapers or magazines articles which you people paid him for?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Never, to the best of my knowledge.

Senator REED. Did he write any matter which was circulated through Mr. Brownell—put out in newspapers or magazines?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. This was a good while ago, and my answer must be more or less of a guess; but I believe that if it was so it was only over Mr. Van Cleave's signature, and not in any other way.

Senator REED. I want to read this to see if it will not refresh your recollection a little:

E118-119.

OCTOBER 16, 1907.

Mr. CHARLES M. HARVEY, *City.*

MY DEAR MR. HARVEY: I am not sure that I have expressed to you before now Mr. Van Cleave's and my great admiration of the article entitled "National charters for interstate corporations." I have hammered away by letter and telegram to our Mr. Brownell, endeavoring to get the article into a November magazine. Somehow or other I have not been able to get him as enthusiastic on this subject as he usually grows, and really I think that it is the finest article that I have read for years. After a half dozen letters and telegrams I have to-day a long communication from Mr. Brownell dealing with this article. I quote it as follows:

Had you not had this article written, and had it not been submitted to you for the purpose of having it put in magazines?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. As coming from Mr. Van Cleave. In other words, with Mr. Van Cleave's authorship, or known definitely as coming from the association.

Senator WALSH. You scarcely mean that, that Mr. Van Cleave would hire Mr. Harvey to write an article——

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do mean that.

Senator WALSH. And then it would be published as a production of Mr. Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I mean to say that, Mr. Harvey being a very experienced writer, time and again Mr. Van Cleave, Mr. Harvey, and I had conferences, and Mr. Van Cleave would express to Mr. Harvey his ideas on certain subjects. Mr. Harvey was capable of placing those in better language than Mr. Van Cleave could, and Mr. Van Cleave would send those out as his articles.

Senator NELSON. There are certain bureaus here in Washington—although I have never used them—which I understand write speeches for Members of Congress or others. They have offered their services to me.

The CHAIRMAN. I have heard that there are such bureaus here.

Senator REED. I will continue the reading of this letter:

"I quote it as follows:"

This is the letter that Mr. Brownell wrote, that you quoted:

"First, regarding Mr. Van Cleave's article: I wish that Mr. Van Cleave had seen fit in this to take a little different line, interesting and valuable though the article is as it stands. You doubtless have a carbon of the article, and if you will look it over you will see that he has dealt very largely with the historical phase of the question, showing the precedent for the establishment of such a

condition. It seems to me that the article would be much more effective if, instead of dealing with these precedents, he had devoted himself almost entirely to the question of the necessity of such treatment of interstate corporations *at the present time*. You did this admirably in your letter to me regarding the subject in the first instance, and I have taken the liberty to use the thoughts therein contained in an editorial for American Industries. Were Mr. Van Cleave to follow that line and show the actual necessity in the case and, by facts in detail, indicate the handicap under which interstate corporations now labor and the difficulties of operation as well as the advantages that would follow the establishment of such a commission, I believe that the article would have a more definite and immediate appeal.

"As I wired you, the '*North American Review*' is not feasible for this article for the reason that they are very tender on the subject of the susceptibilities of corporations. The '*World's Work*' is absolutely in line for such an article, and I have before me a letter from Mr. Page in which he expresses a desire to see it just as soon as it reaches me. Nevertheless, the *World's Work* and Mr. Page are particularly desirous of carrying articles which deal entirely with *facts of the present day*, and I honestly feel that Mr. Page will have some prejudice against this manuscript because it deals so largely with history, and the consistency of carrying out this suggested policy of the precedents, rather than with questions of the immediate necessity and advantage. Another point I would make regarding this article is that as it is prepared, it is a backing up of President Roosevelt instead of a direct hammering out of the situation by President Van Cleave. Were this article to be written by any less important a gentleman than Mr. Van Cleave and on these lines, it would fail of publication for the reasons that I have set forth. Coming from him, we can perhaps publish it, but I am very strongly inclined to think that it would be better policy to hold it back for a day or two until Mr. Van Cleave can consider the somewhat frank criticism that I have made, and I can be advised by you. I note that you are in a hurry to get it printed, but it would not be possible to get it into any November number of a monthly magazine in view of the fact that all of the November numbers are already on the press. Therefore, if I can get this back revised on the lines that I suggest in a week, there will still be time for as early publication as would otherwise be obtainable. I am, therefore, holding the article until I hear from you as to the course that Mr. Van Cleave wishes to be pursued."

If I understand you right, Mr. Harvey wrote the articles for magazines, but they were not to be published under Mr. Harvey's name, but were sent out as Mr. Van Cleave's publications.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is correct.

Senator REED. So I was in error in saying he wrote articles for magazines. He wrote them in this way, and they reached the magazines through the medium and over the signature of Mr. Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. That is right?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. There is some more of this letter, but I will not take the time to read it.

Mr. Harvey was pretty thoroughly in accord with your associations and with their work?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He was very thoroughly so, yes sir.

Senator REED. And he wrote a good many editorials for your papers, did he not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He did.

Senator REED. And got paid for them?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And at the same time he was writing editorials for the Globe-Democrat, was he?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And getting paid for them?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I sincerely hope so.

Senator REED. I mean by your people.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir; no, sir. Never for a word except what he wrote definitely for our use and for our information.

Senator REED. Just so that it may appear here, I desire to read the following letter:

E 599.

JUNE 9, 1908.

MY DEAR MR. HARVEY: Confirming our talk this morning I suggest that you write, as soon as you can, a President's Page for American Industries of June 15. It should be approximately 1,500 words long, and contain, it seems to me, the following two basic ideas:

First, a note of joy that we have succeeded in defeating bad legislation during the last congressional session, but a note of warning that our victory is only temporary. With a National campaign immediately ahead of us and the second congressional session beginning this fall it is up to the National Association of Manufacturers to get into legislative and political work with greater force, conservatism and understanding. We must watch the platforms of the various parties, and we must see to it that the leading parties have no objectionable planks. We must go further. We must see to it that good planks are adopted in the various matters interesting us. This is the immediate need, but we must go further. We must submit the questions in which we are interested—labor, tariff, railroad regulation, child labor, postal savings banks, ship subsidy and other matters—to the judgment of the best men we know of, whether committtee members or paid attorneys. We must outline definite policies. We must be prepared in the future not only to say what we oppose, but also to say what we do not oppose. Maybe we will have to go further than this and say what we advocate.

The second basic thought should be that we must take care of our friends. We must see to it that those who wish to remain in public life are reelected, and those who have dropped out are replaced by the right kind of men.

Bearing on these fundamental thoughts I shall give you some quotations from letters received at and written from this office. Before beginning this let me say that I intend to use this next President's Page in the same manner in which I used those shortly before the convention, namely, in membership campaign work. Letters will be sent out to members and prospective members as soon as we can have this next President's Page printed. It should then be followed up with anothter one near the first of the month. Mr. Van Cleave will be able to outline before then what he wants, but as a general thought I suggest that it deal with the Republican platform adopted in Chicago.

Very truly, yours,

Secretary to the President.

Mr. CHAS. M. HARVEY, *City.*

I thought that your association did not have anything to do with politics.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I thought, Senator, I explained that I was a layman in those matters, and how I differentiated between politics and our political activity; and of course I left that to the advice of our lawyers and to the judgment of Mr. Van Cleave.

Senator WALSH. If I understand you clearly now, you felt you were forbidden to make any contribution to a political party?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Or to a candidate.

Senator WALSH. Outside of that, you were at liberty to engage in whatever political activities you felt disposed to?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We were at liberty to have our own men see the people in the districts, and to pay their expenses.

Senator REED. And you were also at liberty to have that own man of yours, when he was in a district, go to your own members and solicit funds, and then back him up by letters from the central organization urging those gentlemen to contribute; and you were also at liberty even to have the checks sent to your own president and have them turned back to the political committee. That was all right, according to your understanding?

Mr SCHWEDTMAN. No, Senator. Not that it was not all right. There was only one time—or rather one instance—where that sort of thing was attempted. That was in the Watson campaign in Indiana, which of course was a State campaign. Mr. Van Cleave repeatedly refused to write such letters or to sign such letters; but as I remember, he did send out such a letter in the Watson campaign, and he gave such a letter of introduction to Mr. Mulhall, not to secure the money, but to have the money turned over to a central committee.

Senator REED. I understand. There are a good many refinements in this——

Mr. MCCARTER. Is that dignified, with this witness? I do not think so.

Senator REED. I do not think it is undignified. I was about to utter a sentence, and was interrupted before I got it half out of my mouth.

Mr. MCCARTER. You said, "There are a good many refinements in this"——

Senator REED. Was it dignified of you to interrupt me before I got through?

Mr. MCCARTER. Perhaps not.

Senator REED. There are a good many refinements, apparently, and I want to trace those refinements out by the facts. The first fact is that you did send Mulhall into Indiana to engage in Watson's campaign?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. The second fact is that your association did pay his expenses and his salary while he was there?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You did not do that as a political contribution, although he went there to work for Watson?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We did not.

Senator REED. When he got there, you furnished Watson with lists of manufacturers who were members of your organization?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe that is a fact.

Senator REED. And you armed him with letters asking them to render such aid as they could? That is right, is it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Then he went there and asked them to contribute money?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think so, but that was being arranged——

Senator REED. You know so, do you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know so. There has been a good deal of discussion one way and another of what was carried on under the management of the Indianapolis committee, so I do not know of my own knowledge; no.

Senator REED. And in some instances, at least, the men in making their checks made them to Van Cleave, and then Van Cleave turned them over to Hanch, who was a local committeeman?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. If there was such an instance I do not remember it.

Senator REED. And you were kept constantly advised by Mulhall with reference to his success or failure in getting money?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He advised us about every phase of the situation; but I have heard different reports from different sources, and therefore I am afraid I was not reliably informed.

Senator REED. That is what I mean by refinements, that you distinguish between that kind of service and a direct contribution?

Mr. EMERY. Senator, are not the rights of life full of fine distinctions?

Senator REED. Possibly, and yet I think there are some things that are attempted to be done by fine distinctions which do not escape by virtue of that.

Mr. EMERY. It was a German philosopher who once said that the only difference between a free man and a prisoner was that one was outside and the other was inside a stone wall.

Senator REED. Yes; and that is a very great difference and is not a refinement. But I am not sufficiently up in legislative work to just understand this line.

I call your attention to this letter, Mr. Schwedtman, to see which side of the wall this is on:

(1637, 1638.)

CHICAGO, *June 16, 1908.*

Hon. KITTREDGE HASKINS,
Second Congressional District, Brattleboro, Vt.

MY DEAR COLONEL: Your letter was forwarded to me to this city yesterday, and many thanks for the same. I am pleased to note that you received the checks. I had Mr. Schwedtman, of the St. Louis office, send you $300 yesterday by wire. Let me know if you received same. In addition to this we have written to every manufacturer in your district, and I am told we are given some very nice letters in return. If you answer this, let me know if our people are doing anything for you outside of the money that was sent by Mr. Emery and our new York office and this that Mr. Schwedtman sent you yesterday. I met Mr. Adams at the convention here yesterday, and he made to me a very favorable report concerning your district. Besides the three men I have sent you, two of which are working in St. Johnsbury and one in Springfield and other towns, have written me every day since they arrived in Vermont. Both men tell me that

you will certainly win if you keep active yourself. The principal complaint, they claim, is that the people have seen lots of your opponent but very little of you. You know your own district best though, and they may be wrong in this statement.

I know from the letters we are receiving from Vermont that our people are anxious to help you, and I will have our president, Mr. Van Cleave, send a long telegram to Mr. Turner to-day of the Fairbanks scale people.

Trusting to hear when you answer this that you have won your fight, believe me to be ever,

Faithfully, yours, ——— ———.

You sent that $300, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have no recollection of it, Senator.

Senator REED. You are not prepared to say you did not, are you?

Senator NELSON. Is this Mr. Schwedtman's letter?

Mr. MCCARTER. Not at all.

Senator NELSON. It is Mulhall's letter.

Senator REED. Yes; but it is a letter he wrote to Mr. Haskins, saying:

"I had Mr. Schwedtman, of the St. Louis office, send you $300 yesterday by wire."

I am asking Mr. Schwedtman if he did not send that $300 by wire?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have no recollection of sending it.

Senator REED. Do you say you did not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; I say I have no recollection of sending it.

Senator REED. Of course there is a difference between saying "I have no recollection" and saying "I did not do it."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Quite decidedly.

Senator REED. You do not mean to say you did not, but that you have no recollection?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I am not willing to say that I did not do anything four or five years past, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. We must go upon the floor and vote.

Senator REED. It is 6 o'clock. Suppose we adjourn.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; we will adjourn until half past 10 to-morrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 6 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, August 30, 1913, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., Saturday, August 30, 1913.

The subcommittee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., pursuant to adjournment.

Present: Senators Overman (chairman), Reed, Walsh, and Nelson.

TESTIMONY OF FERDINAND C. SCHWEDTMAN—Resumed.

Senator REED. Mr. Schwedtman, on yesterday, just before adjournment, I had called your attention to 1637, 1638, it being a letter of June 16, 1908, written to Mr. Kittredge Haskins by Mulhall, in which Mulhall states:

"I had Mr. Schwedtman, of the St. Louis office, send you $300 yesterday by wire."

After reading you that letter I asked you:

"You sent that $300, did you not?"

And you answered:

"I have no recollection of it, Senator."

Then the following occurred:

"Senator REED. You are not prepared to say you did not, are you?

"Senator NELSON. Is this Mr. Schwedtman's letter?

"Mr. MCCARTER. Not at all.

"Senator NELSON. It is Mulhall's letter.

"Senator REED. Yes; but it is a letter he wrote to Mr. Haskins saying, 'I had Mr. Schwedtman, of the St. Louis office, send you $300 yesterday by wire.' I am asking Mr. Schwedtman if he did not send that $300 by wire?

"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have no recollection of sending it.
"Senator REED. Do you say you did not?
"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; I say I have no recollection of sending it.
"Senator REED. Of course there is a difference between saying, 'I have no recollection' and 'I did not do it.'
"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Quite decidedly.
"Senator REED. You do not mean to say you did not, but that you have no recollection.
"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I am not willing to say that I did not do anything four or five years past, Senator."

Now, referring to that identical matter, I call your atention to 1635, 1636.

Senator NELSON. In what series is that?

Senator REED. In the Mulhall letters. When there is no letter of the alphabet given with the number, it is always a Mulhall letter. That is the way the exhibits are marked. I call your attention to 1635, 1636, addressed to Col. Mulhall from Brattleboro, Vt., June 17, 1908. It reads as follows:

1635, 1636.

BRATTLEBORO, VT., *June 17, 1908.*

Col. M. M. MULHALL,
170 Broadway, New York City, N. Y.

MY DEAR COLONEL: Yours of yesterday written from Chicago just received, and in reply would say that I just received from New York the remittance authorized by telegraph.

There is more of the letter, but that is the part that is in point, and it is signed "Kittredge Haskins."

In view of Mr. Haskins's acknowledgment of the receipt of this money in the letter of the very next day after Col. Mulhall's letter, you have no doubt that Haskins got that $300, have you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Senator, I know nothing about the affairs of the New York office. I only try to remember what happened in St. Louis.

Senator REED. But you do know about what money you sent by wire, unless you have forgotten it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Why, certainly.

Senator REED. In a letter written to Kittredge Haskins, Col. Mulhall said that he had had you send $300 by wire?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. That letter is dated June 16, 1908. I have now called your attention to the letter of Mr. Haskins, dated June 17, 1908, in which he states:

"Yours of yesterday written from Chicago just received, and in reply would say that I just received from New York the remittance authorized by telegraph."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. From New York?

Senator REED. Yes. And did you not wire the New York office to send that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not recollect having done anything of that kind, Senator.

Senator REED. Your recollection is a blank about it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. My recollection is absolutely a blank about it. I do not recollect sending the telegram.

Senator REED. I suppose you have forgotten a great many things that you did, that you could not remember if it was not for the letters?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Absolutely.

Senator REED. And therefore the letters are perhaps the best evidence of what took place.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. In 1907 who was acting secretary?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. George S. Boudinot.

Senator REED. You say all payments were made from the New York office, and you said yesterday in substance and effect that the National Association of Manufacturers was not engaged in spending money in politics. I want to ask you if it is not a fact that you simply worked out a plan for evading the statute?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. There was no such intention.

Senator REED. There was not? I want to read this letter to you, E 258-259:

E 258-259.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS,
New York, December 13, 1907.

Mr. F. C. SCHWEDTMAN,
St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR MR. SCHWEDTMAN: I inclose herewith copy of the law we discussed in Washington last week. Our attorney's comments are as follows:

"The intention of the statute is obvious. It has been strictly observed in New York. I fail to see how it could be more comprehensive in its scope and operation. It operates only within the confines of this State. Its application could not be invoked in another State. On the other hand, a careful reading shows that it does not relate exclusively to candidates, party or parties in New York State. In other words, in my opinion the violation of the statute here, even for the benefit of a political party or candidate in another State, would come within the operation of the statute, provided the violation took place within this State. So far as I know there has been no judicial interpretation or adjudication of the statute in the courts of New York."

Yours, very truly,

Acting Secretary.

It is advised that all payments to Col. M. be made from your office out of your funds, and only the total of his expense a/cs be communicated to this office.

Chapter 239 of the Laws of New York, 1906, section 41, is as follows:

"No corporation or joint stock association doing business in this State, except a corporation or association organized or maintained for political purposes only, shall, directly or indirectly, pay, or use, or offer, consent or agree to pay or use any money or property for or in aid of any political party, committee, or organization, or for or in aid of any corporation, joint-stock association, or other association organized or maintained for political purposes, or for or in aid of any candidate for political office, or for nomination for such office, or for any political purpose whatever, or for the reimbursement or indemnification of any person for moneys or property so used. Any director, stockholder, attorney, or agent of any corporation or joint-stock association who violates any of the provisions of this act, who participates in, aids, abets, advises, or consents to any such violation, and any person who solicits or knowingly receives any money or property in violation of this section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable by imprisonment in a penitentiary or county jail for not more than one year and a fine of not more than $1,000."

I have read you that letter, and I call your attention to these lines:

"It is advised that all payments to Col. M."——

That was Col. Mulhall, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Surely.

Senator REED. I read on:

"be made from your office out of your funds, and only the total of his expense a/cs."—

What does "a/cs." mean?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have no idea.

Senator REED. It means accounts, does it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Accounts, I believe.

Senator REED. I continue:

"and only the total of his expense a/cs. be communicated to this office."

Now, why only communicate the total of his accounts to the New York office?

Mr. MCCARTER. I submit that this witness did not write that letter.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Boudinot would be the best judge of what he meant.

Senator REED. I submit that it is not proper in court, or any place else, for an attorney to make that sort of interjection. You and I have practiced law long enough to know better.

Mr. MCCARTER. Yes; and I never before in any other place heard a man who received a letter asked to construe it for the man who wrote it; never before, in court or any place else, until it has been attempted here.

Senator REED. I have heard it done thousands of times.

Mr. MCCARTER. I never have, in my experience.

Senator REED. But I am not talking about that. I am talking about the practice of a shrewd attorney interjecting a remark at the proper time, and about

the effect of it upon the witness. I have done it myself when I was hard pressed, but it will not go here.

This letter was written to you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you were the secretary to the president?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And the suggestion came to you to send to New York only the total of his expenses, which, of course, meant to exclude the items. Why was that done?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Boudinot must be the judge. I could not say.

Senator REED. You acted upon it, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think not.

Senator REED. From that time on was not that the course you pursued?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. To the best of my recollection, no. For a short time it may have been; but Mr. Boudinot was no lawyer, and it was referred to the lawyers.

Senator REED. I am not talking about lawyers. I am talking about what you did.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We did not act upon this. If for a short time we did, it was not the usual practice.

Senator REED. You did do it for a time?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know whether we did it for any time at all, even; but it is possible, Senator.

Senator REED. You have no letter and know of no letter in which you repudiated this and said you would not do it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know of any letter. As I say, I have not read any of the letters for four or five or six years.

Senator REED. I am going back now to your statement in your testimony. I call attention to page 190 of the typewritten transcript of the testimony of yesterday, August 29. I will read a little of it, beginning on page 189, so as to give you the context:

"Senator WALSH. That is to say, you contemplated at that time sending out some men that you called field men?

"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

"Senator WALSH. Into the districts of these various Congressmen?

"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Congressmen who had been blacklisted by the American Federation of Labor.

"Senator WALSH. For the purpose of promoting their election?

"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

"Senator WALSH. And you were advised that that was not political work?

"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

"Senator WALSH. So that it did not fall within the inhibition?"

That was the inhibition of the statute.

"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

"Senator WALSH. But that the association was prohibited from engaging in political work or making any expenditures on that account?

"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe it was specified that we could not contribute either to the campaign fund of a candidate or to the campaign fund of a party.

"Senator WALSH. But you could make your own expenditures as you saw fit?

"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

"Senator WALSH. Did that seem reasonable to you?

"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I had no knowledge of those things at all, so I always go by the advice of the specialist, the lawyer."

I will read as follows from the testimony a little later on, so you will have both of these excerpts:

"Senator WALSH. Do you recall that in his desperation to get money to enable Judge Jenkins even to leave home to go out on the stump in his district, he suggested that you make an effort among the brewers in St. Louis?

"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

"Senator WALSH. Did you do so?

"Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think I saw Congressman Bartholdt. I did not see any brewers, no, sir; but I think he suggested that I see Congressman Bartholdt, and I showed the letter, I believe, to Congressman Bartholdt, and I believe he said he would see what he could do to help Judge Jenkins, but that is as far as I went. I had no further information from that source."

The idea is that you undertook to say that your association did not raise or contribute any money for political campaigns; and that in the case of Judge Jenkins, while you got a letter from Mulhall appealing to you to see Congressman Bartholdt, you simply showed Congressman Bartholdt the letter which asked him to get some help from the brewers, and that is as far as you went?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is my recollection: yes, sir.

Senator REED. I now call your attention to letter 1664, 1665, to see if you did not go further in the matter of raising money. This is a letter from yourself to James A. Emery, as follows:

"(1664, 1665.)

"JUNE 25, 1908.

"Mr. JAMES A. EMERY, *New York City.*

"MY DEAR JAMES: Although I know that you will return to New York only on Sunday night, I think it best to send this letter to-day. I am going to send copy of it to Martin"——

"Martin" was Mulhall, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I read further, as follows:

"I attach hereto copy of his letter to me of June 23. To his letter of the 23d he attaches copy of the one he wrote you on the same date, also copy of a letter written to Mr. O'Connell. It seems to me that Martin is doing most excellent work in Judge Jenkins's district, and it is unnecessary to say that we both must and will cooperate with him to the limit of our ability.

"For reasons which you know as well as I, I have to use more judgment in political work than in any other direction of our association's activities."

It seems you had not entirely retired from politics at that time.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have never been in politics, Senator.

Senator REED. You have never been in politics? Do you tell me that, in view of this sentence which I just read to you:

"For reasons which you know as well as I, I have to use more judgment in political work than in any other direction of our association's activities."

After that do you say you were not in politics?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Never.

Senator REED. And the association was not in politics?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I never was in politics.

Senator REED. Oh, well, Mr. Schwedtman, that is another one of these fine distinctions between you as an individual and you as an officer or employee of the association.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I was an employee; I was not an officer. I had no identity. At that time I had Mr. Van Cleave's identity and no other.

Senator REED. But being a creature wholly without identity, you nevertheless had to use more judgment? You were a creature with judgment, I take it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Hired for that purpose.

Senator REED. You exercised judgment?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. To the best of my ability, always.

Senator REED. Separating yourself entirely from yourself, and eliminating every portion of your make-up except your judgment, your judgment was engaged in politics, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No. Senator, the word "politics," of course we know, is a very broad term. We were interested in promoting certain economic and political principles, but not partisan politics, and that is the difference.

Senator REED. You were not engaged in partisan politics; but you wrote this, anyway? That is, your judgment, not you, dictated this sentence:

"For reasons which you know, as well as I, I have to use more judgment in political work than in any other direction of our association's activities."

We will let it go at that. Your judgment did that and you did not. Then I want to know whether it was your judgment or you yourself who did this:

"I have written Judge Jenkins a letter direct, copy of which is attached."

Did you do that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. For Mr. Van Cleave; yes, sir.

Senator REED. You did it, however?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I read further:

"I know it is very difficult to make any financial estimates in connection with a political campaign, and still such an estimate is absolutely necessary if we want to see this thing through properly, which we must, of course, do."

Was that your judgment acting there, or was that Mr. Schwedtman acting there, embodying other faculties of mind and heart which Mr. Schwedtman possessed?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was Mr. Schwedtman's judgment, Senator.

Senator REED. I read again:

"Martin has given me the suggestion that certain amounts of money might be raised from one of our St. Louis Congressmen, but I know that he is always asking for money himself."

How did you know that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I contributed personally, regularly, in a small way, to Mr. Bartholdt's campaign, and so did Mr. Van Cleave. We were both locally interested.

Senator REED. That of course does not constitute "always asking for money."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Outside of those contributions to his personal campaign there, in a personal way, I have never given Congressman Bartholdt a penny of any kind.

Senator REED. I do not mean you gave him any money except in aiding him in politics. I do not mean anything else—I have too much respect for Congressman Bartholdt. I do not mean to suggest such a thing as that.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir; he is a fine man.

Senator REED. But you said this:

"There will be a great deal of money needed in St. Louis."

You meant in politics, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I read further:

"And the breweries that Martin suggests should furnish some of the funds will have their hands full with the local situation."

What did the breweries have specially at issue in 1908 in St. Louis?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Nothing special.

Senator REED. You said they would "have their hands full with the local situation."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Of course you are more or less familiar with the Missouri condition, Senator, and you know the way all of us are in politics there. They all have their own interests. Some go far enough to have officers in both campaigns to watch their interests.

Senator REED. On both sides?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. They play both sides against the temperance people like myself?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Probably so.

Senator REED. Had you been pretty familiar with the way the breweries raised and spent their money?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. I read on from this letter:

"We can try them, of course"—

That is, the breweries—

"but I am not hopeful of the outcome. In his letter to you Martin speaks as if there might be a possibility of raising some funds East. Have you any hopes in that direction?"

Why were you and Emery writing back and forth about raising funds in the East for Judge Jenkins, unless you intended to do so?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We did try.

Senator REED. Emery was the attorney of the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It did not exist at that time.

Senator REED. He was the attorney for the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe so; or for the Citizens' Industrial Association of America. I do not remember.

Senator REED. It appears in evidence that at this time he was acting for the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. All right.

Senator REED. And you were the secretary to the president of the Manufacturers' Association, his right-hand man; and Mulhall was employed by the Manufacturers' Association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. As the field agent.

Senator REED. And Mulhall had been sent into Judge Jenkins's district by the Manufacturers' Association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He had.

Senator REED. And the Manufacturers' Association management at that time was in the hands of Mr. Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was. That is, the presidency was. The management was always more or less at the New York office.

Senator REED. In the absence of a meeting of the directors, he managed things?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir; he directed them.

Senator REED. You were working for Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And under his direction?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And Mulhall was under his direction?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Emery was under his direction?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Neither one of you men had the slightest personal interest in Judge Jenkins?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Except——

Senator REED. You did not know him personally, did you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I did not. Mr. Emery did; Mr. Van Cleave did; and he was blacklisted by the American Federation of Labor.

Senator REED. And it was because he was blacklisted by the American Federation of Labor that you and Mr. Emery and Mr. Mulhall and Mr. Van Cleave determined you would help him?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. That you would all work, as officers of this organization?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I as an employee; Mr. Van Cleave being the only officer.

Senator REED. As officers or employees?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You did, then, as officers or employees of this association, undertake to raise money in the East for Mr. Jenkins, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It would appear so from that letter; yes, sir.

Senator REED. So, do you now say that this association was in politics and getting money to be used in politics?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Senator, trying to do a thing and doing it are quite different things.

Senator REED. I am not going to question whether you succeeded or not, but you were trying to do it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, indeed.

Senator REED. Did you do it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. Did you not get some money for Jenkins?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Did we get some money for Jenkins?

Senator REED. You or some one? Did you get money for Jenkins?

Mr. MCCARTER. It appears they got a thousand dollars.

Senator REED. That is another interjection, and I do not like that. I do not want to be corrected in this. I know what I am doing; and if you will correct anybody, you will correct the witness, but not me.

Mr. MCCARTER. He does not need any correction.

Senator REED. Then I do not need any, so just you keep still, please. I say that politely and kindly.

Mr. MCCARTER. I know that. That is all right.

Senator REED. In addition to the thousand dollars, there was other money raised in the Jenkins campaign for him, was there not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Not to my recollection. I do not know. There may have been.

Senator REED. Your recollection seems to be defective.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Not at all, now. That is somewhat of a reflection, and I want to say to you that no man can remember what he has written six or seven years ago. You could not, could you, Senator? I want you to understand that I answer every question to the very best of my ability and I want no reflection upon me.

Senator REED. There is nobody making any reflection.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I want it so understood, and distinctly understood, Senator.

Senator REED. Mr. Schwedtman, I do not know what you mean by your manner, but let me tell you that you will not gain anything by that; not a thing, sir.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Senator, I have nothing but reputation, and I want to keep that, and I want no reflection upon that by anyone.

Senator REED. If you will ask me in a kindly, gentlemanly way not to reflect upon your reputation, I will not do it.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I meant to do it in a kindly, gentlemanly way, and not in any other way, and if I have done it in any other way, I apologize.

Senator REED. All right. You say that without the letters you can not recollect, and yet I thought you were pretty positive the other day in your statements that certain things had not happened. I am not reflecting upon your integrity when I ask you about your letters, but I am challenging your recollection pretty sharply right now. You go on in this letter as follows:

"In his letter to you Martin speaks as if there might be a possibility of raising some funds East. Have you any hopes in that direction? There being no manufacturers in Mr. Jenkins's district, it will be very difficult to raise money in his district."

If there had been manufacturers in his district, members of your organization, you would have gone directly to them, would you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir; as Mulhall's instructions from Mr. Van Cleave were to try to interest our members, and manufacturers in general, in the candidacy of the Members of Congress who were blacklisted by the American Federation of Labor.

Senator REED. That was the general plan?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. So you would have followed it in this case?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I read on:

"And, as you have said in former correspondence, he is such a valuable man that national efforts must be made to help him out. As soon as I have a note from Mr. Jenkins I shall raise money some way temporarily, but we need more definite plans for the future than we so far have."

Did you raise some money for him temporarily?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Not that I recollect.

Senator REED. If there was a letter here telling about it, I suppose you probably would recollect it.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I would be very glad to identify it.

Senator REED. It is not on the money line, but it is on your activity in politics. That is your judgment, not you. I read further:

"I judge from what you have said in former correspondence regarding Mr. Littlefield that he will be willing to say some nice things about Judge Jenkins, which we may be able to get into the papers in his district."

It would seem that you, or your judgment, were at that time engaged in a scheme to get some political material into the papers as well as to get some money.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. To get the truth into the papers.

Senator REED. Yes. Of course you do not think that was political work that you were engaged in—you, Ferdinand C. Schwedtman?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I was Mr. Van Cleave's secretary.

Senator REED. Not your judgment, but just you. You do not think that was political work?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I was acting as Mr. Van Cleave's secretary, and therefore I submitted the question of politics to a lawyer, and we acted according to the lawyer's judgment.

Senator WALSH. You submitted the question of politics to a lawyer?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; the question as to how far we as an association would be permitted to go into politics. I think politics is a mighty interesting game, indeed, and instead of objecting to being in it, I think it is fine to play it.

Senator REED. All I am asking you to do is to say—what these letters clearly indicate—that you were taking a very decided interest in Judge Jenkins's campaign, both in the matter of raising money and in the matter of securing support of newspapers.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. None of us could consider politics a disagreeable thing, because our positions here indicate that we have all been in politics. The only

thing that is surprising is that, in view of the positive declarations in all these letters, you should persist in saying you were not in politics clear up to your neck.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have explained that to the best of my ability.

Senator REED. I will read a little further from this letter, because I think this is of interest:

"In further following up the publicity efforts, do you think that it would be advisable to get in touch with the Chicago man who gave you such excellent service during the Chicago convention of the Citizens' Industrial Association, Mr. McEldowney? I am afraid that he is tied to a man by the name of Moon. You will remember he was talking to Mr. Van Cleave while you and I were present a year or so ago in Chicago. He amounts to nothing, in my opinion, but has any amount of hot air and gall. You seem to be very close to Mr. McEldowney, and if through his efforts we could influence the attitude of the Scandinavian we should be willing to pay for it."

The Scandinavian was a newspaper published in Chicago, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. So I understand.

Senator REED. Do you recollect who was the editor of that paper?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No.

Senator REED. How much money did you expect to spend to influence this paper? You say:

"You seem to be very close to Mr. McEldowney, and if through his efforts we could influence the attitude of the Scandinavian we should be willing to pay for it."

Do you remember whether you talked about how much money would be necessary?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, never. It was only bearing upon a suggestion of Mr. Mulhall. Mr. Mulhall said, I believe, that this particular paper, being a labor paper, was very unfriendly to Judge Jenkins, and he thought something ought to be done with that paper——

Senator REED. And what did Mr. Mulhall suggest about it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know.

Senator REED. Do you not remember that he said you could get at this fellow with some money?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not remember. I do know he wanted to use some money in connection with the Scandinavian; but to do that, of course, in a legal and honorable way.

Senator REED. It is legal to buy a newspaper's influence. There is no law against it. It is not a high crime or misdemeanor.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I mean to do it even in a moral way.

Senator REED. But here is a paper which was a labor paper, which was against Judge Jenkins.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. So I understood.

Senator REED. And you do not think it would be immoral or improper, or anything of that kind, to take money and go to the editor of that paper and, with money, change his policy?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think that would decidedly be immoral.

Senator REED. You do?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. Was not that what you were doing?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I did not so understand it.

Senator REED. I mean was not that just the plan you were discussing and advising and abetting and consenting to?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. How did you expect to change the paper?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know how that sort of thing is done.

Mr. MCCARTER. Did not Munsey do that with a newspaper?

Senator REED. I do not know whether he did or not do that, but I do know that a man who does that sort of thing is not worthy of the name.

Senator NELSON. You are all off. That paper was not a labor paper at all.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know about it.

Senator WALSH. It does not make any difference whether it was a labor paper or not.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. This is your letter. This paper was advocating the election of Judge Jenkins's antagonist, and you were writing about changing that paper.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. And of course you must have had in your mind some means by which it was going to be changed.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. There are means of changing opinions. We all change opinions by education.

Senator WALSH. Exactly; we do. What I want to know is what was in your mind. In what way were you going to go to the editor of that paper and have him change the policy of his paper? You must have had some idea.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. None whatever; because it was not my place.

Senator WALSH. Never mind about your place.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I had enough to do in my own business without attending to somebody else's business.

Senator WALSH. I understand; but you were getting Mr. Mulhall to secure the changing of the policy of that paper.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; Mr. Mulhall suggested that it be secured.

Senator WALSH. I will call attention to that later; but whether Mr. Mulhall suggested it, or whether it originated in your mind, let us dismiss that for the present. You were writing Mr. Mulhall, directing him to go on and, if it was possible to do it, get that paper to advocate Judge Jenkins's cause in his district.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. If the letter discloses that, that is what I must have done.

Senator WALSH. Senator Reed has just read the letter.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. This is a letter to Mr. Emery?

Senator REED. By you.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. By me; yes.

Senator WALSH. From you to Emery.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes. I understood you to say it was to Mulhall.

Senator WALSH. Well, what is the difference? You wrote it, saying it was the purpose to get that paper.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I conveyed to Mr. Emery Mr. Mulhall's suggestion, as I understood it.

The CHAIRMAN. You aided and abetted Mulhall?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Certainly. I do not disclaim any partnership in that to the extent of conveying Mr. Van Cleave's ideas, I being his secretary.

Senator WALSH. Let us suppose, now, that you were simply echoing Mr. Van Cleave's idea.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. Tell this committee by what process you were going to induce, or what process Mr. Van Cleave had in mind to induce, this man to change his editorial policy?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I could not tell you that, because I do not know it.

Senator WALSH. It is apparent you were going to use money, is it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It would seem so.

Senator REED. Yes. That is what this language means, "We should be willing to pay for it"?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Certainly.

Senator REED. I will read a little further, as follows:

"To sum up this letter, I see the situation as follows: First, raising of funds. I will get busy at once, and please let me know what you can do, if anything."

That looks somewhat like a sort of financial proposition, Mr. Schwedtman, does it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. You will find other letters, but that was in the beginning of the campaign. Mr. Emery raised money and we raised money.

Mr. MCCARTER. Am I mistaken in thinking that during the last political campaign Mr. Munsey bought the Press of New York and changed its political complexion?

The CHAIRMAN. Has that anything to do with this? If one man should go out and commit murder, would that justify another in doing the same thing?

Mr. MCCARTER. No. I am not contending for any such principle. They are two different propositions.

Senator REED. I do not know whether Mr. Munsey bought a paper or not, or whether he changed its policy if he did. But if he bought a paper, that is one thing. These people were trying to buy the opinions and the influence of this paper.

Senator WALSH. I do not see that anything would be wrong, for instance, in this: If Mr. McCarter were running a newspaper and I should buy him out, and change its policy, I could run it to suit myself, and make it what I chose, but if he were running a paper, and I went down to his newspaper office and gave the editor some money to switch over to another side on some political issue, he

remaining in charge and continuing the conduct of the paper, it seems to me that would be an entirely different transaction, and would be wrong.

Senator REED. This effort to buy and influence newspapers was not limited to the Scandinavian.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know. Even newspaper men are sometimes open to educational influence; and sometimes they do not have the facts and are glad to receive them.

Senator REED. Did you say educational influence, or education and influence?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Educational influence, Senator.

Senator REED. Do you regard the "long green" as a particularly active argument in securing their influence?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. What is the "long green"?

Senator REED. You do not know?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No.

Senator REED. I did not suppose there was a man connected with this association who did not know what it is. It is money.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Money? No, I did not know what it is, Senator.

Senator REED. I asked you if you were not trying to get hold of other newspapers in addition to the Scandinavian.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know.

Senator REED. I will see if I can not refresh your recollection.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. If you please, Senator.

Senator REED. I read as follows:

"Second. Publicity in the Scandinavian. Let us reenforce Martin's efforts by writing to Mr. Job, but let us especially think about some publicity concern (maybe Mr. Lewis can give you some ideas on this question) that can do some work with the Scandinavian and with other papers in Mr. Jenkins's district."

That refreshes your recollection?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes. It states it very plainly.

Senator REED. In regard to the Scandinavian, and sticking to it for a little bit—no personal offense in this, Senator Nelson.

Senator NELSON. Oh, no; it does not cut any figure with me. It is only amusing because I know so much about the situation. It seems to me that you are bushwhacking around a good deal where there are no partridges.

Senator REED. I want to say that I am not trying to reflect on the editor of that paper, because I do not know of anything in here that shows they got him.

Senator NELSON. The man who at that time was proprietor of that paper is dead. He died about two yeears ago.

Senator REED. I read from No. 1667:

(1667.)

JUNE 25, 1908.

MY DEAR MR. JOB: Col. Mulhall sends me copy of his letter to Mr. O'Connell. I attach it hereto. I suggest that if there is a way of influencing the Scandinavian, possibly through a publicity bureau or through some confidential man, that you advise me.

Why did you want a confidential man in order to influence it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Senator, the very first principle of education is to get to a man. I have found in my own experience——

Senator REED. Why do you need a confidential man to get to a man, when he is going to do nothing except to urge good and sufficient reasons for a change of opinion? Why do you need a confidential man?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Unless such a man can get to the right source, it would amount to nothing; and that is what I meant by a confidential man. A special man, in other words.

Senator REED. No; you did not say a special man.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Well, that is what I meant.

Senator REED. You said a "confidential man." You do not say a special man, well equipped by reason of education, and so forth, but you say a "confidential man."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I mean to say further that time and again I have found a newspaper man who was not informed on the facts, and after he was informed as to the facts, no money was needed. I know that often newspaper men are very glad to print the facts even though they are at variance with what they have printed before.

Senator REED. Let me read the next sentence of your letter.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I read further:

"Oftentimes these things can be done without the expenditure of some money, but I am sure that a reasonable amount would be raised and forwarded to you for such a purpose if you think that that was the proper way to get at the Scandinavian."

What do you say to that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Just what I said before. At times you can do without money, and time and again you need a special man.

Senator REED. Time and again you can buy a corrupt scoundrel if you have the money, and if you have the man to do the work.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Surely.

Senator REED. I do not mean to say that this editor was a corrupt scoundrel, but I think he would have been had he taken the money. I will read further:

"Will you do me the favor of going into this matter carefully with Mr. O'Connell and then advise me? I shall very much appreciate it.

"Faithfully, yours,

_____,

"*Secretary to the President.*

"Mr. FREDERICK W. JOB,

"*Secretary Employers' Association, Chicago, Ill.*"

You wrote that letter, of course?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator NELSON. My understanding of this case, Senator Reed, is that Mr. Van Cleave raised a thousand dollars—the record does not disclose from what source—to send to Judge Jenkins, but finally it was not sent. Then outside of that, the only money raised for Judge Jenkins's campaign was from the brewers in Wisconsin, and not from the manufacturers. That is the impression I have received from the testimony.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir. That is right.

Senator WALSH. It is not entirely clear whether the whole of it came from the Wisconsin brewers or whether the National Association of Brewers contributed.

Senator NELSON. Well, it came from the brewers, and not from this association.

Senator REED. I think a more correct way to state it would be this: There is evidence that these people raised a thousand dollars, and had it all ready to send, when Mr. Mulhall wired that the money had been raised from brewers, and they need not send the thousand dollars. But it does not appear——

Senator NELSON. And Mr. Mulhall came away and did not try to raise any money.

Senator REED. And it further appears that Mr. Mulhall had been active with these brewers. Apparently he succeeded in getting the necessary money from the brewers, which obviated the necessity of Mr. Schwedtman and these other gentlemen trying to get it from anybody else. A lot of the brewers were members of the Manufacturers' Association, were they not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Some of them. But nothing in the world was done in that case with the brewers except through Mr. Mulhall.

Senator REED. And what he did you do not know?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. But you tried to aid in getting money from brewers, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I stated yesterday on the witness stand that in that respect I complied with Mr. Mulhall's suggestion, and if I remember correctly, I showed his letter to Mr. Bartholdt.

Senator WALSH. I think it has been shown that a thousand dollars was raised from Senator Stephenson, and likewise that Mr. Hines was interested. I do not say it was done through this association.

Senator NELSON. No.

Mr. MCCARTER. No, that is a mistake.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the Mulhall correspondence shows that he got this money from the brewers?

Mr. MCCARTER. No; I think that is a mistake.

Senator REED. It seems to me we are spending time on an utterly immaterial matter. The fact is that it appears in evidence that these officers and employees started out to get money wherever they could get money for Judge

Jenkins, and that Mr. Mulhall finally landed the brewers. I do not think it is necessary to go further into that.

Mr. McCARTER. I agree with you, Senator, that it is entirely immaterial, but I do not think it appears whether the brewers were procured by Mr. Mulhall or whether they butted in. My own impression is that they butted in. But I do not think it makes any difference.

Senator WALSH. No. It appears that Judge Jenkins himself went to Milwaukee, and that he and Mulhall both saw the brewers. Mr. Mulhall went to see them, and he made an arrangement with them for them to meet Judge Jenkins, and then Judge Jenkins himself made the arrangement with the brewers; and then Mulhall went on East, and he [Jenkins] met the president of the National Association of Brewers and got him interested in the matter, and was assured by him that the brewers would take care of him.

Mr. McCARTER. I have not given it the study that the Senator has, and I suppose he is correct; but I do not think it makes any difference which way it was. My own recollection, however, was as I have stated it.

Senator NELSON. Hines chipped in a little, but he did it on his own hook. He was interested in lumber. Also, Senator Stephenson gave something.

Senator WALSH. There is a lot of correspondence here between the association and Hines, they urging Hines to come in. Of course he had interests in that district and might have been prompted by his own interests.

Senator NELSON. Do you know what his interest was

Senator WALSH. It was in Ashland and Bayfield, up near the lakes, there.

There is another matter that I want to inquire about. Your interest in Judge Jenkins was excited, as I understand it, simply because he was blacklisted by the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. If I recollect, Senator, there was a special interest. I believe Congressman Littlefield told us that he ought to be helped.

Senator WALSH. That it would be pleasing to him, Littlefield?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. Then the other consideration was that you wanted to accommodate Mr. Littlefield?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes. But according to his judgment Judge Jenkins was a very honorable man, and a strong man in Congress.

Senator WALSH. That is to say, you had certain legislation here which you desired to promote, and you wanted him here?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We wanted a man who would be unprejudiced about that kind of legislation.

Senator WALSH. Yes. So that the bare fact that he was antagonized by the American Federation of Labor was a matter of very subordinate consideration.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was a prime consideration.

Senator WALSH. That is to say, you had not any particular interest or concern in the attitude he would take upon the legislation. All you were concerned in was that the American Federation of Labor was fighting him.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The very fact that the American Federation of Labor was fighting him indicated that he was——

Senator WALSH. A good man?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. A man who would stand up against their attacks, and stand firmly; and that is more than you can say for some Congressmen.

Senator WALSH. I want to find out from you directly, if I can, whether one of the prime considerations of your support of Judge Jenkins was that you were very desirous of having him reelected, because you believed he would support your views about this legislation.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. If I correctly remember the correspondence, he did not by a long ways always support our views, but he was fair in the matter.

Senator WALSH. Now will you tell me some bill that you desired passed that he did oppose?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I could not tell you.

Senator WALSH. You know as a matter of fact, do you not, as far as you know anything, that there never was a measure which you advocated that he did not stand up for?

Mr. McCARTER. I do not think you can lay your hand on a single bill we tried to get passed, except that we were interested indirectly in the tariff commission bill.

Senator WALSH. If such a statement is correct, I do not know what Mr. Emery is here for. However, I will not enter into any controversy with you about that.

Senator REED. It is one thing for counsel to examine a witness without interruption except for proper objections, and it is another thing for him to interject remarks.

Mr. MCCARTER. No, Senator——

Senator REED. You know that would not be a proper interjection in court?

Mr. MCCARTER. I do not think Senator Walsh was trying to maintain anything except what was right—of course I know he was not—but I think he is mistaken in the idea that we were promoting legislation.

Senator WALSH. As a matter of fact, Judge Jenkins was beaten, was he not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He was.

Senator WALSH. Did you lose interest in him after that time?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We would never lose interest in a good man.

Senator WALSH. You cultivated him as assiduously after the election as before?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Not that I remember.

Senator WALSH. As a matter of fact, if your only interest in the election was that he was being opposed by the American Federation of Labor, you would have lost interest in him after the election was over, would you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir. That is not the way to have friendships.

Senator WALSH. Let me refer you to one or two letters. I read as follows from No. 1761:

"A letter has been received from our Wisconsin friend"—

That was Judge Jenkins?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I suppose so.

Senator WALSH. I continue:

"Of which I attach copy hereto. You can see that he is not in a good humor, and we recommend that at the earliest possible moment you have a good long talk with our friend James and then write us what you think is best to do. If it will help matters materially to assist him in spending money in some little way, somewhat on the lines discussed while you were in St. Louis, good and well."

What did you discuss with Mulhall

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not remember.

Senator WALSH. You do not know. Do you know what this sentence means at all?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know, except possibly we might help him, in some other honorable way, after he was left out of Congress, to find a place suitable for his ability.

Senator WALSH. But this was before. This was July 16. The convention had not then been held. He was writing you complaining to you that you were not helping him as you ought to.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I see.

Senator WALSH. And you suggest to Mr. Mulhall:

"If it will help matters materially to assist him in spending money in some little way"——

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think that refers to his election, does it not—I mean to aid him in his election?

Senator WALSH. You continue:

"Let us plan a way of doing it, because we want his good will."

Why did you want his good will?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We want the good will of everybody, and our friends in particular.

Senator WALSH. Certainly. You want my good will?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. You want the good will of the stenographer?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; and of the page boy.

Senator WALSH. Yes; but why should you want Judge Jenkins's good will?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. For the very reason that I explained, as you will remember, a moment ago; that we want the good will of everybody, and particularly our friends.

Senator WALSH. You do not want us to understand that that was the sense in which you used that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; that was the sense.

Senator WALSH. You wanted his good will because you had certain legislation pending in Congress, and you felt that he would be more helpful to you if he had a friendly regard for you than if he left otherwise. Was not that the case?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; I do not think Judge Jenkins was the kind of a man to be influenced in legislation. We wanted a fair man.

Senator WALSH. Very well. If you think that now, I want to read you another letter.

Senator NELSON. I might say, Senator Walsh—and perhaps you know it already—that Judge Jenkins died a poor man. After he was defeated for Congress he was appointed Federal judge in Porto Rico, and he died as poor as a church mouse.

Senator WALSH. Anyway, the good will you speak of had no reference to future favors that you might look for in the course of the remainder of his career in Washington?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We never expected anything but fair play from him at any time.

Senator WALSH. I now read from a letter dated August 26, which is 1847, 1848, as follows:

"Mr. Perrin's letter to you"—

Mr. Perrin was Judge Jenkins's campaign manager; you recall that, do you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe so.

Senator WALSH. I continue to read:

"Mr. Perrin's letter to you is carefully noted and is of special interest because we are more or less worried about the Wisconsin situation."

What was the iWsconsin situation that worried you so much?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Does not the letter disclose it, Senator? It would be a very much better key to it than my memory.

Senator WALSH. I do not see that it does. Judge Jenkins was the candidate for Congress in Wisconsin.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It might be about his being elected.

Senator WALSH. But he was not elected.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Then it would be that we did not have him elected.

Senator WALSH. You were worrying about a thing after it was over?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, certainly.

Senator WALSH. You were crying about spilt milk?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; we have that bad habit, sometimes, Senator.

Senator WALSH. Then you continue:

"Whatever our opinion may be of the individual candidate we do know that we must have his good will next winter in Washington."

Now, what do you say?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The same thing I said a minute ago.

Senator WALSH. Do you now say that you did not want to cultivate his good will in the expectation that he would be favorably disposed toward your views in Washington the next winter?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Our expectation is always to get fair play; never anything more. We never expected anything more.

Senator WALSH. You felt that if you did not have his good will you would not get fair play?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Some Congressmen did not give us fair play.

Senator WALSH. Well, Judge Jenkins?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think he always gave us fair play.

Senator WALSH. Yes; and you felt so profound a regard for him that you felt you would get fair play whether you had his good will or did not have his good will; is not that so?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The fair play that you get is a great deal depending upon good will.

Senator WALSH. Yes. But really, that was the consideration that prompted you to try to nominate him in the first place, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have explained that at great length, and I have nothing to add to what I have said.

Senator WALSH. I continue reading from this letter:

"There is not a doubt in anybody's mind who has had correspondence with him as to the fact that he is pessimistic, disagreeable, and all that, but if all men were as agreeable as you and I are, they would not need such diplomats as you and I. They need our fine qualities to deal with the disagreeable people. (Please note that when bouquets are not coming my way as plentifully as I think they ought to, I throw a few at myself.) But joking aside—Mr. Van Cleave and yours truly have been thinking a good deal about the Wisconsin situation, and have wished for a way of getting the man's individual good will."

You were a little afraid you had lost it, were you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. And you were a little afraid that the loss of his good will would be disastrous to you in the coming session?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We regret the loss of good will, any time.

Senator WALSH. Yes.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. And Judge Jenkins had that reputation, of being a pessimist.

Senator WALSH. This is a mere matter of personal regard. Why, Mr. Schwedtman, have you not disclosed here that you had such a view of Judge Jenkins and of his peculiarities that you had not any disposition at all to cultivate his personal good will?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not think so, Senator. I know that was as far from Mr. Van Cleave as anything could be. He respected the man, even though he regretted his pessimism, because Judge Jenkins had a reputation of being quite a pessimist.

Senator WALSH. After these letters, would it not be frank on your part to say that Judge Jenkins had been serviceable to you in the past in connection with legislative matters in which you were interested, and you desired to insure his attachment to you in the future, and that is why you tried to help him and nominate him, and that is why you afterwards tried to cultivate his good will?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It might be frank, but it would not be the truth.

Senator WALSH. I want to call your attention to another paragraph of this letter—1847, 1848—as follows:

"I hope that you have had a good chance in the last few days to study the 'perpetual candidate'"—

That is Mr. Bryan? This was written in 1908.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I suppose so.

Senator WALSH. I read again:

"I hope that you have had a good chance in the last few days to study the 'perpetual candidate' for the Democratic nomination at close range. Our Democratic papers say that he has made a very strong impression in Indiana, and that especially the labor leaders have assured of his carrying the State. What are your views? Has Bryan helped his ticket by his presence in Indianapolis, or has he hurt it? You need not be afraid to speak the plain truth, because even though we are both Democrats"——

Who is that, you and Mulhall, or you and Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I really do not know. Mr. Van Cleave and I both were Democrats up to 1896, but we changed politics in 1896, and became Republicans.

Mr. MCCARTER. In 1896 or in 1906?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In 1896; when Bryan was a candidate.

Senator WALSH. I read again:

"You need not be afraid to speak the plain truth, because even though we are both Democrats,"

And so forth.

That is, having left the Democratic Party 12 years before——

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think I was joshing him.

Senator WALSH (continuing). You were still speaking of yourself as a Democrat?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir; I say that I was joshing him, because I had no idea of posing as a Democrat.

Senator WALSH. I read again:

"You need not be afraid to speak the plain truth, because even though we are both Democrats we are not such great admirers of Bryan that we could not bear a word against him. Incidentally, I do not believe it will shock our worthy chief if in telling the truth you should find it necessary to say some unpleasant things about the 'peerless one.'"

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. About whom?

Senator WALSH. About "the peerless one."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator WALSH. That is to say, you were suggesting to Col. Mulhall that he might ingratiate himself with Mr. Van Cleave if he would say some disagreeable things to him about Mr. Bryan?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir; no, Senator; I was writing in a joshing spirit, and both he and I knew how severely Mr. Van Cleave opposed Mr. Bryan, we sometimes thought with undue severity.

Senator WALSH. You knew how to get into the good graces of Mr. Van Cleave, and you were suggesting the plan to Mr. Mulhall, evidently.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Oh, no.

Senator REED. A moment ago either you or Mr. McCarter took occasion to say that these organizations had never been engaged in promoting any legislation whatever. Do you agree with that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not recall that at the present time, Senator. Of course we have been vitally interested in legislation, and I have spent the last three years in promoting workmen's compensation legislation; and we have been interested in promoting tariff legislation. There may have been other legislation. I do not know about that.

Senator REED. We will spend just a moment on this. Here is a letter, D 2049–2050, written to you, addressed "My Dear Ferdinand." It begins:

"MY DEAR FERDINAND: I sent you a hasty note from Cleveland inclosing a copy of the memoranda to the President. The memoranda was in the President's hands on Thanksgiving Day, but I had very unsatisfactory results in an effort to get copies made at the New York office, hence the delay."

I am reading this simply so that you may be able to tell me whose letter it is. I read further:

"I attended with Mr. Kirby the annual dinner of the Employers' Association at Cleveland. It was a most successful and enthusiastic affair."

That was a letter from Mr. Emery, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Of course several people called me "Dear Ferdinand," but I imagine that is from Mr. Emery.

Senator REED. Now I will read on:

"I have had a very interesting interview with a representative of the Republican national committee, who carried a sort of flag of truce. As a result of it there is a movement on foot for a congressional investigation of the subject of trade training."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir; we promoted that with all our power.

Senator REED. Here is your reply, as follows:

"I beg to acknowledge your two communications of December 2 and 3. It is especially gratifying to see that you have gotten in such close touch with Senator Borah on the subject of industrial training. It seems ridiculous that after the many years of hard work which we have all gladly given to this cause of industrial training labor unions should come in at the eleventh hour and try to get the credit. Still I suppose it is the same old story of the angels expressing greater joy at the return of one sinner than at the continued justice of ninety-nine righteous ones. Maybe the angels are not aware that in this case the sinner has a joker in the deck. At any rate, good work for industrial training and close contact with Senator Borah are both very desirable."

I ought to have read a little more of Mr. Emery's letter to you. After what I have just read, he goes on and says:

"I shall see Senator Borah on the Senate Committee on Education and Labor to-morrow in the hope of getting him to introduce a bill which would provide for the appointment of such a committee and through the medium of congressional action attract public attention to the necessity of trade training. Rather hasty action has been necessitated in this matter because I discovered in the past few days that Commissioner of Labor Neil has been so enthused by the action of the American Federation of Labor in indorsing trade education at Toronto that he proposes to have his department prepare and issue an elaborate report on trade education, practically accepting the policy proposed at Toronto, which would make trade schools, whether organized directly or as an adjunct to the existing system, a normal school for unionism, by teaching not only trades but the trade-union philosophy that Mr. Mitchell desires to have go with them, surrounding them also with entrance conditions which would apply a sort of restricted apprenticeship system to those in attendance. If Congress can be pursuaded to do something in this matter, it would offset Neil's effort, and knowing his sympathies as I do, his report would be dangerous literature, while if we can secure the congressional committee, it would be a great step in attracting national attention to the need of real trade training, the lack of facilities for it, and the necessity of providing every American boy with an equal chance to avail himself of it.

Of course, then, that calls your attention to the fact that you were interested in that matter.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Oh, we had been for years.

Senator REED. You were also interested in the revision of the tariff?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Or rather, in a tariff commission.

Senator REED. And in the revision of the tariff? There are numerous letters here to show that.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. By means of a commission.

Senator REED. Yes; and without a commission; an immediate revision and then a commission to follow.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. You remember that was agitated in your letters for a long time?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not recollect that.

Senator REED. I will not take time to read them. I will simply say the letters are here in multitudes.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. They are the best evidence.

Senator REED. And I am not going to follow them further. We want to get through some time.

In regard to the efforts to get money for Judge Jenkins, I want to call your attention to a letter to Col. Mulhall, as follows:

"I know you are as busy as you can be, and you are doing splendid work, but you must have help, and I am worried considerably because so far letters have been too indefinite to lay cold figures before the right people, and nothing but cold figures can get money in the right way."

I call your attention now to the following telegram:

No. 1676.

ST. LOUIS, MO., *June 29, 1908.*

Mr. M. M. MULHALL,
Superior Hotel, Superior, Wis.:

Your letters vague in one respect only; you do not name amounts. Remember funds at my disposal limited. Your special-delivery letter of 26th received this morning only.

It appears that you did have some funds at your disposal, but they were somewhat limited.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I always had a $500 bank account against which I drew the checks in St. Louis.

Senator REED. So you expected to use your own funds if you could not get the rest, but you wanted the cold figures on it so you could go out and raise the money?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. If I remember correctly, I wrote that telegram. Mr. Van Cleave was not in St. Louis, and I did not know what his final disposition of the matter would be. Mr. Van Cleave had urged everlastingly to get facts.

Senator REED. Let us see if you do not know something about money being spent, and if you were not doing it right along—your association.

I call your attention to letter 1667, 1668, dated Superior, Wis., June 29, 1908, and addressed "My Dear Ferdinand." There is a reference to the Jenkins campaign, and then the letter says:

"Now, I was given plainly to understand that you would take hold of this district as you did of the Littlefield district two years ago, before I came here; and I know it would not take half the money that was spent in that district by our association for this present fight, and, as I stated to you in letters before, unless you people make up your minds to give this aid, it would be better for us to back out gracefully now than it would be later on, for both Judge Jenkins and his friends here are commencing to give me the cold shoulder, and they commence to believe that I am only bluffing in a good many of the things I said would be done in this district when I first came here."

You had known of the expenditure of money in Littlefield's district, had you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I knew in a general way, as I explained yesterday, that money had been raised in Littlefield's district, and you will find my correspondence with Mulhall full of letters in which I said time and again "That is the only way in which we can aid you in the Jenkins district or in the Watson district."

Senator REED. And yet I have read you this morning letters in which you talked about raising money in the East?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. For Mr. Jenkins?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You did not mean to include Mr. Jenkins's district in the East, did you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. You will find Mr. Jenkins's campaign was the first campaign with which we had anything to do.

Senator REED. You are saying you did not have anything to do except to raise money in his district?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not say that, Senator. I say you will find the correspondence full of letters from me advising Mulhall to that effect.

Senator REED. Oh, I know that.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In fact, several times I said, "If you can not do it, you had better come back."

Senator REED. Yes; and you have said—and I have read the letter this morning—that you were going to raise money for Judge Jenkins in the East.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That we would try.

Senator REED. That did not mean in that district.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We would try.

Senator REED. You would try?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. You sometimes succeeded when you tried, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know, Senator. I do not know that. Of course we succeeded time and again; for instance, in Littlefield's district.

Senator REED. Yes; and in many another district. I call your attention to the following letter:

E 711.

JULY 9, 1908.

MY DEAR SIR: I have followed developments in your district with keen interest and close attention. The daily reports that have been made to me from various sources, especially from our own representative and from among our membership in your district, indicate to me that matters are in fairly good shape, and that you are going to win, as you must, in the primaries without doubt.

Some of the developments have been reported to me only within the last day or two, and therefore some of the letters and telegrams from this office of comparatively recent date were sent under a misapprehension.

Having matters well started and having work to do for our congressional friends in twenty-eight districts, I have thought it best to send the manager of our field forces, Col. Mulhall, East for consultation with the party leaders. This has been thoroughly discussed between Mr. Mulhall and Mr. Casson, and is in line with their best judgment. However, arrangements have been made to keep in the closest possible touch with the situation through our members and through your managers, and inside and outside help will be developed for you right along. Furthermore, Col. Mulhall will call on you before he leaves Wisconsin, and any further suggestions that you may have to make will have his careful attention and will be conveyed to me, and whatever can be done in addition to what we are now doing will have our prompt attention.

I suppose you wrote that letter yourself, or heard it dictated?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I can not tell, Senator.

Senator REED. Before I leave that branch, I want to call your attention to this somewhat significant letter which you wrote on June 23, 1908:

Personal.] E 654.

JUNE 23, 1908.

MY DEAR SIR: I am instructed by Mr. Van Cleave to say that Col. Mulhall's report of recent date indicates your need of immediate financial assistance.

Many of the business men familiar with your splendid record in Congress, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, in opposing all class legislation, fully appreciate the gratitude that, as good citizens, they owe you, and they must and will give you all the assistance in their power.

Col. Mulhall's suggestions are too vague to allow prompt action. Will you not be kind enough to write Mr. Van Cleave confidentially, outlining with perfect freedom the amount immediately needed, as well as future requirements? Immediately upon receipt of your letter the necessary steps will be taken to supply your needs, as far as that is within the power of your friends.

Mr. Van Cleave has made it a special point to discuss the situation in your district with many of the national leaders while at the Chicago convention last week, and you can rest assured that whatever can possibly be done to assure your reelection will be done promptly. Col. Mulhall will stay in your district as long as you want him and additional workers can be brought into the district if necessary.

As a matter of fact, Col. Mulhall had been writing and telegraphing, and had named amounts, and all that sort of thing. Why did you want a letter from this man that you expected to put back into Congress, addressed to you directly, asking for funds? Did you think it would be a good thing to have on file in an emergency?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Indeed not, Senator. We were not in the habit of doing that class of work. I want to say to you that Mr. Van Cleave, in all these things, was straight, open, and aboveboard.

Senator REED. Of course he was.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. And I do not believe that at that particular time we had had a definite statement made as to what was required.

Mr. MCCARTER. Are you not mistaken? This letter was dated June 23, and my recollection is that the Mulhall calls for money were after that. I may be wrong, but I think you are mistaken about it, Senator.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Surely.

Senator REED. I do not care to follow it up. I think I understand the letter.

Let us take a change of venue for a little while. I want to call your attention to the following letter:

E 352.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS,
Racine, Wis., February 11, 1908.

Mr. F. C. SCHWEDTMAN,
Secretary, St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR SIR: The inclosed letter from P. A. Ewart explains itself. He wants $1,500 to beat McCleary on the nomination. You have heard of him before. I do not believe the money could be much better used;—

Do you remember getting that letter?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not remember it.

Senator REED. The letter continues as follows:

at the same time I do not know where to get the $1,500. I think Chicago people would give him at least half of it.

Who were the Chicago people?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know. This comes from Mr. Miles.

Senator REED. To you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. To me. And he was especially interested in McCleary, because McCleary was a standpatter. He did not want revision of the tariff, as I understand it, and Mr. Miles was especially interested in defeating him.

Senator REED. That was not a case where you were simply fighting somebody that had been blacklisted by labor, but you were fighting a man because he did not view the tariff question as you viewed it.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We were doing nothing of the kind; but this was a suggestion from Mr. Miles which I think was promptly turned down by Mr. Van Cleave.

Senator REED. You are drawing a line between whether you went on and actually accomplished it and whether you tried. I am talking about your plans. I will state my question again. You have stated here expressly that the only thing you ever did in politics was to try to aid somebody who had been blacklisted by labor. This man had not been blacklisted by labor at all, but he did not agree with you people on the tariff, and so Mr. Miles was writing a letter to you to see if you could not get $1,500 to beat this man—that is the size of it, is it not—because he was not right on the tariff question?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He did not agree with Mr. Miles's views, and this was an individual letter from Mr. Miles, and not an association letter at all.

Senator REED. Oh, Mr. Miles?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Mr. Miles as an individual wrote to you as secretary to get the money?

Mr. MCCARTER. And the secretary turned it down.

Senator REED. Were you to go out as an individual and get it, or were you to go out and get it through this organization?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know. I did not get it at all.

Senator REED. On what ground did you turn it down?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It is my opinion that Mr. Van Cleave turned it down, stating that he only wanted to go into labor matters. That is my opinion.

Senator REED. That is the reason he gave, is it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I say that is my opinion, because all the balance of the correspondence appears that way.

Senator REED. Here is what you wrote about it, is it not:

E 353.

FEBRUARY 12, 1908.

Regarding the $1,500 wanted by Mr. P. A. Ewert, beg to say that I had this up with Mr. Van Cleave once before. He gave no definite decision, but he said that we were too hard off for money to undertake much work in that direction. This, I am afraid, holds good even more forcibly to-day, because we are very hard off. Will write you as soon as I have Mr. Van Cleave's definite reply.

So that it was turned down, not because it was not a perfectly feasible and proper thing to do, or was not consistent with the objects of your organization, but because you did not have the money?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It would seem so from that letter; but I want to explain, Senator, that time and again I did use some policy in explaining these things, and probably Mr. Van Cleave did not want to hurt Mr. Miles's feelings by saying that we had not gone into the tariff question--that we did not go into the question of defeating anyone on account of the tariff.

Senator REED. You think the letter was probably not the truth?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was the truth, modified.

Senator REED. The truth modified is not the truth any longer, is it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It is a degree of truth.

Senator REED. A thing is either true or not true, is it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think what Mr. Miles was interested in was whether or not——

Senator REED. This is interesting to me. You do not, on the witness stand, draw those fine distinctions between truth and truth modified, do you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I give you honor personified, always, in every direction.

Senator REED. I hope you will. I do not want the truth modified.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Your efforts to raise money were limited to these instances, were they?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The correspondence is the best evidence of that, Senator.

Senator REED. In view of that answer, I do not think I will go any further, for the correspondence on that point is in the record.

I want to come back just for a moment to the situation in St. Louis. You had an organization down there at St. Louis which took some hand in strikes. That was a strike in the shoe factories, was it not?

Mr. MCCARTER. I beg to call the committee's attention to the fact that the other day we offered some evidence to meet the strike evidence, and were told by the committee that it was not germane.

Senator REED. I am asking a preliminary question. I do not intend to go into the details of the strike.

Mr. MCCARTER. All right, sir.

Senator REED. That was a shoe strike, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was.

Senator REED. What was the organization with which you were connected, or of which you were the president, which took an active part in that matter?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The Citizens' Industrial Association of St. Louis.

Senator REED. And as the Citizens' Industrial Association you paid out various sums of money, to some of which Senator Walsh called your attention on yesterday?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think those were paid from the National Association of Manufacturers—those to which Senator Walsh called my attention.

Senator REED. Did this industrial association which you had in St. Louis have any funds that it used in that contest there with the labor forces?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How much of a fund did it have?

Mr. MCCARTER. Mr. Chairman, I must respectfully protest.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we had better not go into that.

Mr. MCCARTER. We were expressly overruled in that matter on the ground that it was not germane, and Senator Walsh said very properly that some of those things crept in because they could not be kept separate.

Senator REED. I am not asking a question with reference to the thing counsel has in mind. It is merely a preliminary question having relation, I think, to subject matter that is germane and pertinent.

Mr. MCCARTER. I submit, may it please the chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. We can not go into it in a fragmentary way.

Senator REED. I am not going to do that.

Mr. MCCARTER. The amount of money that the Citizens' Industrial Association in St. Louis had available for strike purposes can not be germane to anything that is here. I think we ought to be in bounds on that.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. Did you take any part in the politics of that year, 1908?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Do you mean personally or the Citizens' Industrial Association or the National Association of Manufacturers?

Senator REED. In any way. It is pretty hard to keep you gentleman separate from your different associations. I will ask if you did it in any way?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Personally, I have always been interested since the Republican campaign in 1896; yes, sir.

Senator REED. I want to know about moneys that were used in politics, and whether you did not in that campaign use money in the political contest; not your own personal, individual money, but money which was raised through the associations with which you were connected?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. You did not use any in that way?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Senator REED. And you did not undertake in any way to use the force of this St. Louis organization in politics?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We had as many Democrats as Republicans.

Senator REED. I did not ask you that. You did not undertake to make use of that organization in politics?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Except in the same way as I have defined it with reference to the National Association of Manufacturers.

Senator REED. The National Association of Manufacturers at least went into that campaign, did it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In the manner which I have described.

Senator REED. And it got into the campaign in St. Louis in the Coudrey district, did it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe that Mr. Van Cleave contributed. I did, and I think several individuals did, but no association fund was spent in the Coudrey district.

Senator REED. You sent Col. Mulhall in there, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Col. Mulhall never raised a penny in St. Louis.

Senator REED. I am asking if you did not send him into that district to work?

Mr. MCCARTER. What year was that?

Senator REED. The campaign of 1907–8.

You wrote this letter, did you not:

(1004.)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS,
St. Louis, October 29, 1907.

MY DEAR HARRY: This letter will be handed to you by Col. M. M. Mulhall, who for years was a trusted confidential man of Maj. McKinley, also of Senators Quay and Platt.

Col. Mulhall is a splendid mixer, particularly among the leaders of the workingmen, and has been for a number of years now a special political representative of the National Association of Manufacturers. He has as such accomplished some splendid results in Congressman Littlefield's district and in several other districts, in nearly all cases under special orders from Chairman Sherman.

I thought that no harm and only good can come from a meeting between your good self and him. Knowing the element in your district, I feel that sooner or

later you may want some assistance in a direction in which the colonel is well able to furnish it, and I am sure whenever it is needed Mr. Van Cleave will be glad to call the colonel to St. Louis. He is here at the present time on a special mission, and I only want you to meet him for future consideration. Believe me,

Ever cordially, yours,

FERD. C. SCHWEDTMAN.

Hon. HARRY M. COUDREY, M. C.,
St. Louis, Mo.

You gave that letter to Col. Mulhall?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I did.

Senator REED. With the intention and purpose as therein expressed, I suppose?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. On September 8, 1908, you wrote a letter to Col. Mulhall, and I read to you the following paragraph from that letter:

"Regarding our local situation I have now before me the list of the manufacturers in the eleventh and twelfth districts. I have seen Mr. Finley's manager, as well as Mr. Coudrey's manager, several times, and I can scheme what we are going to do with the list of business men in our hands."

What were you going to do with it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Aid these two men, financially or otherwise, I think.

Senator REED. Mr. Finley was running in one St. Louis district and Mr. Coudrey in another?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir; both of them Republicans.

Senator REED. And you did do that, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. To the extent of aiding them; yes.

Senator REED. Getting money for them, and working among the manufacturers who belonged to your association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And of course you knew Mr. Finley's opponent?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; I do not remember him. I should remember, but I do not at present.

Senator REED. You certainly remember Mr. Coudrey's opponent, a man named Self?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Self was the sort of man that has always been known as being friendly to labor, was he not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Self was an honorable man.

Senator REED. But he seemed friendly to labor?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. On that account your people did not want him to come to Congress?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Senator, it was not so much the fact that we did not want him to come, but we did want Harry Coudrey to come, because we knew him to be at that time a very square man.

Senator REED. And very friendly?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Very friendly. I personally had known him for many years.

Senator REED. You did not regard Self as equally friendly?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. So you went in to beat him. You were pretty active and pretty forceful in politics there in St. Louis in a quiet way, were you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We sometimes flattered ourselves that we were, but I do not know to what extent, Senator.

Senator REED. There are a good many manufacturers in this twelfth district, are there not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe so; yes.

Senator REED. And they are pretty wealthy concerns?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Some of them.

Senator REED. Do you remember about how much money you did succeed in raising for Mr. Coudrey at that time?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Let me make explanation that personally I have never raised a penny, and the only thing that was done was that Mr. Van Cleave personally did go to half a dozen men, I think; and probably the extent of the money he raised in Coudrey's district was two or three or four hundred dollars.

Senator REED. What?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Two or three or four hundred dollars. I think that is about all.

Senator REED. Two or three or four hundred dollars among those wealthy manufacturers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir; because Mr. Van Cleave only made it a point to see a very few of them. He did not see them all.

Senator REED. Think again about that, Mr. Schwedtman.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is my impression.

Senator REED. Two or three or four hundred dollars in the twelfth district?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is my impression.

Senator REED. How about getting the manufacturers actively interested? Did you utterly fall down on that, or did you get them to take an interest?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We probably did not go into it to the extent which you really believe, because, as I say, it was a nonpolitical organization, and Mr. Van Cleave personally only saw them. I personally never raised one penny from anybody.

Senator REED. You personally did not, of course.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Nor anybody else but Mr. Van Cleave.

Senator REED. Did you not have other people trying to get it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. If I remember correctly, Mr. Van Cleave at one time sent out one man, because one day he could not go out himself.

Senator REED. Then Mr. Van Cleave was out more than one day?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Oh, decidedly.

Senator REED. Decidedly more than one day?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. When I say a day, I mean he would probably give an hour or two to it.

Senator REED. How many times did he go out, giving an hour or two, in this campaign?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I should say three or four times. It may have been six times; I could not tell.

Senator REED. It might have been 30 times?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; I do not think so. Six times.

Senator REED. I want to read on a little further:

"I wish you were here, and we could get you an automobile to run around from one to another. It is possible that we may have to rely on you for this, because I personally can not go out. There is too much work at this office. I don't like the idea very much of soliciting funds by mail. Some of these confidential letters might get astray and hurt those candidates and us badly. But I am not speaking about this definitely in the present letter, because I have given it not sufficient thought, nor have I had the opportunity to talk it over with Mr. Van Cleave. After having his views I will write you again."

You were taking some special interest in it, Mr. Schwedtman?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Decidedly; yes, sir.

Senator REED. I notice that you say this, in closing, I think somewhat reflecting the idea that the spirit of the battle was upon you:

"Social and friendly duties must not interfere with our important work. We must remember all the while that we have promised to 'deliver the message to Garcia.'"

So you were pretty busy about this time, were you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It has been my pleasure all my life to be busy.

Senator REED. I mean you were pretty busy at this time endeavoring to elect Coudrey and to beat Self, and to elect Finley and to beat his opponent?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not really think I gave a great deal of time to that. I do not believe, if you took Mr. Van Cleave's time and Col. Mulhall's time and my time together, that between all of us two weeks' work was done.

Senator WALSH. I am prompted to inquire whether you promoted the election of Senator Reed; whether you advocated or opposed his cause?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We did not take any part in Senator Reed's campaign one way or the other.

Senator REED. Possibly that accounts for the fact that I was more fortunate than Self.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think, Senator, in view of your record in Kansas City, we all would have been glad to help you.

Senator REED. You would?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Because I have always been known as a friend of capital and an enemy of labor?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir; but as a great lawyer and as a man who did Kansas City a great deal of good as mayor.

Senator REED. That is very complimentary from that standpoint. I did not want to get the other mixed in.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not either.

Mr. MCCARTER. You never had anything to do with the National Association of Manufacturers, Senator Reed.

Senator REED. I now call your attention to the following letter:

F 251.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1908.

MY DEAR HARRY: It is hardly necessary to introduce the bearer, Col. M. M. Mulhall, again, but I want to send this little note on general principles.

I need not repeat to you that I would stake my whole life and fortune in the colonel's hands rather than in those of any other man living. He can stay in St. Louis for three days. This will be time enough for him to get hold of the threads of anything that he may be able to do for you. As I have said to you before, this may be much and it may be nothing; the colonel will tell you unprejudicedly what he can do, and then later on he can come back, as his judgment dictates, to keep hold of the threads.

I have suggested to the colonel that it would be a good plan to get against Finley so as to size him up. Incidentally, I dare say that Mr. Dyer and your other political friends will appreciate that, but remember that the colonel is here for you and for you solely, and anything else he may be able to do must be entirely secondary to his efforts for you.

With best wishes, believe me,

Ever your friend,

_____.

Hon. HARRY M. COUDREY, *City*.

I call your attention to the fact that Col. Mulhall was there.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Three days.

Senator REED. For three days at this time?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. It would surprise you, I suppose, to learn that he was afterwards back here?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I really do not believe he came back. I believe he was wanted back, but I think he was so busy in Washington State that he could not come back. That is my recollection again. I would be glad to be corrected if I am in error.

Senator REED. Pehaps we will run across it later on. I will call your attention now to a letter of September 7, 1908. That was a political year; that was not a strike year?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It certainly was a political year.

Senator REED. This is just three days after that other letter.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I read as follows:

(1864–1866.)

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *September 7, 1908*.

MY DEAR FERDINAND: I left St. Louis 11.35 Saturday evening, and before leaving I met a delegation of 10 at 7.35 p. m. at my hotel and entertained them up to the last moment in every way I possibly could. I certainly believe that by handling the men in the Workingmen's Protective Association of your city you will be able to get first-class work done in the eleventh and twelfth congressional districts of St. Louis.

I received a letter from Mr. Shanklin to-day, which you will find inclosed with this letter, and my answer to it.

You had heard of Mr. Shanklin before, had you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Oh, yes; he was one of the superintendents in one of the shoe factories.

Senator REED. He was one of the men you had in your pay during the strike?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He was paid for his time; yes, sir.

Senator REED. I read further:

"I received a letter from Mr. Shanklin to-day, which you will find inclosed with this letter, and my answer to it. Shanklin has a big hold on men in that organization, and if you handle him right you need not be bothered with any of the rest."

What did you do with Shanklin?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Nothing.

Senator REED. But you saw him, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I saw him in connection with the Workingmen's Protective Association, because all that came in at the same time, the shoe strike and the political campaign, and this was the end of that shoe strike.

Senator REED. And you saw him with reference to politics, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No.

Senator REED. After this letter from Mulhall?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. I read further, as follows:

"If you handle him right you need not be bothered with any of the rest, and I believe Shanklin to be honest and reliable, and with little pushing he will make a good worker. You will note that I have written him to call on you as soon as he possibly could, so I suppose you will see him Wedensday or Thursday of this week.

"The rooms that we have taken in the State Life Building of this city"——

That refers to Indianapolis now, however?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. By the way, Mr. Schwedtman, I do not like to break in on the thread of what I was doing, but referring to this raising of money in different districts, which of course was not an association business at all, although Mulhall promoted it and the officers of the association got the money from members of the association, I want to read this letter, because it is now under my eye:

"I had a long interview this morning withr Mr. D. M. Parry, Mr. Hanch, and Mr. Foster, and those gentlemen have consented to get an automobile, commencing next Monday morning, to make a tour with me to all the leading shops and factories of the city for the purpose of raising funds. With this committee behind me, I am positive of getting results and there will be no postponing of this work any further, for Mr. Parry has pledged to insist on having this done. This has been brought around on account of my interview with Thomas and Gowdy, for those gentlemen inform me they must have some help the fore part of next week and that they have reached the limit with the politicians and can't get any money from that source."

Really, Mr. Schwedtman, just between you and me, do you not think it is pretty hard to draw the line between an association collecting the money and getting it into its treasury and then paying it out, on the one hand, and on the other hand the association, by and through its employees and its officers, going around and raising the money and sending it over to a political committee? Do you not think it is rather hard to draw the line there?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Senator, I would not be a good judge on politics or political contributions, because I know so little about it.

Senator REED. Just while I am at it, because it is, perhaps, pat to the subject, I call your attention to E 872–873, another letter to you. It is dated seven days later than the one I have read you, and which reports for the week:

E 872–873.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *September 14, 1908.*

MY DEAR FERDINAND: When there is anything good I always like to tell you about it, and I wish to say we had a very successful meeting last evening of some of the leaders of the so-called union-labor movements, and I am perfectly confident that I will surprise the chairman of the State committee here and his royal highness, the Hon. James E. Watson, along these lines in the very near future.

This morning promptly at 9 a. m. our finance committee, Messrs. Parry, Hanch, and Foster, appeared on deck and drew up a form for signatures for collections from the manufacturing plants in this county, and in the two hours, from 10 to 12, that we gave to it, we received $1,750, which seems to me to be quite fair for the opening day of this line of work.

Mr. McCARTER. Is that a Mulhall letter?

Senator REED. That is a Mulhall letter.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. To me.

Senator REED. I continue to read:

"There was not a plant that we visited that did not subscribe something. So far the committee is hugely pleased with the success we had and seems encouraged to continue the work. Mr. Parry and the balance of the committee will report to-morrow morning promptly at 10 o'clock sharp and will continue along these lines until we cover this entire town."

As I understand, you are something of a mathematician, and if they got that much in two hours, I will ask you how much they would have gotten, at the same rate, during the campaign?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. From the conflicting stories that I have heard about that campaign, I should say it is not a question of mathematics at all, but seems to be a matter of a big lie.

Senator REED. Do you mean to say that he did not raise the $1,750, and that it was not turned over?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. So I am told by some of the interested parties; yes.

Senator REED. Ah! So you never got that $1,750?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I am speaking of the Indianapolis committee; yes.

Senator REED. The letters are here, and show whether it was paid or not.

Mr. McCARTER. We will show that is a mistake, to say the least of it.

Senator REED. It is quite likely, in view of the circumstances, that that would be written and not be true.

Now, coming back to the other matter, coming back to September 10—I am going back to St. Louis now, and taking up that matter—here is a letter I want to read to you. This is E 837, and it is dated September 10, 1908. It is as follows:

"E 837.

"SEPTEMBER 10, 1908.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have asked Mr. Oliver B. Root, as my own personal representative, to take this letter to you and to a few other men whom I think I know well enough not to have my action misunderstood.

"We are business men first, and interested in politics only when it definitely bears either upon the business situation or upon the principles for which every good American must stand, regardless of party affiliations. From past experiences we know that it is especially essential that we send representatives to Congress who can be relied upon for manly, patriotic, independent action."

In reviewing the situation in St. Louis I feel it my duty to call your attention to the eleventh and twelfth congressional districts. In each of these there is an avowed advocate of anti-injunction and other bad labor legislation running against a supporter of law and order and common-sense regulation of strikes, riots, boycotts, etc. I have felt it my personal duty to help financially in a small way the candidacy of Mr. Harry M. Coudrey in the twelfth district, and Mr. William T. Findly in the eleventh district. I felt it my further duty to place the facts before you. My opinion of the respective candidates is based upon personal investigation of the candidates, as well as upon their chances of success. They both need practical support; I mean money.

If you are sufficiently interested in clean politics, which I am sure will be helped by the election of the two men named, I would like to have you write out a check to the order of Mr. Coudrey or to Mr. Findly, or a small one to each. If you prefer to make out the check to me do that. I will guarantee that it will reach its destination. In either case please let bearer have your contribution, and if, on the other hand, you feel that you do not want to contribute for any reason whatsoever there is no harm done. You will even then appreciate that this whole matter means nothing to me but worry and work, and that only my interest in good government and sound laws permits me to address you in this matter.

After reading this letter carefully please return it to Mr. Root.

Very truly, yours,

President.

Mr. Root was the man that was sent out with it, was he not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. He was the man I spoke of a little while ago.

Senator REED. In connection with that letter which I have just read, and which is a little out of its order, I want to read a letter of the day before,

which should have been read ahead of the one dated September 10, 1908. It is as follows:

E 836.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS,
St. Louis, September 9, 1908.

MY DEAR SIR: I have said time and again that the National Association of Manufacturers is not in politics, nor am I tied to a party, nor do I believe it advisable to have the business man play party politics. At the same time I believe it the duty of every business man to use his efforts to get our Government, National, State, or local, into the hands of the best men that can be found for the places, independent entirely of what party they belong to. Only by proving in a practical way our indorsement of manly, patriotic, independent action of men in public office, can we hope to defeat the demagogues of all parties who have caused so much trouble, worry, and financial loss to the business men.

Through strenuous, concerted work, we have secured a standing in national legislation and the results of our efforts have been conveyed to you from time to time in the past, especially last winter. It is up to the 155 National, State, and local organizations that are associated with us in the National Council for Industrial Defense to prove their practical assistance to the local candidates for political office, especially candidates for Congress. I am glad to say that the need of such action seems to be thoroughly appreciated by most of the organizations.

In reviewing the situation here in St. Louis I feel it my duty to call your attention to the eleventh and twelfth congressional districts. In both of these there is an avowed advocate of anti-injunction and other bad labor laws running against a supporter of law and order and common-sense regulation of strike, riots, boycotts, etc. I felt it my personal duty to help financially in a small way the candidacy of Mr. Harry M. Coudrey in the twelfth district, and Mr. William T. Finley, in the eleventh district.

Of course, the man who was the advocate of anti-injunction laws in the twelfth district was Mr. Self, and the man in the eleventh district running against Mr. Finley was the man whose name you have forgotten?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Was it not Mr. Gill? I think it was, but I can not remember positively.

Senator REED. It may have been Mr. Gill. I am rather inclined to think it probably was. That letter shows why you were opposed to these two men.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; or at least why Mr. Van Cleave was.

Senator REED. Yes. Of course Mr. Van Cleave was the whole thing, practically.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. This Mr. Coudrey is the gentleman who has since been sentenced to the penitentiary, is he not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. So I understand.

Senator REED. I continue to read from this letter:

I do not know how you feel about this matter, but I felt it was my duty to place it before you.

By the way, Mr. Gill and Mr. Self are both at large and are regarded as tolerably good citizens, are they not? I believe you said you thought Mr. Self was regarded as a good citizen. Would you say the same thing about the other gentleman?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think so; yes. And Mr. Harry Coudrey was thought to be a good citizen——

Senator REED. You thought he was, yes.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, and many of the best business men of St. Louis thought so.

Senator REED. But sometimes the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Council for Industrial Defense make mistakes?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN, Lots of them.

Senator WALSH. I think they want to revise their opinion of Mr. Mulhall.

Senator REED. I continue with this letter:

Both of these men need practical support, and if we want clean men to go to Congress it is up to us to help them. If you feel like writing out a check to

Mr. Coudrey and to Mr. Finley, showing thereby your interest in clean politics, I will appreciate it, and I will see to it personally that these checks are turned over properly. If you do not like to make it out to either one of these two gentlemen and still feel that you want to help us, make it out to me. In either case please let bearer have your contribution, and I will pledge my word that it will be properly transmitted.

If, on the other hand, you feel that you do not want to contribute for any reason whatsoever, there is no harm done. You will even then appreciate that personally this matter means nothing to me but worry and work, and that only my interest in good government prompts me to address you in this matter.

Very truly, yours,

President.

Of course that was Mr. Van Cleave who signed as president?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You notice this letter, like E 837, which I read you, is addressed "My Dear Sir."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Manifestly, therefore, those letters were intended to go out to more than one individual

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. And in the case of E 837, that letter was given to Mr. Oliver B. Root to carry around to personally solicit this money?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I call your attention to this one sentence, which I thought might have a little bearing, in your mind, on the question that was raised:

"It is up to the 155 national, State, and local organizations that are associated with us in the National Council for Industrial Defense to prove their practical assistance to the local candidates for political office, especially candidates for Congress. I am glad to say that the need for such action seems to be thoroughly appreciated by most of the organizations."

That would look, would it not, as though they had "come across" pretty handsomely?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. None to us.

Senator REED. None to you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No.

Senator REED. But Mr. Van Cleave was asking to have this matter sent direct to these candidates.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. You understand that, do you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Certainly.

Senator REED. And you do not know how many thousands of dollars were sent?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir; I do not.

Senator REED. The only man who would make his check to Van Cleave would be a man who did not want to make a check direct to a Congressman, but preferred to do it in such a way that it could not be traced?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe that this letter only went to St. Louis. In fact, I do not know whether it was sent out by mail, but I am inclined to think that copies were given to Mr. Root for different people.

Senator REED. But of course, as I say—and that is the point of the matter—the request was that the checks be made directly to the candidates?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And it was only those people who did not want to have their checks out, made payable to a candidate, who were requested to send the money through Mr. Van Cleave?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is right.

Senator REED. That is right?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. Proceeding, I take it that these items were part of this political propaganda. It seems that on September 13 Col. Mulhall got back to St. Louis, did he not? No, it was about September 5, for I call your attention to the bill that is here rendered, items in which are as follows:

Sept. 4. Dinner in St. Louis	$0.85
Sept. 4. Lunch for self and five others at Faust's restaurant in St. Louis	4.60
Sept. 4. Dinner in St. Louis	1.15
Sept. 5. Breakfast in St. Louis	1.10

Sept. 5. Dinner in St. Louis	$1.35
Sept. 5. Lunch at Faust's restaurant for self and 10 others	7.50
Sept. 5. Seats for self and 9 others at theatrical performance	10.00
Sept. 5. Refreshments for self and 9 others at Faust's restaurant after show was over	3.50

Then we have:

"Sept. 5. Transportation from St. Louis to Indianapolis, including sleeping-car berth, $9."

So that it appears that the colonel got back there and got pretty busy on another occasion, does it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. On the Workingmen's Protective Association.

Senator REED. The Workingmen's Protective Association was the very organization that he told you through Mr. Shanklin could be used in politics?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; which never was.

Senator REED. You say it never was. Mulhall says that it was. Of course you did not go around with Mulhall.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir; but I believe that Shanklin could easily disprove any such thing.

Senator REED. I have no doubt that he could disprove anything. A man who belongs to a labor union and takes pay from the other side generally could.

But he was there working for the Workingmen's Protective Association, was he not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The Workingmen's Protective Association.

Senator REED. And he had already suggested to you that through Mr. Shanklin, and through the Workingmen's Protective Association, much good could be done for Coudrey?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mulhall had.

Senator REED. Mulhall wrote you that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. And then you wrote that Mulhall should come back?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. And he did come back?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. And we find him with this crowd of people, entertaining them.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. I want now to call your attention to letter No. 1930, dated September 15, 1908. I read from it, as follows:

"We are getting along nicely here. Have several hundred dollars added to our funds for the two congressional districts."

It seems you had a fund, and you added several hundred dollars to it; and yet it was only September 15, and Mulhall had been gone only a few days since you wrote him before. Do you still think it was only two or three hundred dollars that you raised?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Senator, a little while ago you asked me how much we raised for Harry Coudrey. I think we raised three or four hundred dollars for each one of those gentlemen. I think we did for Congressman Bartholdt.

Senator REED. We are talking about the two districts, and the two districts were the Finley district and the Coudrey district; or, in other words, the eleventh and twelfth districts in St. Louis.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I beg your pardon. A little while ago you spoke of Coudrey's district only, at the time you made the inquiry. My answer was——

Senator REED. At any rate, this refreshes your recollection to that extent, that you know there were several hundred dollars added to that fund that already existed?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir

Senator REED. And this was as early as September 15, and represented only a few days' interlude between this date and the former time when the colonel had been out there? Just a little time had elapsed?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know. The dates indicate that better than I can tell you.

Senator REED. The dates indicate that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. I read as follows:

"I am satisfied that if we could only have more men that can be trusted to go around with the right kind of a letter we could do very much better than we are now doing, but it will not do to send out letters by mail, not even confidentially."

Now, why not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Because Mr. Van Cleave seriously objected to it. He objected to it in the Jenkins matter, and in every case.

Senator REED. Why did he object? You did not want those letters to go out to these wealthy manufacturing institutions soliciting funds, lest they should get into the hands of your political opponents, and thus do more harm than good? That is the reason, is it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, no. It might be one of the reasons.

Senator REED. That is one of the reasons?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, it might be one.

Senator REED. If it is one of the reasons, that will do. I do not care how many others you had.

I read further from this letter (No. 1930):

"In St. Louis we are gathering two-thirds of our funds for the congressional districts from prominent Democratic manufacturers and business men."

You were speaking about two-thirds of your funds, and several hundred dollars in addition to what you had. Do you not know that you had a large campaign fund there?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We had the fund I stated to you, Senator. I tell you the truth on this.

Senator REED. I know; but you have been so often mistaken in your recollection, and have forgotten things so often——

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I beg to differ with you.

Senator REED (continuing). I am trying to get you to recollect, now.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I beg to differ with you; I have not forgotten.

Senator REED. You have been a busy business man. I understand that. Several times you have forgotten about something until a letter rose up, like Banquo's ghost, and then you remembered that there had been a Banquo some time.

Mr. MCCARTER. I think your record will stand pretty well on that.

Senator REED. I am not criticizing the witness. I am treating him decently.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I hope so, Senator, because I am trying to do the best I can.

Senator REED. I read further from No. 1930, as follows:

"Remember in case you want to send the finances through the St. Louis office that Mr. Van Cleave will return on Friday afternoon to St. Louis and leave again next Tuesday night."

What finances were to go through the St. Louis office?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. To whom was that written? Where was that written?

Senator REED. It was written by Ferd. C. Schwedtman to "My Dear Martin."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes. Of course, he had a plan. The colonel wanted to have the money go through the St. Louis office, and he was anxious to do that in order that Mr. Van Cleave might hold out the money which had been advanced by the association in Watson's territory; and Mr. Van Cleave, after considering that, told him he would not have anything to do with that.

Senator REED. Then you had advanced money in the Watson territory, had you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The Citizens' Industrial Association—I mean the association from St. Louis—gave Martin Mulhall, I believe, as much as $1,500 for his field expenses in Indianapolis, and that $1,500 Mulhall expected Mr. Van Cleave to take out of the funds that might be sent to the St. Louis office from Indianapolis.

Senator REED. Are you sure that is the reason? Let me read you a little further from this letter.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. I will read you also what I read before, in order to give you the context:

"Remember in case you want to send the finances through the St. Louis office that Mr. Van Cleave will return on Friday afternoon to St. Louis and leave again next Tuesday night. Anything you want done in indorsing of checks and making out of checks should be done during that time, because on Tuesday night, as already stated, we will leave for New York, to be gone another week or 10 days."

Manifestly, if you simply wanted to take up the money that you had already advanced, it would not have been important to have had Mr. Van Cleave there to indorse checks promptly. Neither would the expression "in case you want to send the finances through the St. Louis office" have been used.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I disagree with you on that, Senator.

Senator REED. You do?
Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.
Senator REED. Very well.
Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. And, remember, there was a misstatement—a misunderstanding. Mr. Van Cleave turned down the proposition to have the money go through the St. Louis office, or to take off any part of Mr. Mulhall's field expenses which had been paid out.
Senator REED. Oh, yes. So that the $1,500 that you contributed stood as a contribution.
Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Field expenses to Mulhall; yes, sir.
Senator REED. You know that Mulhall's field expenses—that is, his hotel bills and his railroad fare—did not amount to $1,500; that is, in Indiana?
Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. About. He was there about 100 days, and his expenses amounted to about $15 a day.
Senator REED. Do you not know that he rendered bills right along for the expenses, and got his expenses from New York right along, at that time?
Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe not.
Senator REED. He did not?
Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It is my impression we paid them from St. Louis.
Senator REED. Let us see whether you did or not. You had already advanced him $1,500, and yet here is his bill. I will read you one of these bills. Here is one dated September 13, 1908, just two days before he wrote this letter that I have just read you. This bill is 1905–1907. I read from it as follows:

(1905–1907.)

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *September 13, 1908.*

M. M. Mulhall in account with the National Association of Manufacturers.

Aug. 31.	Balance due me as per account sheet	$44.67
Aug. 31.	Received from Mr. Ferd. C. Schwedtman	300.00
	Cash on hand	256.33
Sept. 1.	Breakfast in New York	1.30
Sept. 1.	Transportation from New York, N. Y., to Indianapolis, Ind., via New York Central lines, including sleeping-car berth	23.50
Sept. 2.	Supper for self and two others in Indianapolis	2.25
Sept. 2.	Paid to one member of Boilermakers' Union, Indianapolis, for services rendered and information furnished, due this date	25.00
Sept. 2.	Paid same for incidental expenses	5.00
Sept. 3.	Breakfast in Indianapolis, Ind	.85
Sept. 3.	Dinner in Indianapolis	1.15
Sept. 3.	Supper in Indianapolis	1.40
Sept. 3.	Transportation from Indianapolis to St. Louis, including sleeping-car berth	9.00
Sept. 3.	Paid to one member of Loom Fixtures Union, of Paterson, N. J.	

That gets over into New Jersey, where he paid that gentleman there of the Loom Fixtures Union—the fixer of the loom union, I guess.
Then we come to St. Louis, and we have money paid out there, and then come the following items:

Sept. 5.	Transportation from St. Louis to Indianapolis, including sleeping-car berth	$9.00
Sept. 6.	Breakfast in Indianapolis	.85
Sept. 6.	Dinner in Indianapolis, Ind	1.10
Sept. 6.	Supper in Indianapolis	1.30
Sept. 7.	Breakfast in Indianapolis	.85
Sept. 7.	Dinner in Indianapolis	1.50
Sept. 7.	Supper in private dining room of the Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, for Hon. James E. Watson and his friends	17.00
Sept. 8.	Breakfast in Indianapolis, Ind	1.05
Sept. 8.	Dinner in Indianapolis	1.65
Sept. 8.	Supper in Indianapolis	.90

Sept. 8.	For entertaining four campaign workers at different resorts in the city	$4.00
Sept. 8.	Paid four campaign workers for incidental expenses for one week's work	20.00
Sept. 9.	Breakfast in Indianapolis	1.10
Sept. 9.	Dinner in Indianapolis	1.90
Sept. 9.	Supper in Indianapolis	1.80
Sept. 9.	Paid to one member of Boilermakers' Union, Indianapolis, for services rendered and information furnished due this date. Same for incidental expenses	25.00
Sept. 10.	Transportation from Indianapolis to Cincinnati, Ohio, round-trip fare, via New York Central	5.00 4.50

Then he went to Cincinnati and came back to Indianapolis on the 11th of September, and we have the folowing items:

Sept. 11.	Paid to Hotel English for room with bath for one week, due this date	$17.50
Sept. 12.	Breakfast in Indianapolis	1.05
Sept. 12.	Dinner in Indianapolis	1.50
Sept. 12.	Paid to Mr. A. J. Allen for office expenses and stenographer's wages for the week ending Sept. 12	20.75
Sept. 12.	Supper in Indianapolis	1.25
Sept. 13.	Breakfast in Indianapolis	.85
Sept. 11.	Dinner in Indianapolis	1.30
Sept. 13.	Incidental expenses doing general routine work, Sept. 1 to Sept. 13, inclusive, 13 days	20.00
Sept. 13.	Total expenses to date	425.40
Sept. 13.	Less cash on hand Aug. 31	256.33
Sept. 13.	Balance due me	69.07

Do you still say that that $1,500 went for his incidental expenses?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. This is part of the $1,500.

Senator REED. What is that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. This is part of that $1,500.

Senator REED. You told us that you had advanced him $1,500.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, I beg your pardon; no.

Senator REED. That you gave him $1,500.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir. There was $300. That is off of that $1,500. He had received $1,500.

Senator REED. I understand now that this is out of the $1,500, and you took the aggregate of the accounts to make the $1,500?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. And yet all through the accounts are expenses incurred outside of Indianapolis?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Certainly.

Senator REED. Moneys sent to Baltimore.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. And moneys sent to New Jersey.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. All of that expense is fixed here, and it would not amount to $1,500; is not that true?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; I do not think so.

Senator REED. The fact is that you did give $1,500 to Mulhall to use in that campaign, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Not a bit of it. We gave him $1,500, at various times. I think it was $1,500. Then, do you notice that the expense account was sent to me?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Therefore that is a part of the $1,500 which was advanced to him in various payments.

Senator REED. You never did keep any separate account for Indianapolis?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. Or for Indiana? You never kept any account separate from the others?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. So that you can not say you gave him $1,500 in that way?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. But you did say emphatically that you did furnish Mulhall $1,500 to use in Indiana?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. If I did say that, I wish to correct it by saying we gave him $1,500, with which he worked the greater part of the time in Indianapolis.

Senator REED. Did you not advance him during that period a great deal more than $1,500, taking the whole country at large?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think not.

Senator REED. You think not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. However, I can only speak understandingly so far as the St. Louis office is concerned. I can say nothing of the New York office.

Senator REED. While I am going over these other accounts I want to call your attention to another letter.

The CHAIRMAN. It is about time to adjourn, Senator.

Senator REED. That letter is No. 3707. I will stop right there.

Senator WALSH. Before we adjourn, I want to call the attention of the committee to letter E 805–808, and to express my regret that we had not an opportunity to examine Mr. Miles in relation to this letter. It is a letter written by Mr. Miles to Mr. J. W. Van Cleave, under date of August 31, 1908. I read from it as follows: , ,

"First. *International Conference of London.*—It was a very great privilege for me to represent the association there. The English were as courteous as could be. I wish particularly that you had been there in person, for the English are to my mind wonderfully sober, intelligent, and world wise. They know too much to see only the English side or try to pull the wool over the eyes of the foreigners.

"So far as I know, I was the only protectionist in the conference. In addressing them I thanked them particularly for their largeness of mind and heart in inviting me to address them, knowing as they did that my point was at an angle from theirs, in that I am a protectionist, and in that respect stand with probably 97 per cent of the population of my country.

"I come back, if possible, more firmly a believer in protection for this country and in the tariff work of our association. Our country was held up to the amazement and astonishment of the representatives of all foreign nations in respect to our tariff policy, it being disclosed beyond any possibility of answer, as I believe you and I would agree, that our present tariff is not an honest one nor a protective one, but one of unfairness and discrimination, well illustrated by Speaker Cannon's statement to me that they gave the equivalent of $5,000,000 to one Senator for his support of the Dingley bill."

Mr. MCCARTER. Will you probably get through with Mr. Schwedtman to-day?

The CHAIRMAN. I think so.

(At 1.10 o'clock p. m. the subcommittee took a recess until 3 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

(The subcommittee met at 3 o'clock p. m., pursuant to the taking of the recess.)

Senator REED. Mr. Schwedtman, you did not confine your interest in Mr. Coudrey to the campaign of 1908, did you? You continued your exertions in his behalf into the campaign of 1910, did you not?

Mr SCHWEDTMAN. That may so.

Senator REED. Do you not remember about that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I know nothing to the contrary.

Senator REED. I thought perhaps I could shorten this examination, but apparently I can not. I will call your attention to Exhibit No. 3706. It is as follows:

(3706.)

MAY 23, 1910.

MY DEAR MARTIN: Since dictating the attached I have made it a special point to have a talk with some one supposed to be high up in the councils of the twelfth district. He is a friend of L. C. Dyer, a lawyer and politician, who filed the required notice for primary election on the Republican ticket last Saturday. Consequently, Mr. Coudrey will have this one opponent if he has nobody else.

I am told that Hiram Lloyd, who stated to me sometime ago that he expected to run in the twelfth, has now given up his intention. I understand that Mr.

Coudrey has not yet openly declared his intention of running, and that up to a short time ago all his friends understood that he would not run. On the Democratic side there are three candidates so far, Tom Kinney, a shrewd politician; Tow Rowe, a lawyer; and Colin M. Selph, who opposed Coudrey the last time.

Our primaries take place in August, so there is very little time left for filing nominations. The man I spoke to tells me that Harry Coudrey could not be nominated and could not be elected if nominated, but, confessing himself a strict adherent of L. C. Dyer, the opposing Republican candidate, his statement must be taken for what it is worth.

Who was that "man higher up"?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not remember, Senator. I have known Hiram Lloyd. It might have been he; but I have referred to him, which would destroy that conclusion.

Senator REED. Very well; I proceed to the next exhibit. I call your attention to a telegram from Mulhall to you, No. 3708, which is as follows:

(3708.)

[Telegram.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 23, 1910.*

FERD. C. SCHWEDTMAN,
1005 Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo.:

Sent you a long night letter at Mr. Coudrey's request. Can you send me a diplomatic message in answer to both my night messages to the New Willard Hotel that I can show to Coudrey? This is most important, as there is a crisis on here and we need every particle of help we can get. Will write you fully to-morrow morning.

MULHALL.

What was that crisis that made it necessary for you to write a diplomatic letter to Coudrey? Why not write him frankly?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I have always written Coudrey frankly.

Senator REED. Mulhall asks you to write him a diplomatic letter, and adds the reason. He wants to show it to Coudrey, and says:

"This is most important, as there is a crisis on here and we want every particle of help we can get."

What construction can you possibly put upon that except that Mulhall wanted a letter that would be of such character as to please Coudrey, and that he wanted to please Coudrey because there was a vote coming on here, and they wanted Coudrey's vote?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know Mulhall's intention or the crisis; but I do know I wote a letter, and there must be a letter, in which I told Harry Coudrey plainly and frankly that in my opinion he had not any chance in that election, and therefore he should consider himself out of it.

Senator WALSH. That is all right; but you always get away from the question that is asked you. That is all right enough, that you afterwards wrote Mr. Coudrey that you did not believe he had any show; but that is not the question which Senator Reed asked you. This letter was written you by Mr. Mulhall?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. You got that letter and you know what that letter means, or you did know at the time. That letter told you there was a crisis here in Washington, and he wanted you to write him a letter which he could show to Coudrey.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. What was the crisis here?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Answering your question, Senator, you ask me to interpret the language of another man, Mulhall. Mulhall can certainly do that very much better than I can.

Senator WALSH. No; I am not asking you to interpret the letter. But Mulhall was not writing to you in a cipher that you did not understand, was he?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No. The letter gives you all that it gave me.

Senator WALSH. What I want to know is not what Mulhall meant, but what you know about the crisis here in Washington, and what that crisis was?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know, Senator.

Senator REED. About the only crisis that there could have been here was over some bill in Congress, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Probably so, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you yourself ever come to Washington, Mr. Schwedtman? Did you come to Washington to do any legislative work yourself?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You did come to Washington, however?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Repeatedly.

The CHAIRMAN. What were you doing in Washington?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I usually—I believe always—came with Mr. Van Cleave, to be of such service to him as I might.

The CHAIRMAN. In what way?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave, even while here, had a great many letters to write, a great many orders as to letters to be written or telegrams to be sent, and I was of service to him in that way.

The CHAIRMAN. Why should he come to Washington?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave sometimes saw public men here in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what he came here for, to see public men in Congress?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Either to see public men or to confer with Mr. Emery.

The CHAIRMAN. To map out a program with Congress?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. To map out a program for the association.

The CHAIRMAN. To map out a program for the association with reference to what Congress was doing, of course?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes. Oh, certainly. Possibly so. It might have been with reference to what the White House was doing, or different branches of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not come here except when Congress was in session, did you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Oh, yes; we have been here several times when Congress was not in session.

The CHAIRMAN. Several times?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But most of the time it was when Congress was in session?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. On the whole, I do not believe I have been here more than a dozen times during the three years of Mr. Van Cleave's administration.

The CHAIRMAN. A dozen times in three years, and nine times out of ten it would be when Congress was in session?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes; or ten out of twelve.

The CHAIRMAN. Your purpose in coming was to do work with Congress?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. To become familiar with what was being done in Congress; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And to use the influence of the organization for some purpose concerning legislation in Congress?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Not that so much, but to learn the true facts, and you can usually learn those only——

The CHAIRMAN. You could not learn the facts from Emery and Mulhall?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, that is true; we could. But still, time and again you learn facts and find out things that you can not learn in a roundabout way.

The CHAIRMAN. You had reports almost daily, and yet you thought you and Mr. Van Cleave would have to come to Washington?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Van Cleave thought he ought to come; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you came as his secretary?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the purpose to influence legislation?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I say he used to confer with public men. Of course, it may have been. The purpose could be only one of real interest; that is, first of all to learn from Congress what was being done—in other words, to be educated, because we believed we knew but little and wanted to learn—and, secondly, to sometimes help in a small way to have public men understand some questions that we thought we knew something about.

The CHAIRMAN. You had certain men you wanted to see, with whom you wanted to talk over these matters?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We went to public men at different times.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose that also they came to see you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do think there were more than one or two cases of that kind; but on the whole we went to their offices in the Senate Building or in the House Building.

Senator REED. At any rate, Mr. Schwedtman, you received from Mr. Mulhall this telegram which I have previously read to you, No. 3708, in which he asked you to send this diplomatic letter. Then, on the same day, you got another telegram from him, did you not, No. 3709, which reads as follows:

"Two long interviews with Coudrey to-day. He is extremely anxious to come back to Congress. That is the reason I called you over the long-distance phone from his room. He wants me to have you give him the situation in his district and is extremely anxious I should go to St. Louis for him. He insists on making the fight. To what extent can the manufacturers help him in this campaign?"

You got that telegram, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. If it is in the record I certainly received it.

Senator REED. You had a long-distance telephone talk with Mulhall in regard to that matter, did you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not recollect that.

Senator REED. You do not recollect that?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. Then on the next day you wired Mr. Mulhall as follows, did you not:

(3712.)

[Telegram.]

ST. LOUIS, Mo., *May 24, 1910.*

M. M. MULHALL,
Care J. A. Emery, Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.:

I wrote you fully regarding Coudrey yesterday. Manufacturers are ready to help Coudrey, but situation seems unfavorable. Suggest you wire or write me after receipt of my letter to-morrow.

F. C. SCHWEDTMAN.

So you had ascertained that the manufacturers were ready to help Coudrey, had you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not think I had ascertained that. I probably took it for granted that we could use influence in that direction.

Senator REED. On the 23d of May you wrote a letter, No. 3705, reading as follows:

MY DEAR MARTIN: Confirming my conversation with you over the long-distance telephone—

You know now you did have a long-distance telephone conversation with him?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Certainly, from that letter.

Senator REED. I read on:

I want to say that our mutual friend Hon. Harry M. Coudrey needs all the assistance that can be given him in his district.

My greatest hope of success in his case is not the strength of the Republican Party, but the weakness of the Democrats. There are two or three leading Democrats working hard to get the nomination in opposition to him, and one of these candidates has threatened to run independently if he is turned down by the Democratic Party. That would be the best thing that could happen for the Republican candidate, consequently, while it is still too early to say anything definite, it is more than possible that the dissension in the Democratic Party will elect a Republican.

You are aware that Mr. Coudrey's district is claimed to be a Democratic district, and if it had not been for the very thorough way in which Mr. Coudrey's former campaigns were run and the high personal esteem which many of Mr. Coudrey's constituents have for him the Republicans would have had a difficult time carrying this district. Possibly Mr. Coudrey is better posted as to his prospects for the nomination than I am. Nevertheless, I know it to be a fact that he has opponents high up in the councils of the Republican district committee, and, as I see it, the fight for nomination is the one that is most important at the present time.

If you can possibly be spared in Washington, I think you ought by all means come and do all that can be done for Mr. Coudrey, and not only as vice president for Missouri of the National Association of Manufacturers and as president of the Citizens' Industrial Association, but especially as a personal friend of Mr. Coudrey, I urge you to come. Please keep me advised of your movements.

Faithfully, yours,

FERD. C. SCHWEDTMAN.

Col. M. M. MULHALL, *Baltimore, Md.*

You wrote that letter?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I digress long enough to ask you now if, as the president of the Citizens' Industrial Association, you were not trying to help this man Coudrey?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Certainly.

Senator REED. I understood you to say awhile ago you did it to help him as a friend, but not as president of the Citizens' Industrial Association, and that that association had nothing to do with politics.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Except to support the same economic principles for which the National Association of Manufacturers stands, and I believe that is one of them.

Senator REED. I tried to get you to say—for I had read this letter, and it was in my head in a nebulous sort of way—that you wrote such a letter. I did not have it before me, and I tried to get you to admit a while ago that this Citizens' Industrial Association of yours had gone into the campaign, and that you, as the president of it, had gone into the campaign in favor of Mr. Coudrey. I certainly understood you to say that the association had not, but that you as an individual had tried to help him. I find now that here is your letter in which you used this language:

"If you can possibly be spared in Washington, I think you ought by all means come and do all that can be done for Mr. Coudrey, and not only as vice president for Missouri of the National Association of Manufacturers, and as president of the Citizens' Industrial Association, but especially as a personal friend of Mr. Coudrey, I urge you to come."

So that you were, in your official capacity as distinguished from your personal capacity, or as well as in your personal capacity, in the campaign for Mr. Coudrey?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In that capacity I was urging Mulhall; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Then follows letter No. 3706, which I have already read to you. I again read to you one of the telegrams of May 23, 1910, which is No. 3708, as follows:

Sent you a long night letter at Mr. Coudrey's request. Can you send me a diplomatic message in answer to both my night messages to the New Willard Hotel that I ca nshow to Coudrey? This is most important, as there is a crisis on here and we need every particle of help we can get. Will write you fully to-morrow morning.

MULHALL.

Then follows the telegram, No. 3709, and then your telegram, No. 3712, in which you say to Mulhall:

"I wrote you fully regarding Coudrey yesterday. Manufacturers are ready to help Coudrey, but situation seems unfavorable. Suggest you wire or write me after receipt of my letter to-morrow."

I want to know again if you did not write this diplomatic letter that Mulhall asked you to write to Coudrey?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. If I have written it, you must have it before you, so you can figure it out more definitely than I can.

Senator REED. Perhaps I have and perhaps I have not, but I want to read you something in a letter from Mr. Mulhall to you that is dated May 25, the next day, as follows:

"Mr. Coudrey has been your dear friend, so that makes him mine, and there has been no man in Congress that has done more for our people and was willing at all times to help than the Hon. Harry M. Coudrey."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It must be.

Senator REED. I read on, as follows:

"When he handed me a copy of your letter to-day for me to read I could have hugged you if you had been present, for I have been saying to Mr. Coudrey that I knew the situation was good in his district for him, from another source of information from St. Louis, and your letter confirmed every particular of this; and he said to me after my interview to-day that he would have entirely dropped out of the fight if it had not been from the encouragement he had received from myself and a few other friends here in Washington."

So it appears from this letter which Mulhall wrote you that you did write that diplomatic letter, and did encourage Mr. Coudrey. Is not that correct?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know about that particular letter. That is May, 1910?

Senator REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In 1910——

Senator REED. Let us stick to the question. It appears that you did write the diplomatic letter, does it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not care what appears, Senator. I know I wrote Coudrey a letter stating to him the facts, and he dropped out in that particular year.

Senator REED. I am not talking about what you finally wrote him. I am talking about the diplomatic letter you wrote him when the crisis was on here in Washington and you needed his vote.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know what I may have done in that respect.

Senator REED. You know Mr. Mulhall wrote you this letter, and you have admitted part of it, and I call your attention to this language and ask you what you can make out of it:

"When he (that is Coudrey) handed me a copy of your letter to-day for me to read I could have hugged you if you had been present, for I have been saying to Mr. Coudrey that I knew the situation was good in his district for him from another source of information from St. Louis, and your letter confirmed every particular of this."

Having received that letter from Mr. Mulhall, referring to a letter that you wrote, do you say that you did not write this diplomatic letter that was requested in the telegram?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I state to you that I do not know what sort of a letter I wrote. I do know I wrote him one straight letter asking him to drop out.

Senator REED. Oh, yes; later, when you told him there was no chance for him to win. Did you try to reach Mr. Otto F. Stifel in behalf of Coudrey?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I could not have done that, because I do not know the gentleman.

Senator REED. Either directly or indirectly?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not know that I tried to. Some one else might have done so. It was in connection with discussing the situation, and some of these politicians might have done so; but I do not know Mr. Stifel, so I could not have reached him.

Senator REED. You remember getting this telegram, do you not, from Mulhall, dated May 23, 1910:

(3707.)

[Telegram.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 23, 1910.*

FERD. C. SCHWEDTMAN,
1005 Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo.:

Two long interiews with Coudrey to-day. He is extremely anxious for our help in his district. That is the reason I called you over the long-distance phone from his room. He wants to have you give him the situation in his district regarding the manufacturers and would like to have me go to St. Louis for him. He insists on making the fight. Can you reach Otto F Stifel (boss)?

You say you do not know Mr. Stifel personally?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I never wrote him; I never had an interview with him, and to the best of my knowledge never met him at all.

Senator REED. But you know what his business was?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Oh, yes; indeed.

Senator REED. He was a brewer?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. A wealthy brewer. Did you send anybody to see him?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir; not to the best of my recollection.

Senator REED. I call your attention to a letter written to Mr. Kirby, 3717–3735, dated May 25, 1910. Mr. Mulhall writes to Mr. Kirby, and in the letter he quotes the telegram that he sent to you. He says:

"Two long interviews with Coudrey."

And so forth.

Then I come to this part:

"I returned to the Capitol, as I had an engagement again with Mr. Coudrey for the afternoon, I promising him I would give him my entire time. I found Mr. Coudrey, and he took me to Mr. Southwick's office, of the twenty-fourth New York district, be requesting me to get busy on his work in St. Louis. He wanted me to write a letter to Mr. Schwedtman. I suggested we should call Mr. Schwedtman over the long-distance phone, and of this he fully approved. For about an hour we were busy in Mr. Southwick's office, he leaving it in our charge, and at about 4 p. m. we got into communication with Mr. Schwedtman from St. Louis. The message sent by Mr. Schwedtman was extremely pleasing to Mr. Coudrey. From what I could learn over the phone Mr. Schwedtman was anxious and willing to help Mr. Coudrey for renomination: There is a very active fight against Mr. Coudrey for renomination, and it is very much to our interest to get him back."

I call your attention to that, not to ask a question but to show it as a part of the written history of this whole matter. Then later in the letter there is a copy of the telegram of May 24, which you sent. It begins:

"I wrote you fully regarding Coudrey yesterday."

To show you that you did write him an encouraging letter, I want to read you this letter that Mr. Coudrey wrote to you. This is No. 3774, and is dated May 25, 1910. It reads:

(3774.)

DEAR FERD.: I received this morning's copies of your two letters to Col. Mulhall, and I had lunch with him to-day and showed same to him, as the originals have not been forwarded from Baltimore as yet, and the colonel has been quite active in my behalf. He saw the Speaker to-day and is going to see others.

I was rather on the fence, but the colonel, in his persuasive way, has gotten me to thinking. In other words, I am sitting up now and taking notice. It looks to me as though with the three candidates for the Democratic nomination that have filed there is going to be some sore spots that we can take advantage of. Now, I don't want the colonel to go to St. Louis just yet; in fact, if I do get into the race I will certainly need and want him there later, as he can do more good then, and I hope it will be convenient for him to be on hand.

I certainly appreciate the kindness and interest of both yourself and the colonel, and I will decide the matter in the next few days.

With my very best wishes to you always, I beg to remain,

Very sincerely,

Mr. FERD. C. SCHWEDTMAN,
Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Let me see if I can not clear this up. Does not the first part say that the originals are still in Baltimore, and is it not quite possible that Mr. Coudray has reference to the very letter I had written to Mr. Mulhall?

Senator REED. Undoubtedly you had written to Mr. Mulhall and sent the letters to both places, and he saw them and said:

"I was rather on the fence, but the colonel, in his persuasive way, has gotten me to thinking. In other words, I am sitting up now and taking notice."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In other words, is not there the very letter which you read a little while ago, which I wrote the colonel as to the situation, to which he has reference? Because I do not remember any other letter that was sent out except the final one, in which I say that there is possibly a chance on account of the weakness of the Democratic Party, not on account of the strength of the Republicans.

Senator REED. Do you know when the crisis passed?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, I do not.

Senator REED. The crisis that the colonel had in mind?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I do not. You must remember that at that time I did not take a very active interest in the National Association of Manufacturers. I had no official position.

Senator REED. You said you did not know Mr. Stifel, and did not go to see him, but did you not take steps to have Mr. Stifel seen?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Senator REED. I call to your attention this letter, No. 3778, of May 28, 1910:

(3778.)

MAY 28, 1910.

MY DEAR HARRY: I have your letter of the 25th and your telegram of the 27th. I also have a lengthy letter from Col. Mulhall. I have answered him as per copy attached and I want to say to you that, not knowing Mr. Stifel, I have asked a friend who does know him to interview him. I am much inclined to believe that neither Mr. Stifel's support nor that of anyone else will elect a Republican in your district the coming fall, but not being a politician I am naturally no expert on matters of this kind, and your own judgment will have to be the basis for action.

I repeat what I have said before, that in the event you run I shall personally endeavor to serve you to the limit of my ability.

With best wishes, believe me,

Faithfully, yours,

——— ———.

President.

Hon. HARRY M. COUDREY, *Washington, D. C.*

You got a letter or telegram asking that Mr. Stifel be seen?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You did not know Mr. Stifel?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. You showed that telegram to the president, and the president said——

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I am the president.

Senator REED. Were you the president at that time?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes. That is my letter.

Senator REED. Very well; you were the president at that time.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I was president of the Citizens' Industrial Association.

Senator REED. And you signed this answer in your official capacity as president?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. There again, of course, you must make due allowance for the fact that there were a great many letters written on Citizens' Industrial Association paper. The stenographer would not necessarily keep all personal letters in due form, as they might be kept.

Senator REED. I am interested in only one matter. I do not care about the matter we have just been discussing. You did ask a friend to go and see Stifel?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It is my letter, and consequently I must have done so.

Senator REED. Awhile ago you did not recall about it, and I am now calling your attention to this letter.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Thank you.

Mr. MCCARTER. Do you not think you have overlooked one letter, Senator Reed, to which it would be fair to call the attention of the witness in this connection? I refer to the letter immediately preceding No. 3778.

Senator REED. Well, you may read it if you desire.

Mr. MCCARTER. I read No. 3777, as follows:

(3777.)

THE CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION OF ST. LOUIS,
St. Louis, May 28, 1910.

MY DEAR MARTIN: I have your letter of May 25, and I attach hereto copy of my letter to Mr. Coudrey. I understand that you are going to have a conference with Mr. Kirby early next week, and this Coudrey matter will no doubt come up for discussion.

I am afraid that you have misconstrued my correspondence with Mr. Coudrey if it made the impression upon you that the situation in his district was good for him. It is anything but good, and I am a little bit inclined to believe that it would be the best policy for Mr. Coudrey to refuse to run. I do not believe that a Republican candidate has any chance. I have had a talk with a man way up in

the service of the Globe-Democrat, who gave no encouragement at all, and he tells me that there is now no possibility of either one of the Democratic candidates running independently. This is practically the only chance that a Republican candidate has in the next election, and I think that Mr. Coudrey would do well to throw the certainty of defeat upon some other candidate.

However, I shall be guided entirely by his wishes, and shall at all times in the future exert the same effort for Mr. Coudrey that has been exerted in the past.

Very truly, yours, FERD. C. SCHWEDTMAN, *President.*

Col. M. M. MULHALL, *Baltimore, Md.*

Senator REED. That was after it had developed that this political quarrel in the Democratic Party was not going to be realized.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Well, this was evidently immediately in reply to the letter of the Colonel.

Senator REED. Senator Walsh the other day called attention to some subscriptions, and in that connection I want to call attention to two letters, which have nothing to do with Mr. Schwedtman's present examination.

I first call attention to E 1751, which is as follows:

E 1751.

MAY 27, 1910.

Mr. THOMAS DOLAN,
President the United Gas Improvement Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR SIR: Mr. Porter has just told me of his most pleasant interview with you yesterday relative to supporting our work, and at his suggestion I am sending you, under separate cover, reports of the various committees offered at our fifteenth annual convention, the entire proceedings of which will shortly be sent you in book form.

I wish to thank you personally and in behalf of the association for your courtesies to Mr. Porter and say that your former subscription has added much toward furthering the work we have done in the past year, and that we would be most grateful for your further support at this time.

I beg to remain,
Yours, most sincerely,

President.

Who was president in May, 1810?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Kirby was president.

Senator REED. Now, I want to call attention to the next letter, which is E 1752, which reads as follows:

E 1752.

JUNE 1, 1910.

Mr. THOMAS DOLAN,
President the United Gas Improvement Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

MY DEAR MR. DOLAN: I am just in receipt of your check for $1.000 in support of the National Council for Industrial Defense.

I want to thank you personally and in behalf of the organization and say that this will do much toward furthering the work we have in view. I will keep you advised from time to time of everything of importance that transpires.

Yours, sincerely,

Treasurer.

Who was treasurer then?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Mr. Bird has been the only treasurer of the organization. I believe that is a council letter, is it not?

Senator REED. I do not know. Mr. Dolan is addressed as president of the United Gas Improvement Co. That is known as the Gas Trust, is it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I did not know that.

Senator REED. You did not know that it controlled two-thirds of all the gas plants of the United States in cities of any size?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is the first intimation I have had of that.

Senator REED. In regard to Chautauqua matters—and I want to refer back to that because there seems to be a little uncertainty of recollection—I call attention to H. R. 132, a letter dated September 13, 1909, which is as follows:

H. R. 132.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1909.

Mr. A. E. PALMER,
Central Lyceum Bureau, Kansas City, Mo.

MY DEAR MR. PALMER: I have just returned from a conference of the officers of the National Council for Industrial Defense in New York, and I find your two letters of the 8th and 10th. I will take up the two propositions covered therein in separate letters, but I want to speak here of our Chautauqua program.

The plans outlined to you during your recent visit to St. Louis were thoroughly approved by the officers of the council, and I am under instructions from the chairman to arrange for two speakers as quickly as possible. One of these is Mr. Emery, about whom I talked to you at great length during your visit. Mr. Emery was one of the conferees, and he promised to mail on Saturday some of the material wanted by you. Not receiving it this morning, I have wired Mr. Emery. I am confident that I can have in your possession the things wanted, which I understand are:

(1) A good photograph of Mr. Emery.
(2) A summary of his life and activities.
(3) Some newspaper clippings from various parts of the country speaking approvingly of his ability as an orator and a lecturer.
(4) The title of Mr. Emery's next year's Chautauqua lecture.
(5) Some epigrammatic sentences from his lecture.

I think this is all that you have asked for. If anything additional is needed, let me know at once.

Remember that our idea is to place Mr. Emery on 10 to 15 Chautauqua programs. We want to use every effort to place him on more prominent parts of the program, and not among a lot of vaudeville actors or negro comedians. We want to be sure, in other words, that he has an intellectual audience. He must be placed on the financial basis of high-grade men. You are the best judge of how this can be brought about as long as you understand that we will be ready to absorb Mr. Emery's compensation, and let you and the lyceum managers divide this among you. Mr. Emery's transportation, however, is to be paid by you. It is unnecessary to say that it is very desirable to arrange his lecture tour in such a way that there is a minimum amount of travel and loss of time in between engagements.

The first thing to be arranged now, it seems to me, is Mr. Emery's appearance before the Fork and Knife Club of Kansas City. We will send him there entirely at our expense, as discussed between us during your visit, and for no other purpose than to give you an opportunity to listen to him. Early in October would be the most desirable time for the Kansas City engagement, as Mr. Emery has several speaking dates ahead for September.

Regarding the second or third lecturer which we may put on next season, I shall write you in a day or two. It is very likely the man mentioned to you, but I have no authority to use his name so far. I may take a run over to see him to settle all details, but we will leave him out of consideration entirely until I write you further.

If there is anything in connection with Mr. Emery that you wish to convey to me after reading my letter, please do it at once so there will be no unnecessary delay.

Very truly, yours,

———— ————,
Secretary.

Since I have read that letter, does it not refresh your recollection as to the fact that the entire expense of Mr. Emery was to be absorbed by your association?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes, sir; I believe I expressed that belief when it was last discussed.

Senator REED. Does it not refresh your recollection upon the fact that you proposed to do the same thing with reference to Mr. Watson?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. Now, let us see. I read as follows:

"Regarding the second or third lecturer which we may put on next season, I shall write you in a day or two. It is very likely the man mentioned to you, but I have no authority to use his name so far."

That was Watson, was it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think very likely it was Mr. Watson; but I did not propose the same basis for him. I proposed that basis definitely for Mr. Emery, and I believe for Mr. Emery only.

Senator REED. What did you mean by this:

"You are the best judge of how this can be brought about as long as you understand that we will be ready to absorb Mr. Emery's compensation, and let you and the lyceum managers divide this among you."

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I believe that explains itself, does it not? I called his attention to the fact that he must be placed on with first-class men, and at the same amount that other first-class men received, and that the money which Mr. Emery was entitled to in that sort of way could be absorbed entirely by the lyceum management, local and central; that we did not care about that as long as they paid the railroad fare.

Senator REED. In other words, he was to be put down as receiving a high price, which in fact he would not receive, and the local man with whom you were arranging would cut that up as he pleased between himself and other managers?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In other words, Mr. Palmer as the manager of the lyceum bureau supplies men, and he and the local man could divide that any way they liked. That was none of our business.

Senator WALSH. I do not get that. We will say he is to get the price of a high-class lecturer, which is about $100 or $200 a night, is it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think it was $150.

Senator WALSH. All right, $150 a night. That is to say, the people go to hear Mr. Emery and they pay their money, and $150 of that ostensibly is to be paid to Mr. Emery?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. The Chautauquas have catalogues, the picture of each lecturer usually being shown, and the price of each man is shown; and usually they select their lecturers according to their ability.

Senator WALSH. And they send that catalogue to their lyceum manager. Say it was sent to the manager of the lyceum in Helena. They said, "We can furnish you Mr. Emery for $150 a night"?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Exactly.

Senator WALSH. But Mr. Emery was not to get the $150?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. And you were not to get it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. To whom was that money to go?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That was their own affair.

Senator WALSH. Whose own affair?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was the affair of the manager of the lyceum circuit. He is an expert in that line. We did not know how they divided it.

Senator WALSH. The manager of the circuit?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Well, the Chautauqua manager; the man who arranges the circuit.

Senator WALSH. They were to send out advertising matter advising our lyceum manager out in Helena that he could get Mr. Emery for $150 a night—that is to say, that they would have to pay him that amount of money, that he was worth that, that he was a high-class man—but they did not have to pay him that, as I understand you?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That is correct.

Senator REED. No; the local man paid that.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No. As I say, he could arrange that with the local man any way he saw fit.

Senator WALSH. That is to say, that was the advertisement, $150 a night for this man; but he would then write him a private, confidential letter saying "Although this man is classed as a $150 man and we will advertise to the public that he gets $150, the real truth about the matter is he does not get a red cent, but you can get him for $75, and we will appropriate the other $75"?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That was one of the ways in which it might be done; yes.

Senator WALSH. And this was what you called an educational campaign?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. I still want to ask something about that. This lyceum business is run in this way, is it not? There is a lyceum bureau, is there not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. And then there are local parties that have buildings and grounds, and so forth, and there are local members of the lyceum bureau?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Or the manager, the local managers and the local members.

Senator REED. If Mr. Emery was sent, for instance, to Helena, the local man would have to pay $150 to the central organization in consideration of Mr. Emery coming there?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir; no, sir.

Senator WALSH. No; he said though he advertised Mr. Emery as a $150 man, that they could get him for $75; and the real truth is that he was not to get anything at all.

Senator REED. You and I. I will not say had a dispute, but we made a little effort this morning to find out about this $1,500 that you said was contributed to the Watson campaign. That is the way I understood you. Afterwards you said it was contributed by sending the Colonel in there, and the Colonel used that money. Then I showed you his accounts, showing you that he had rendered accounts, and you said then that was the way the $1,500 was paid.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. And I then asked you how you could separate it, etc. Now, Mr. Schwedtman, I want to run this over with you a little. It appears by No. 1899, which is one of Mr. Mulhall's accounts, that on August 26 he received from you $300, and by No. 1905 it appears that on August 31 he received $300 from you. That is $600 paid to him in five days' time. Of course you know that was not spent for hotel bills, do you not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. That was for all of his expenses. He did not get any other money except what he claimed as expense money; and as I understand it, that is a total of $1,500 from the St. Louis office.

Senator REED. Let us see if that was the total.

It appears by No. 1986 that on September 14 Mulhall received from you the further sum of $300.

It appears by 2054–2055 that on September 22 he received from you $300 more.

That makes $1,200, and that is all that he appears to have received from you. That covers a period of only one month, or less than one month. Do you mean to say that his hotel bills and traveling expenses were $1,200 in that time?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. They could not have been; no, sir.

Senator REED. They could not have been?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. Now I will call your attention to something further.

It appears by 2077–2079 that on October 10, 1908, Mulhall received from Mr. Bird $75.

It appears by 2093–2099 that on October 5, 1908, he received from George S. Boudinot $300.

It appears by 2164–2168 that on October 21, 1908, he received from George S. Boudinot $705.

It appears by No. 2191 that on October 27, 1908, he received from George S. Boudinot $682.30.

This makes a total of nearly $3,000 that he received from August 26 to October 27; so evidently there must be some mistake about your recollection.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Pardon me, Senator; I did say that his total receipts from the St. Louis office were, as I recollect it, $1,500. I can not speak for the New York office, and I have no knowledge now, nor have I had, just when the money was sent from the New York office or just how much was sent. I can speak only for the St. Louis office.

Senator REED. To show you that there was some of this money that was not used in campaign work in the sense of being used for expenses of Col. Mulhall, I call your attention to No. 2164, in which it is shown that on October 21 Mulhall received from George S. Boudinot a check for $705.

Also, I call attention to the following items:

"October 18. Paid to one member of the Retail Clerks' Union of Philadelphia, one week's salary and incidental expenses while doing campaign work in the New Jersey districts, due this date, $40.

"October 21. Paid to one member of the Boilermakers' Union of Indianapolis, Ind., for services rendered and information furnished, due this date, $25.

"October 22. Paid to one member of the Loom Fixtures Union of Paterson, N. J., for labor performed and services rendered while doing campaign work in the sixth New Jersey district, due this date, $40.

"October 24. Paid for additional labor to do general campaign work in the New Jersey districts authorized by the officers of the association, due this date, $100.

"October 24. Paid to one member of the executive board in the Miners' Union to be used for paying workers in the tenth, eleventh, and fifteenth congressional districts of Pennsylvania to do general campaign work, due this date, $300.

"October 25. Paid to one member of the Retail Clerks' Union of Philadelphia, Pa., one week's salary and incidental expenses while doing campaign work in the New Jersey districts, due this date, $40."

So that it would appear, would it not, that your association at this interesting period was directly contributing some money for campaign purposes?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. As I say again, I can not speak for the records of the New York office. I only tried to convey what I knew, and that is as to the records of the St. Louis office. I had nothing to do with the management in New York.

Senator REED. I want to call attention to two or three more items of a similar character.

In No. 2191, dated October 31, 1908, there are the following items:

Oct. 28. Paid to one member of the Boilermakers' Union, of Indianapolis, Ind., for service rendered and information furnished, due this date..... $25

Oct. 29. Paid to one member of the Loom Fixtures Union, of Paterson, N. J., for labor performed and services rendered while doing campaign work in the sixth New Jersey district, due this date..... 40

Oct. 31. Paid for additional labor to do general campaign work in the New Jersey districts authorized by the officers of the association, one week, due this date..... 100

Oct. 31. Paid to one member of the executive board of the Mine Workers' Union, of Pennsylvania, for paying workers in the tenth, eleventh, and fifteenth congressional districts of Pennsylvania to do general campaign work, due this date..... 300

I suppose that would indicate to your mind that this association was doing some campaign work and paying out some funds, would it not?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. In the way in which we have interpreted it.

Senator REED. Oh, yes.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes. But of course the New York officers are very much more able to throw light on that than I am, Senator.

Senator REED. Of course, in the way you have been doing, Mr. Schwedtman, when you started out to elect a man, do you know any other way to elect him except to have workers go out in his behalf, and to publish literature in his behalf, and to hire watchers, etc., at the polls in his behalf? Is not that political work, and is it not so understood the world round?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I am no judge of that, Senator.

Senator REED. You are no judge?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. I thought you were pretty active in politics in St. Louis.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. No; I was not. I was not.

Senator REED. Of course there is one other way. To buy votes, but I would not accuse you of that, or any other decent man.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I hope not. I would not do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Schwedtman, I notice in the record, addressed to you, a short letter which reads as follows:

H. R. 129.

NEW YORK, *July 20, 1908.*

FERDINAND C. SCHWEDTMAN, Esq.,
Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo.

MY DEAR FERDINAND: I received the following letter from Mr. Littlefield this morning. Attached to it was a duplicate bill for $807.50 from the Public Printer. The payment, it seems, is required in advance on matters of this kind, and Mr. Littlefield, with unusual courtesy, advanced his personal check. I have requested Mr. Boudinot to reimburse him at once. You will notice that without any explanation the Public Printer has apparently cut the price more than $500, which I presume will cause no tears.

I want to know if you can tell me where I can find that account.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Where you can find the account?

The CHAIRMAN. The account which was sent to you with the Emery letter, yes; showing that the Public Printer cut the price $500.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I know that it was Mr. Littlefield's address, Senator, and we wanted extra copies of it, and Mr. Emery tried to get those extra copies. I remember that correspondence.

The CHAIRMAN. You received the account, and you said you would have Mr. Littlefield reimbursed by Mr. Bird?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send that account on with the letter, asking Mr. Bird to reimburse Mr. Littlefield on it?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think so, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You think I will find that account in the New York office bills—Mr. Bird's bills?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. I think so. If you do not find it in the New York office, I am sure that it must be in the St. Louis office; but it is one of many accounts, and therefore I could not state, without examining the books, where it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be here, among these papers that you have turned over to us?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. We have turned over everything from St. Louis. Consequently if it was paid from St. Louis it must be here; and we attempted to pay everything that we could by check, as near as possible, so that anything in the way of an account would have been paid with a check. You will very likely find it in the checks, if it is among the St. Louis accounts.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask the clerk of the committee to look through and see if he can find that.

Mr. MCCARTER. May I ask Mr. Schwedtman one question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MCCARTER. Mr. Schwedtman, something was said yesterday with regard to the Century Syndicate. Do you know what the Century Syndicate was, and how it disseminated news?

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. It was an agency furnishing printed material to such publications as desired it. You know, there are a great many such agencies as that.

Mr. MCCARTER. Yes. That is all, Mr. Schwedtman.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Is that all? I will not be expected to be here on Tuesday morning?

Mr. MCCARTER. You had better a wait a minute. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned until Tuesday morning at half past 10 o'clock. Monday is Labor Day.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Does that conclude my testimony, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. May I go home?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SCHWEDTMAN. Thank you.

(At 4.20 o'clock p. m. the subcommittee adjourned until Tuesday, September 2, 1913, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

APPENDIX C.

The testimony of Mr. Frawley before the Senate committee, referred to in part 31 and ordered printed in the hearings of the House committee, is as follows:

SATURDAY, *September 6, 1913.*

TESTIMONY OF DAVID L. FRAWLEY.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

Senator WALSH. Where do you live?

Mr. FRAWLEY. My residence here in Washington is 1314 Connecticut Avenue NW. My home is really Alva, Okla.

Senator WALSH. Do you hold some position in the service of the Government?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes; I am employed as a messenger to the United States Senate; and have been detailed to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Senator WALSH. What was your occupation before you came here?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I was in the banking business.

Senator WALSH. What was the character of the work you did in the banking business?

Mr. FRAWLEY. At the time I came here I was assistant cashier of the First National Bank of Waynoka, Okla., and I was transferred from there to be assistant cashier of the First National Bank of Alva, which is owned by the same people.

Senator WALSH. How long had you been employed in that business?

Mr. FRAWLEY. About seven years.

Senator WALSH. Prior to that time, had you had any experience as an accountant?

Mr. FRAWLEY. About five years of that time I had put in in bookkeeping.

Senator WALSH. Prior to that time?

Mr. FRAWLEY. No; not prior to that time; but I had been specially trained in accounting in Spalding College, Kansas City, Mo.

Senator WALSH. Have you become familiar with the usual methods of keeping books, and the significance of entries in them?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes; I think so.

Senator WALSH. Have you examined the books of this National Association of Manufacturers, deposited by it with this committee?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes; and I might say that Mr. Crane, who is bookkeeper for the National Association of Manufacturers, and also for the National Council for Industrial Defense, was with me nearly all of the time, and all of the results that I have obtained, and the figures that I have made, have been made with the assistance of Mr. Crane.

Senator WALSH. You worked conjointly with him?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes. Everything that was done was with his assent as to its being correct.

Senator WALSH. Speaking generally, what were the books that were turned over to the committee?

Mr. FRAWLEY. They turned over books that Mr. Cushing, who was the secretary a number of years ago, had kept, and also books that they are keeping at the present time, which I understand are kept by a system that they had installed by the Baker-Vawter Co., and they have been kept since 1906, I believe, by Mr. Crane; and also the general records of the association.

Senator WALSH. By what name are such individual books as those which came into your possession known? Are they ledgers, or journals, or other similar books?

Mr. FRAWLEY. In the system that is now in vogue there in the office there is a general ledger, and a book called a general transfer record, or something of that sort, a title with which I am not familiar, and another book is called the distribution of accounts. Then there were some loose-leaf books turned over. I never noticed the titles they had. There was a tall book that just gave the items, or, rather, the people they had who translated letters and the like of that. I did not notice the title-page. There was nothing that I found in the way of a daybook or anything that I would describe as a journal.

Senator WALSH. Let us begin with the ledger. That would be the book in which the accounts were eventually made up?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes.

Senator WALSH. Embracing items transferred from some other book?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes.

Senator WALSH. From what books were the items transferred to the ledger?

Mr. FRAWLEY. This general transfer record. That is my recollection of that. I did not bring that over here. I think that is the title.

Senator WALSH. Are we to understand that the items of receipts and of disbursements were entered in that so-called transfer book?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I was not able to understand clearly how they got the entries to that book.

Senator WALSH. To which book?

Mr. FRAWLEY. To this transfer record.

Senator WALSH. The question I asked you was whether the entries in the ledger came from this transfer book.

Mr. FRAWLEY. I think that was the first entry. Of course, an entry would be made at the same time in various places. For instance, Mr. Bird's salary would be paid each month, and the amount of his salary would be charged to various items—to publicity, and to legal department, etc. I suppose those entries would be made at the same time, in this general distribution of accounts, and also in the transfer record.

Senator WALSH. I am trying to find out from you first from what book or books the entries were transferred into the ledger.

Mr. FRAWLEY. From this transfer book, as I have stated.

Senator WALSH. So that, as you understand it, then, the transfer book would contain a record of all the money transactions?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes.

Senator WALSH. Is that a book of original entry, or does it contain entries which apparently have been transferred from some other book?

Mr. FRAWLEY. It is not a book of original entry.

I will state now, so as to make it clear, that the book I have in mind is the one that would, in a common set of books of the kind in general use, take the place of a journal; but instead of being transferred from the book which is used in a set of books where there are a ledger and journal and daybook, it is carried directly to this book from vouchers and receipts. That is my information. I could not say that the books disclose that, but I talked with Mr. Crane and with Mr. Bird, the business manager of the association, and learned that from them.

Senator WALSH. If you wanted to trace out a transaction by the entry of it in the journal, through what course backward would you run?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I should have to go back to the vouchers; and I did not have those vouchers. At least, I have never been able to find them. Mr. Bird says they were turned over to the committee, but neither Mr. Crane nor I had them, and we were not able to find them. He was familiar enough with the accounts so that when I would select an account that I wanted to run back through, I would find it in the ledger, and he would go back to this transfer record, or whatever it was. He could tell the title from that, but of course it did not give any itemized statement of expense.

I have forgotten to mention before that they have a book that I have here, which was a kind of expense book—a book in which the expense accounts were carried. They did not carry all of them, but I think most of the expense accounts were carried in it.

Senator WALSH. Have you taken from the books a transcript showing the amount of money collected and its disposition?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I have made from the books a transcript showing the amount of money expended since March 31, 1903, by fiscal years, up to March 31, 1913. I have not kept an account of the money received, but just an account of the money expended and the department by which it was expended.

Senator WALSH. You say you did not take any memorandum of the amounts received?

Mr. FRAWLEY. No; I have not kept that, because the amount of money received was usually about the same as that expended each year, and I just made a transcript of the money they expended.

Senator WALSH. From the disclosures of the books themselves, are you able to say that they indicate the total amount of money received and the total amount expended?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes; the books will show that, but I did not make any effort to find out how much they received each year.

Senator WALSH. You spoke about the distribution of the moneys expended, and you said, did you not, that a book was kept showing the distribution?

Mr. FRAWLEY. The distribution of accounts; yes.

Senator WALSH. Apparently that was posted from this so-called transfer book?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I think that was probably taken from the ledger.

Senator WALSH. Have you with you the transcript which you thus prepared?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes; I have it here.

Senator WALSH. Showing the different purposes for which the expenditures were made?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes; this transcript which I have shows the money that they spent in the different departments each year, and then the total for all of the years. I could put this in the record, but perhaps I had better give the names of these different accounts.

Senator WALSH. We will get to that directly; but to begin with, what years does the transcript which you have prepared cover?

Mr. FRAWLEY. From March 31, 1903, to March 31, 1913, for the National Association of Manufacturers, and for the National Council for Industrial Defense from March 23, 1909, to July 1, 1913.

Senator WALSH. Is that the full period covered by the books?

Mr. FRAWLEY. No; it is not. The books of the National Association of Manufacturers were posted up for two or three months subsequent to the date to which I balanced them, but I just took them to the end of the year, because they had not been distributed to the various accounts.

Senator WALSH. Except in that respect——

Mr. FRAWLEY. Except in that respect they are complete, and I might say now that they have been verified by the reports of the treasurer, rendered to the association at their conventions; and as I stated before, the figures were made up with the assistance of Mr. Crane, so that they are correct.

Senator WALSH. Please indicate the various accounts to which the expenditures were distributed as you have stated?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I have them listed in such a way that I can, if you wish, give you the amount of each.

Senator WALSH. We will have this sheet marked and let it go in, but you may just call off the headings.

Mr. FRAWLEY. The headings are "President's office," "Secretary's office," "General office," "Membership," "Public affairs," "Board of directors," "Committees," "Conventions," "Convention reports," "Trade bureau," "Foreign department, general," "Translations," "Credits," "Collections," "Lists," "Special reports," "Bulletins," "Law department, general," "Patents and trade-marks," "American industries, domestic," "American industries, export," "American trade index," "Miscellaneous printing," "Fixtures and library," Miscellaneous," "Service to members," and "Field men."

Senator WALSH. The stenographer will mark this transcript as an exhibit.

(The statement referred to was marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 1," and is here printed in full as follows:)

FRAWLEY EXHIBIT No. 1.

Expenditures of the National Association of Manufacturers by departments, by years, 1903 to 1913.

	Total.	President's office.	Secretary's office.	General office.	Membership.	Public affairs.
Expenditures, fiscal year ended Mar. 31:						
1903-4	$139,414.63	$13,993.84	$3,964.74	$12,559.95	$7,411.92	$8,090.03
1904-5	148,564.84	9,727.28	2,770.19	13,055.01	12,663.13	18,285.78
1905-6	146,141.95	10,757.31	3,958.16	18,072.85	6,726.86	9,175.39
1906-7	158,015.44	10,408.38	5,346.50	20,091.19	5,542.97	14,788.92
1907-8	189,262.87	16,642.55	.....	18,899.05	5,790.92	25,271.78
1908-9	200,854.58	17,449.81	.....	28,906.33	14,009.15	34,108.54
1909-10	193,293.76	6,721.01	.....	32,673.73	15,391.13	24,539.05
1910-11	239,795.56	5,511.96	.....	34,736.78	15,637.45	28,064.56
1911-12	214,190.64	3,497.95	.....	39,652.48	21,274.51	27,092.41
1912-13	214,188.75	3,671.10	.....	35,212.93	29,811.90	46,010.93
Total	1,843,723.02	98,381.19	15,139.59	253,760.30	134,259.94	245,337.39
Less refunded by N. C. I. D. to Mar. 31, 1913	58,324.65	.....	.....	.....	.....	58,324.65
Total	1,785,398.37	.....	.....	.....	.....	187,012.74
N. C. I. D. expenditures, Mar. 23, 1909, to July 1, 1913:						
J. P. B	[1] 9,786.20					
J. A. E	[1] 78,107.65					
M. M. M	[1] 5,418.80	.....	.....	.....	.....	167,162.68
Refunds to N. A. M	[1] 62,323.94					
Miscellaneous	[1] 11,526.09					
Total for N. A. M. and N. C. I. D	1,952,561.05	.....	.....	.....	.....	354,175.42

	Board of directors.	Committees.	Convention.	Convention reports.	Freight bureau.	Foreign department, general.
Expenditures, fiscal year ended Mar. 31:						
1903-4	$2,392.67	.....	.....	.....	$9,187.03	$11,966.37
1904-5	.....	$2,804.62	$1,006.60	$1,317.77	10,101.71	13,697.60
1905-6	.....	7,745.34	1,481.95	2,539.84	11,413.84	15,980.26
1906-7	1,415.67	1,925.20	4,390.09	.....	12,232.55	13,566.99
1907-8	1,643.01	2,673.57	6,744.08	1,390.66	25,890.90	9,945.00
1908-9	1,602.75	4,619.43	2,291.13	2,031.40	9,471.16	233.95 9,705.82
1909-10	2,344.08	5,235.46	2,939.00	1,689.77	2,249.42	8,778.86
1910-11	988.80	15,923.47	6,233.48	2,106.48	69.42	9,752.56
1911-12	1,966.71	18,089.16	6,796.30	1,541.56	807.90	12,155.01
1912-13	1,459.13	9,297.94	7,097.08	2,033.53	14.75	14,979.13
Total	13,812.82	68,294.19	38,979.71	14,592.01	87,438.68	120,679.55

	Translations.	Credits.	Collections.	Lists.	Special reports.	Bulletin.
Expenditures, fiscal year ended Mar. 31:						
1903-4	$6,089.00	$3,992.20	.....	.....	.....	.....
1904-5	7,530.23	6,096.39	.....	.....	.....	.....
1905-6	9,464.58	6,090.89	.....	.....	.....	.....
1906-7	10,997.59	7,488.93	$1,409.09	$1,117.91	$99.90	.....
1907-8	9,944.51	6,734.91	1,993.45	2,466.48	203.90	$593.94
1908-9	9,544.28	5,635.78	7,484.65	2,917.37	306.16	1,549.74
1909 10	10,731.90	5,316.21	7,753.04 1,095.77	1,740.92	332.66	1,585.96
1910-11	13,242.75	5,492.88	11,232.80	1,722.21	305.12	1,809.84
1911-12	14,785.54	5,919.70	7,610.67	1,443.13	607.54	2,163.88
1912-13	16,360.43	6,912.58	5,426.30	1,588.85	874.40	2,142.99
Total	108,690.81	59,680.47	44,005.77	12,996.87	2,729.68	9,946.35

[1] Charged to public affairs.

FRAWLEY EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued.

Expenditures of the National Association of Manufacturers by departments, by years, 1903 to 1913—Continued.

	Law department, general.	Patents and trade-marks.	American industries, domestic.	American industries, export.	American trade index.
Expenditures, fiscal year ended Mar. 31:					
1903-4	.....	.....	$13,165.70	.....	$9,561.93
1904-5	$295.00	.....	16,718.61	.....	11,576.44
1905-6	1,640.40	.....	14,761.41	.....	12,990.85
1906-7	957.72	$179.89	22,001.49	.....	10,011.87
1907-8	1,620.92	1,769.41	30,675.49	.....	7,605.04
1908-9	5,153.50	8,970.56	31,128.71	$2,244.25	1,049.15
1909-10	2,553.91	2,097.20	20,788.22	32,415.89	1,869.30
1910-11	3,704.65	2,847.78	14,102.82	56,532.05	6,068.98
1911-12	6,293.69	2,812.80	13,029.20	23,829.43	620.17
1912-13	4,152.78	3,071.53	16,650.32	4,414.30	1,088.15
Total	26,401.57	20,849.19	193,001.97	119,435.92	62,361.88

	Miscellaneous printing.	Fixtures and library.	Miscellaneous.	Service to members.	Field men.
Expenditures, fiscal year ended Mar. 31:					
1903-4	$263.45	$1,744.35	$5,887.70	$4,098.25	$25,235.50
1904-5	254.55	2,101.10	900.00	4,262.16	13,400.67
1905-6	301.95	1,286.87	500.00	3,391.00	8,881.20
1906-7	.....	1,775.33	638.67	.....	5,498.59
1907-8	206.40	501.39	36.20	.....	19.31
1908-9	426.25	977.01	37.68	.....	.....
1909-10	45.00	2,322.31	35.96	.....	.....
1910-11	568.01	3,098.82	41.89	.....	.....
1911-12	78.62	1,839.93	283.35	.....	.....
1912-13	124.25	1,843.71	39.74	.....	.....
Total	2,268.48	17,490.82	8,401.19	11,751.41	53,035.27

Mr. FRAWLEY. Before we go further. I have some exhibits here of the National Council for Industrial Defense. As I stated with reference to the National Association of Manufacturers, this has not been arranged by years, but I give the totals for the different expenditures from March 23, 1909, to July 1, 1913, as taken from the books. I have marked the initials here, but so that the record will show I will give the names instead of the initials: J. P. Bird, J. A. Emery, M. M. Mulhall, Refunds to National Association of Manufacturers. That has been described before as money that was advanced to this concern in the early stages of its existence, and, I guess, some since that time, but it was refunded to the National Association of Manufacturers. Then there is Miscellaneous. The total for that is given here, and that refund has been deducted, which I think is plainly enough indicated here. I have given here the total figures showing the total expenditures.

Senator WALSH. The transcript explains itself, does it not?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the totals?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Before we go further, it might be well for me to state that this paper which you have before you is the key to the letters by which these books were indicated, and I might explain that now. I have also given here the expenditures in the president's office, in the secretary's office, J. P. Bird, with the council and the association, J. A. Emery, M. M. Mulhall, and Legislation—that is, Public Affairs.

Senator WALSH. This paper which has been marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 1" is a transcript from the books of which you spoke, is it?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes.

Senator WALSH. The chairman wishes you to give the totals for the period of 10 years under these various headings. Please do so.

Mr. FRAWLEY. President's office, for the 10 years which I have indicated, $98,381.19.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that include the St. Louis office?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And also the Dayton, Ohio, office?

Senator WALSH. The St. Louis office while Mr. Van Cleave was president and the Dayton office while Mr. Kirby was president, I suppose.

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes; as it was charged on the books; and everything was charged on the books of the National Association of Manufacturers in New York. That is correct, is it not, Mr. Bird?

Mr. BIRD. Yes.

Senator WALSH. These books were kept in New York, and whatever they sent to the president's office, whether it was in St. Louis or in Dayton, Ohio, went into this account of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes.

Secretary's office, $15,139.59.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice here on this separate sheet there is a total at the bottom under the heading "Secretary's office, expenditures," of $11,070.17. And then at the bottom of the next page there is "$22,934.50." What does that mean?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I will explain that a little later. I will go on and give these other totals.

General office, $253,760.30. Membership, $134,259.94. Public affairs, $245,337.39. Board of directors, $13,812.82. Committees, $68,294.19. Convention, $38,979.71. Convention reports, $14,592.01. Freight bureau, $87,438.68. Foreign department (general), $120,679.55. Translations, $108,690.81. Credits, $59,680.47. Collections, $44,005.77. Lists, $12,996.87. Special reports, $2,729.68. Bulletin, $9,946.35. Law department (general), $26,401.57. Patents and trademarks, $20,849.19. American industries, domestic, $193,001.97. American industries, export, $119,435.92. American Trade Index, $62,361.88. Miscellaneous printing, $2,268.48. Fixtures and library, $17,490.82. Miscellaneous, $8,401.19. Service to members, $11,751.41. Field men, $53,035.27.

Senator WALSH. Please tell us into which one of these accounts the sums paid to Col. Mulhall went?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Public affairs.

Senator WALSH. Was the account always known by that name, "Public affairs"?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I notice on the books at one time it was "Legislation." There was a pen drawn through that.

Senator WALSH. Please state that again.

Mr. FRAWLEY. On one bock the ledger title was "Legislation," and a pen mark in red ink was drawn through that, and after that it was known as "Public affairs."

Senator WALSH. Do the books disclose the period during which that account was entitled "Legislation," and when the change was made?

Mr. FRAWLEY. No. The time when it was changed is not given, and I think the account was really carried as "Public affairs" prior to that; but it seemed that it was at one time written on the ledger here as "Legislation." I do not know whether this book which I have here will show that or not. If it does, I will try to find it.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the Cushing régime they were marked by number?

Mr. FRAWLEY. By the number of the account; yes. Here [indicating] is the place I had reference to.

Mr. BIRD. I guess that has been always "Public affairs."

Senator WALSH. I am going to ask you, Mr. Frawley, to make a copy of this page of the book showing the change of which you speak. This is found in the general ledger, is it?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir. You can tell by the dates there. You will find them at the top.

Senator WALSH. 1906, commencing April 30?

Mr. FRAWLEY. It seems that this set of books, perhaps having just been installed, possibly the Baker-Vawter Co. put on first "Legislation" and afterwards changed it to "Public affairs."

Senator WALSH. I see one of the accounts here is "Field men."

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. What items went into that account?

Mr. FRAWLEY. The salaries and expenses of men who were soliciting contributions and memberships prior to the time of Mr. Porter.

Is that correct, Mr. Bird?

Mr. BIRD. Field men and membership men.

Mr. FRAWLEY. Field men and membership men, Mr. Bird says.

Senator WALSH. What else went into that account entitled "Public affairs" other than the moneys paid to Mulhall?

Mr. FRAWLEY. The data that I have on that were obtained from Mr. Crane, their bookkeeper. He told me that "Public affairs" was for publicity work, for M. M. Mulhall, for tariff commission convention, and other field men. That is the information I received from Mr. Crane.

Senator WALSH. Would not the books themselves disclose the character of the expenditures which went into that account?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Only the totals; that is all.

Senator WALSH. Just the totals, but not the purpose for which the expenditure was made?

Mr. FRAWLEY. For instance, it would show that the money given Mr. Mulhall was paid to him, and it would be later charged up in the general account of "Public affairs," it would just give the amount of his salary or his expenses, but according to their system of bookkeeping would not give the purposes for which he expended it.

Senator WALSH. Will the books disclose, for instance, that certain amounts that were paid to him were paid on account of his salary?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. And will they disclose the purposes for which the other payments were made to him?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Not as to the National Association of Manufacturers As to the National Council for Industrial Defense, they will.

Senator WALSH. Let us first confine our attention to the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. FRAWLEY. I think the books will not show that. I have been unable to find where they disclose the purpose for which these amounts were paid to him.

Senator WALSH. Are there any means provided by which you can trace back the various sums paid to him, to ascertain the purposes for which the payments were made?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Not from the records that I have, except for Mr. Mulhall. In the way in which they kept the books, as I understand it—and I believe I am right in that—it would be necessary to refer to the expense accounts that he rendered to the association, and those I did not have. It was not possible for me to trace back and arrive at something which I did not have, and therefore I am not able to tell.

Senator WALSH. That is to say, in the aggregate the payments made to him were as shown by the books?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. And if you desired to get the items for which those payments were made, it would be necessary to have recourse to the accounts which he rendered?

Mr. FRAWLEY. That is correct.

Senator WALSH. Was that the case with reference to other items of expenditure that went into that "Public affairs" account? Was there some convenient means of referring to the account, pursuant to which the payment was made?

Mr. FRAWLEY. No, sir; not with the information I had, and not from the records I had. One could tell to whom the money was paid, and in a general way, the purposes for which it was expended.

Senator WALSH. You have spoken about a paper to which I now call your attention, and which is marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 2."

(The paper referred to is here printed in full, as follows:)

FRAWLEY EXHIBIT No. 2.

A. President's office. N. A. M.
B. General office.
C. Secretary's office.
D. Membership work.
E. Public affairs, publicity work, M. M. Mulhall, Tariff Comm. convention, and other field men. (*Fa.*)
F. Foreign department (Nat'l Mfrs. Co.). (N. M. Co.)
Fa. Foreign department (translations).
Fb. Foreign department (credits reports).
Fc. Foreign department (collections).

Fd. Foreign department (lists of business concerns).
Fe. Foreign department (special reports).
J. Law department (general).
Ja. Law department (patents and trade-mks.).
Jc. Law department (collections).
K. Board of directors.
Ki. Committees. (Comm. Industrial Indemnity Insurance, now known as Accident Prevention, and Workmen's Compensation.)
(Other items under "K" indicate other committees.)
L. General charges of the company.
La. American industries (paper).
Laf. American industries (foreign).
Lb. American trade index.
M. Fixtures and library a/c.
N. Convention expenses (N. A. M.).
Nb. Convention reports.
O. Miscellaneous printing.
G. Freight bureau.
H. Field men.

Senator WALSH. For what purpose was that prepared, and what does it show?

Mr. BIRD. May I say something here, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. BIRD. For instance, if you will examine this account [indicating], you will see "Publicity, postage account, cash postage, corporation tax, postage, postage, postage, J. P. B., J. P. B., J. P. B." You will find those are his keys to his various accounts.

Mr. FRAWLEY. To your ledger; yes. Still, in most instances that just gives the name of the person to whom the money was paid.

Mr. BIRD. Yes. Does not that ledger account refer back to what it was for?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Not in the books I have. Therefore you will have to go back to your vouchers.

Mr. BIRD. Yes.

Mr. FRAWLEY. I thought I made it clear that your record shows to whom the money was paid?

Mr. BIRD. The vouchers are really what you would call the journal and day-book?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir; that is the way your records are kept.

Senator WALSH. Will you now please explain the purpose of Frawley Exhibit No. 2?

Mr. FRAWLEY. When Mr. Crane first came down here, the first thing I did was to ask him what was the meaning of letters "E" and "F-a," and so on, and in tracing an item of entry in the books under which one it would be. On the little slips or tags that are attached to the pages of the ledger he would have these letters indicating something, and I asked him how they were used, what they referred to, and to tell me what these different letters indicated. So he gave me a key to these books, so that when I found an entry here with a letter under it I should be able to find where the entry was made on the ledger.

It appeared that the meaning of those letters was as follows:

"A. President's office.
"B. General office.
"C. Secretary's office.
"D. Membership work.
"E. Public affairs."

I have already given you the different items that went into the "Public affairs" account. If you wish, I will give them again.

Senator WALSH. No.

Mr. FRAWLEY. That is for the National Association of Manufacturers.

"F. Foreign department.
"F-a"—

This runs into the National Manufacturers' Co., which I think has probably been explained to you before—

"F-a. Translations.
"F-b. Credit reports
"F-c. Collections.
"F-d. Lists of business concerns.
"F-e. Special reports.
"J. Law department, general.

"J–a. Same department, patents and trade-marks.
"J–c. Law department collections.
"K. Board of directors.
"K–i. Committees."

There was a committee on industrial indemnity insurance, now known as the committee on accident prevention and workmen's compensation. Other items under "K" indicate other committees.

"L. General charges of the company.
"L–a. American Industries. (Paper.)"

That is their newspaper.

"L–af. American Industries. (Foreign.)
"L–b. American Trade Index.
"M. Fixtures and library account.
"N. Convention expenses. (N. A. M.)"

That is for the National Association of Manufacturers.

Senator WALSH. Those were simply different letters for convenient reference to these various accounts?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Instead of writing out the names of the accounts in full, they designated them by letters, and had this key?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. For the purpose of identifying them?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Please go on and read the rest of them.

Mr. FRAWLEY. They are:

"N–b. Convention reports.
"O. Miscellaneous printing.
"G. Freight bureau.
"H. Field men."

In order that the record may clearly show the fact, I will say that there is nothing about the use of these letters to indicate any effort or desire to conceal anything. They were used simply as a key for reference.

Senator WALSH. Something was said about the use of numbers for a similar purpose, used by Cushing to designate these various accounts. In that connection it was stated that No. 11 account meant the "Public affairs" account. What did you find in that regard in connection with the Cushing system of keeping the books?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I find their accounts were carried in that way, but I did not have the Cushing books brought over here this morning. I have the books that were installed under this new Baker-Vawter system, in which there were carried under numbers a few accounts, to which I can call your attention if you desire.

Senator WALSH. What have you to say as to any of the employees of the company under Cushing having been carried on the books by numbers?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I can say they were carried by numbers.

Mr. BIRD. You say they were?

Mr. FRAWLEY. A few were, yes, sir. I may add that it is evident there were a few carried in that way in this book which I have before me now.

Senator WALSH. That is, in Cushing's time?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes. That was done for just a very short period after this system of books was installed, but there is a little evidence on the records here that they were probably just carried forward in this book to close out the accounts.

Senator WALSH. Can you tell us how many men were carried on the Cushing books by number?

Mr. FRAWLEY. There is account No. 8; and there is another one here marked "Legislation, New York." That says also account No. 9. It is carried to No. 9 here, in parenthesis. Here [indicating] is account No. 9.

Senator WALSH. You are getting this confused. I have asked how many men, if you know, were carried on the Cushing books by numbers?

Mr. FRAWLEY. From No. 8 to No. 15, inclusive.

Senator WALSH. The numbers of those accounts stand for the names of men, do they?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BIRD. Where is the man's name?

Mr. FRAWLEY. That is not to be found. For instance, here is section No. 15, which Mr. Crane thought was Mulhall, and he wrote there "M. M. M.," which would show that he did not have a clear record of this. The book which Mr. Schwedtman introduced in evidence the other day showed that account No. 8, I believe, was the account of Mr. Mulhall at that time. Mr. Crane has carried account No. 15 as Mulhall's account.

Senator WALSH. That is, Mr. Crane advised you that account No. 15 was Mulhall's account?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir. And there is a further indication of that here, in the initials "M. M. M.," which Mr. Bird has just looked at.

Mr. BIRD. What year is this?

Mr. FRAWLEY. This is 1906, and to May 31, 1907.

I simply meant by that to show that so far as the bookkeepers have been able to discover, there was no way to tell who these different men were, and so of course it is impossible for me to find out.

A further indication here that this was the account of some man is that on the debit side there is the notation "Expenses," and there are given the dates and the amount of money paid for expenses; and at the end of the year, or at such time as they saw fit, they charged that to loss and gain.

Senator WALSH. From the books themselves you are apparently unable to say definitely and positively either one way or the other?

Mr. FRAWLEY. That they are men's accounts?

Senator WALSH. Yes.

Mr. FRAWLEY. I would not be able to say any further than that that is the information I got from their bookkeepers. There are two of them—I do not find one of them here, so it must be in another book—one of which was "W. L. C.," and I remember Mr. Crane and I tried to find whose account that was, and we were unable to do so. We thought perhaps "W. L. C." stood for W. L. Cochran, or some name like that. I think that where there is an item of expenses in an account, it is almost conclusive that it was an account of some man.

Senator WALSH. Very well. That is, the books themselves give evidence to you, as a bookkeeper, that a number of accounts designated by numbers were really the accounts of individuals?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. But do the books themselves give any indication which would enable you to say who the men were?

Mr. FRAWLEY. No, sir; they do not.

Senator WALSH. That system was pursued, you think, in some instances and to some extent for a short time after Cushing left?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Assuming that this system of bookkeeping was installed some time in September, my impression from these books is that the accounts in many instances ran back generally into that year and for a short time after this system was put into effect or force there.

Senator WALSH. I want to come now to this "Public affairs" account. What was the aggregate amount that actually went out of that account?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bird informs me that Cushing left in May, 1907.

Mr. BIRD. He resigned in May, 1907.

Mr. FRAWLEY. There is sufficient indication from the fact that these books were installed, as I understand, some time in September.

Mr. BIRD. September, 1906.

Senator WALSH. Let us not get into a discussion about these matters.

Mr. FRAWLEY. You want the aggregate amount of money that was expended in the "Public affairs" account of the National Association of Manufacturers?

Senator WALSH. Yes; exclusive of the credits.

Mr. FRAWLEY. Exclusive of the credits?

Senator WALSH. Yes.

Mr. FRAWLEY. It was $245,337.39. That is the amount before a credit was deducted.

Senator WALSH. What was the amount of the credit?

Mr. FRAWLEY. $58,324.65.

Senator WALSH. That is, that amount was put back into that account?

Mr. FRAWLEY. By the National Council for Industrial Defense, yes; leaving a net total of $187,012.74.

Senator WALSH. That signifying to you, as I understand it, that the National Association of Manufacturers advanced to the National Council for Industrial Defense $58,324.65?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. And as the National Council for Industrial Defense became in funds, it turned that amount back to the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. FRAWLEY. They reimbursed the National Association of Manufacturers; but until the time this audit was made, they did it at different times. They advanced money for some expenditure such as printing, or something of that kind. I do not know just the different items.

Senator WALSH. That is what I want to know from you. During what period of time were these various advances made?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Throughout the existence of the National Council for Industrial Defense.

Senator WALSH. That is to say, whenever the National Council for Industrial Defense ran out of funds, the funds were provided or the bills were paid by the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir; and in that connection I do not believe that for the National Association of Manufacturers to advance money it was always necessary that the National Council for Industrial Defense should be out of funds. For instance, a bill might be submitted to the New York office and the association might pay it, and then the National Council for Industrial Defense would reimburse them for it.

Senator WALSH. Oh, I see. What was the aggregate amount of money which went into the account of the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Do you mean the total amount of money they expended?

Senator WALSH. Yes.

Mr. FRAWLEY. $167,162.68 from March 23, 1909, to July 1, 1913.

Senator WALSH. That was during how many years?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Four years and a little over three months.

Senator WALSH. Was there a distribution of those expenditures upon the books of the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Their books show the items for which it was expended.

Senator WALSH. But that is not my question. My question is, Was there a distribution?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Such as the National Association of Manufacturers had?

Senator WALSH. Yes.

Mr. FRAWLEY. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. So you can not tell, except by examination of the various items entered, just exactly what this money was expended for?

Mr. FRAWLEY. No, sir. That is the only way you can tell.

Senator WALSH. What kind of a book was kept showing the receipts and expenditures of the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Just a kind of cash book, I should call it. It shows money that they deposited in the bank, and then on the credit side is shown the money which they paid out—the amounts and the numbers of the checks by which it was paid out.

Senator WALSH. That is to say, on one side of the account there is a record of deposits in the bank?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. And on the other side of the account there is a record of the various checks issued?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir; and to whom they were given.

Senator WALSH. Is there any accompanying memorandum showing the purpose for which each check was issued?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Read one or two, just to illustrate.

Mr. FRAWLEY. They read as follows:

"May 12, National Association of Manufacturers, expenses as per statement of 5–10–13, check No. 243, $1,167.83.

"May 15, 1913, J. P. Bird, salary as secretary and treasurer to 5–15–13, $250.

"June 2, James A. Emery, retainer for May, $1,000.

"June 2, James A. Emery, Washington office fund, $500; balance due as per statement, $531.13, $358.34, making a total of $858.34."

For that I think check No. 246, as nearly as I can make out the number, was given.

Senator WALSH. That is sufficient for the purpose. That was the only book kept by the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Does the book show the sources from which the moneys came?

Mr. FRAWLEY. No; the book does not show them.

Senator WALSH. What is there which indicated the sources from which the moneys did come?

Mr. FRAWLEY. There is the statement that was made up, I think at the end of each week, signed by J. Philip Bird, treasurer, and the statement is addressed, or was addressed during Mr. Van Cleave's time, to——

Mr. MCCARTER. It was addressed to the president, whoever the president might be?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes. It says, for instance:

"I respectfully report the following receipts and disbursements to date:
"By F. F. Porter, and F. S. Cooley"—

And so forth. Those were men who were soliciting funds for the National Council for Industrial Defense, and the statement gives their names, the amounts of money that were raised by them, etc. If you wish I will read two or three of these items.

Senator WALSH. Just read one.

Mr. FRAWLEY. I read the following:

"February 8, Steinway & Sons, by F. F. Porter, $250.
"February 8, American Lithographic Co., by F. F. Porter, $250.
"February 19, Warren & Green, by F. S. Cooley, $1,000.
"February 19, National Sugar Refining Co. of New Jersey, by F. F. Porter, $500."

All this is in 1909.

Senator WALSH. That will be sufficient.

Mr. FRAWLEY. I could show you the——

Senator WALSH. Never mind, I say; that is sufficient.

Mr. FRAWLEY. All right.

Senator WALSH. These loose sheets, they being the reports of the treasurer to the president, made weekly, are the sole record of the sources from which the funds came?

Mr. FRAWLEY. They are the sole record that we have here; yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Did you make from the books a record of the various amounts paid to Mulhall while he was in the service of the association?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Have you the sheets there?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I think they are right here; yes, sir. Do you want to put any of these in the record [indicating]?

Senator WALSH. No.

Mr. FRAWLEY. Before I put in the record these figures I want to say there is a slight discrepancy between these and the figures that were put in the record by Mr. Bird or some other person from the National Association of Manufacturers showing the total amount paid to Mr. Mulhall. The discrepancy amounts to only a couple of thousand dollars, or such a matter. The figures I made were made with the assistance of Mr. Crane, and I do not know just what made the difference. I think the difference must have occurred on items for the time during which Mr. Cushing was secretary, because we are not able to make the figures agree exactly.

Senator WALSH. Is this statement, the pages of which I have now had marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 3" and "Frawley Exhibit No. 3a," there being two pages thereof, a statement of the Mulhall account?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir. The statement marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 3" is a statement of the moneys paid to Mulhall by the National Association of Manufacturers, while the statement marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 3a" is a statement of money paid to Mulhall by the National Council for Industrial Defense.

Senator WALSH. I wish you would turn to Frawley Exhibit No. 3 and read from it the payments made after the 1st of September, 1910, for the remainder of that year.

Mr. FRAWLEY. Before I go further I want to say that I now understand why these figures do not exactly agree with these given by Mr. Bird. We began in 1906, at the time these books were made, and the record was incomplete, or, at least, we could not figure it out exactly. If we had had means of knowing what Mulhall's salary was, probably we could have computed it more accurately, without confusing it in that way. That is the reason this amount is a little less than the amount named by Mr. Bird.

Mr. McCARTER. Senator Walsh, may I ask you to ask the witness at this time what the total is?

Senator WALSH. Yes; I was going to do so.

Mr. FRAWLEY. January 31, 1910——

Senator WALSH. No; I want it from and after the 1st of September.

Mr. FRAWLEY. Before I go further I will say that you will notice that this is given in total at the end of the month. I read the following items:

Sept. 30	$1,322.90
Oct. 31	1,317.17
Nov. 30	909.85
Dec. 31	300.00
Jan. 31, 1911	551.25
Feb. 28	1,189.86

Senator WALSH. What is the total for the entire time?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Do you want me to read the rest of these?

Senator WALSH. No.

Mr. FRAWLEY. The total is $41,004.90. That is from September, 1906, to December 31, 1911.

Senator WALSH. What is the amount shown by the accounts of the National Council for Industrial Defense to have been paid to Mulhall?

Mr. FRAWLEY. $5,418.80, from April 3, 1909, to November 1, 1910.

Senator WALSH. What is shown in the way of payments during the fall of the year 1910?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I find the following items:

Sept. 23, 1910	$500.00
Oct. 4, 1910	500.00
Oct. 18, 1910	500.00
Oct. 27, 1910	1,000.00
Nov. 1, 1910	1,000.00

Senator WALSH. What do the checks disclose?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir; we have those checks.

Senator WALSH. What do the checks disclose?

Mr. FRAWLEY. The notation on the check for September 23, for instance, was "For organization expense." To be brief, each of the other checks has on it the same notation, viz: "For organization expense."

Senator WALSH. That is indicated in the statement you have prepared, is it?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. McCARTER. Excuse me; my attention was diverted. What is the notation on the checks?

Mr. FRAWLEY. It says, "For organization expense." That is on each one of the checks.

Senator WALSH. What, if anything, is disclosed by the books as to the purpose or purposes for which the remainder was paid to him out of funds of the National Council for Industrial Defense?

(At 12.30 o'clock p. m. the committee took an informal recess.

At 12.30 o'clock p. m. the committee resumed its session.)

Mr. FRAWLEY. In answer to the question asked me just before the recess, I will say that on the check of April 3, 1909, for $700, there is a notation which reads as follows:

"Payment on account of Associated Hat Manufacturers, Orange, New Jersey."

Senator WALSH. Do you recall anything in the letters which would shed any further light on that, or do you recall what was going on at Orange, N. J., at that time?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I think the letters and testimony and other things were to the effect that there was a strike among the hatters over there at that time. I read again:

"April 9, 1909, $100, general expenses.

"April 10, $100"——

Senator WALSH. Just a moment. Have you any light whatever on that?

Mr. FRAWLEY. No; I have not.

Senator WALSH. The books do not disclose anything else?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Nothing except "General expenses."

Senator WALSH. There are no vouchers?

Mr. FRAWLEY. The voucher had that notation on it, "General expenses."

Senator WALSH. That is simply the stub of the check?

Mr. FRAWLEY. The National Council for Industrial Defense had a voucher check, and this is the notation I took from the voucher check.

Senator WALSH. And that is all there is on it?
Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.
Senator WALSH. "General expenses"?
Mr. FRAWLEY. "General expenses." This item of April 10, for $100, says "For general expenses."
Senator WALSH. Is there any account of Col. Mulhall which would enlighten us on that?
Mr. FRAWLEY. No, sir.
Senator WALSH. Very well; proceed.
Mr. FRAWLEY. This was taken from this little record or ledger of theirs which I have before me. The next is:
"Apl 16, $168.80, expenses."
Senator WALSH. It is just indicated as "Expenses"?
Mr. FRAWLEY. "Expenses"; yes, sir.
Senator WALSH. And there is nothing further on the voucher?
Mr. FRAWLEY. There are no details.
Senator WALSH. And there is no bill?
Mr. FRAWLEY. No, sir; that is all there is to it. The next is:
"Apl 21, $125, services."
Senator WALSH. And nothing further to indicate what the services were?
Mr. FRAWLEY. Nothing to indicate what the services were; no, sir.
Senator WALSH. Or whose services?
Mr. FRAWLEY. No, sir.
On April 21 there is also a check for $325:
"% expenses Portsmouth, Ohio."
It might have been for services connected with that strike. That is what the testimony indicates.
Senator WALSH. There was a strike at Portsmouth, and Col. Mulhall went there?
Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir. The next is:
"May 22, 1909, $400, expenses."
Senator WALSH. What is the date of that item?
Mr. FRAWLEY. May 22, 1909, $400.
Senator WALSH. Do you remember anything in the letters that would indicate what was going on at that time, in connection with which Col. Mulhall might have spent $400?
Mr. FRAWLEY. I can not recall anything at this time.
Senator WALSH. Proceed.
Mr. FRAWLEY. The other notes I have taken from checks issued in the fall of 1910, that have been read into the record.
In order to further explain, I will state that I made a notation on Frawley Exhibit No. 3 as follows:
"P. O. indicates items charged to president's office, but properly a Mulhall charge."
The first item so designated is for $300, under date of June 30, 1908.
The next is for July and August, 1908, $1,000.
On October 31, 1908, I find an item of $2,362.30, similarly designated.
Under date of November 30, 1908, I find one check from the association without any notation, and on the same date there is one for $379.20, marked "P. O."
On December 31, 1908, there is a check from the association, and on the same date I find one item of $185.25, marked "P. O."
Senator WALSH. Then, as I understand you, these various payments were actually made to Mulhall, but went into the account designated "President's office."
Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir; and at a later time were credited to the "President's office" account and charged to Mulhall.
Senator WALSH. The remainder of the payments going to Mulhall went into the "Public affairs" account?
Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.
Senator WALSH. Was anything disclosed by the books as to why these particular items were thrown into the "President's office" account rather than the "Public affairs" account?
Mr. FRAWLEY. No, sir. I will state also that except for the assistance which Mr. Crane gave me I should not have been able to tell whether that was exactly the item. He told me that was the way they were, and then pointed out to me that they were transferred back.
Senator WALSH. That is to say, a stranger examining the books would not know anything about those matters?

Mr. FRAWLEY. It is not likely that he would detect it.

(The statement marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 3" and "Frawley Exhibit No. 3a" is here printed in full as follows:)

FRAWLEY EXHIBIT No. 3.

The National Association of Manufacturers.

M. M. Mulhall.

1906.	
Sept. 30, cash	$100.00
Oct. 31, cash	1,520.29
Nov. 30, cash	1,336.44
Dec. 31, cash	80.00
1907.	
Jan. 31, cash	240.00
Feb. 28, cash	160.00
Mar. 30, cash	200.00
Apr. 30, cash	160.00
May 31, cash	160.00
June and July, cash	1,319.78
Aug. 31, cash	317.00
Sept. 30, cash	800.00
Oct. 31, cash	400.00
Nov. 30, cash	706.07
Dec. 31, cash	700.55
1908.	
Jan. 31, cash	650.00
Feb. 9, cash	95.76
Feb. 29, cash	900.00
Mar. 31, cash	1,125.00
Apr. 13, cash	300.00
Apr. 30, cash	600.00
May 30, cash	900.00
June 30, cash	950.00
July 31, cash	250.00
Aug. 31, cash	250.00
June 30, P. O.[1], cash	300.00
July and Aug., P. O.[1], cash	1,000.00
Sept. 30, cash	250.00
Oct. 31, cash	250.00
Oct. 31, P. O.[1], cash	2,362.30
Nov. 30, cash	250 00
Nov. 30, P. O.[1], cash	379.20
Dec. 31, cash	250.00
Dec. 31, P. O.[1], cash	185.25
1909.	
Jan. 30, cash	250.00
Jan. 30, P. O.[1], cash	141.85
Feb. 27, cash	250.00
Feb. 27, P. O.[1], cash	267.10
Mar. 31, cash	250.00
Mar. 31, P. O.[1], cash	381.42
May 29, cash	1,456.75
June 30, cash	250.00
July 31, cash	511.90
Aug. 31, cash	495.40
Sept. 30, cash	566.25
Oct. 30, cash	532.60
Nov. 30, cash	600.20
Dec. 31, cash	439.60

1906-7.	
Mar. 30, L. & G	$3,636.73
Mar. 31, 1908, L. & G	7,334.16
Mar. 31, 1909, L. & G	5,000.00
Mar. 31, 1909 (P. office)	5,017.12
Mar. 31, 1910	6,427.40
Mar. 31, 1911	9,766.89
Mar. 31, 1912	3,823.10

[1] "P. O." indicates items charged to president's office, but properly a Mulhall charge.

FRAWLEY EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued.

The National Association of Manufacturers—Continued.

1910.			
Jan. 31, cash	$546.50		
Feb. 28, cash	628.20		
Mar. 31, cash	400.00		
Apr. 30, cash	400.00		
May 31, cash	508.15		
June 30, cash	860.78		
July 30, cash	970.42		
Aug. 31, cash	808.75		
Sept. 30, cash	1,322.90		
Oct. 31, cash	1,317.17		
Nov. 30, cash	909.85		
Dec. 31, cash	300.00		
1911.			
Jan. 31, cash	551.25		
Feb. 28, cash	1,189.86		
Mar. 31, cash	627.26		
Apr. 29, cash	422.89		
May 31, cash	420.35		
June 30, cash	450.00		
July 31, cash	511..20		
Aug. 31, cash	300.00		
Sept. 30, cash	300.00		
Oct. 31, cash	300.00		
Nov. 30, cash	531.17		
Dec. 30, cash	478.64		
1912.			
Jan. 31, cash	108.85		
Total	41,004.90	Total	$41,004.90

Mulhall complete from September, 1906, to January, 1912 (salary and expenses).

Include in M. M. Mulhall account, 1907. (Incomplete.)

FRAWLEY EXHIBIT No. 3A.

National Council for Industrial Defense.

M. M. Mulhall.

1909.			
Apr. 3, cash	$700.00	By loss and gain	$5,418.80
Apr. 9, cash	100.00	"Payment on % Associated Hat Mfrs., Orange, N. J."	
Apr. 10, cash	100.00	"General expenses."	
Apr. 16, cash	168.80	"General expenses."	
Apr. 21, cash	125.00	"Expenses."	
Apr. 21, cash	325.00	"Services."	
May 22, cash	400.00	"% expenses Portsmouth, Ohio."	
1910.		"Expenses."	
Sept. 23, cash	500.00	"For organization expense."	
Oct. 4, cash	500.00	"For organization expense."	
Oct. 18, cash	500.00	'For organization expenses."	
Oct. 27, cash	1,000.00	For organization expenses."	
Nov. 1, cash	1,000.00	For organization expenses."	
Total	5,418.80		5,418.80

[1] "P. O." indicates items charged to president's office, but properly a Mulhall charge.

Senator WALSH. I show you this statement which you have prepared, which is headed "Legislation," and which has been marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 4." Please tell us what that is.

Mr. FRAWLEY. That is the account of legislation. I think it is also charged under the head of "Public affairs."

Senator WALSH. How did you come to head it "Legislation"?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I did that because of the fact that it was at one time marked by me "Legislation," so as to keep it straight in my mind. I was not familiar with the books.

Senator WALSH. Then that is identical with the "Public affairs" account?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes; although it does not show all the money charged to "Public affairs," or at least in the way they finally charged it, but it includes all the money entered on the books under the head of "Public affairs," although later, in their reports to their annual conventions, they would take the money charged to Col. Mulhall, to "Tariff Commission convention," and things of that kind, and assemble them together and charge them to "Public affairs."

Senator WALSH. That is to say, they were originally entered under various accounts?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. But when they made their report to the annual convention of the National Association of Manufacturers, they reported that this aggregate amount was spent for "Public affairs"?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Is the amount which you have now given us as found in the "Public affairs" account that entire aggregate, or is it only the amount which was originally entered under that account?

Mr. FRAWLEY. This is the amount originally entered under that heading.

Senator WALSH. I am speaking about the amount you have given us in the transcript marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. FRAWLEY. That shows all the different items collected.

Senator WALSH. When they are eventually assembled?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. This last statement, "Frawley Exhibit No. 4," gives the amount that actually appears by the books to have been entered in the "Public affairs" or "Legislation" account?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. We will offer that in evidence, and it will be incorporated in the record.

(The statement marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 4" is here printed in full as follows:)

FRAWLEY EXHIBIT No. 4.

Legislation.

1903.	
April, to cash	$276.51
May, to cash	228.55
June, to cash	263.00
July, to cash	215.00
August, to cash	150.00
September, to cash	230.00
October, to cash	281.50
November, to cash	566.00
December, to cash	762.02

1904.	
January, to cash	698.19
February, to cash	1,719.77
March, to cash	2,609.49
April, to cash	3,139.09
May, to cash	2,410.20
June, to cash	1,780.48
July, to cash	1,373.32
August, to cash	1,403.84
September, to cash	1,356.48
October, to cash	1,491.59
November, to cash	1,592.84
December, to cash	767.91

1905.	
January, to cash	$1,045.52
February, to cash	914.52
March, to cash	1,009.99
April, to cash	566.40
May, to cash	567.29
June, to cash	544.30
July, to cash	463.00
August, to cash	470.00
September, to cash	507.75
October, to cash	698.00
November, to cash	598.34
December, to cash	623.00

1906.	
January, to cash	723.05
February, to cash	900.87
March, to cash	2,513.39
April, to cash	265.00
May, to cash	407.77
June, to cash	425.75
July, to cash	275.00
September, to cash	275.00
October, to cash	350.00

November, cash	$214.70
December, cash	178.42
1907.	
January, cash	225.00
February, cash	465.00
March, cash	566.72
April, cash	294.33
May, cash	187.24
June, cash	6.81
September, cash	21.80
October, cash	223.95
November, cash	15.50
December, cash	63.70
1908.	
January, cash	122.65
February, cash	212.95
March, cash	570.75
April, cash	771.79
May, cash	499.36
June, cash	154.79
July, cash	1,341.37
August, cash	118.53
September, cash	88.49
October, cash	19.02
November, cash	265.35
December, cash	5.50
1909.	
January, cash	185.25
February, cash	340.01
March, cash	33.91
April, cash	227.02
May, cash	39.67
June, cash	23.60
July, cash	764.13
August, cash	109.30
September, cash	211.28
November, cash	175.60
December, cash	324.58
1910.	
January, cash	1,454.89
February, cash	741.37
March, cash	989.10
April, cash	386.12
May, cash	88.11
June, cash	$112.27
July, cash	523.22
August, cash	401.06
September, cash	388.49
October, cash	145.24
November, cash	221.49
December, cash	259.04
1911.	
January, cash	69.73
February, cash	636.72
March, cash	85.07
April, cash	1,777.70
May, cash	219.57
June, cash	113.03
July, cash	127.89
August, cash	11.53
September, cash	105.94
October, cash	100.96
November, cash	102.51
December, cash	127.79
1912.	
January, cash	296.33
February, cash	180.01
February, cash	390.00
March, cash	173.43
April, cash	575.24
May, cash	567.45
June, cash	1,241.81
July, cash	744.71
August, cash	153.09
September, cash	1,379.11
October, cash	2,535.61
November, cash	3,781.78
December, cash	2,378.50
1913.	
January, cash	1,887.84
February, cash	365.02
March, cash	497.52
April, cash	620.81
May, cash	1,471.02
June, cash	15.06
June, cash	425.98
June, cash	400.00
Total	75,746.95

Senator WALSH. To the other statements prepared by Mr. Frawley and here presented, I do not attach any particular importance.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you put in whatever you desire for whatever they may be worth.

Senator WALSH. I do not see any necessity for putting all these statements in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator WALSH. Here [indicating a statement] is the Emery account, which I will ask to have marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 5." I think I will put this in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be printed in the record.

(The statement marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 5" is here printed in full, as follows:)

FRAWLEY EXHIBIT No. 5.

Jas. A. Emery, N. A. Mfrs.

1908.	
Jan. 31, cash	$300.00
Feb. 29, cash	500.00
Mar. 31, cash	450.00
Apr. 13, cash	650.00
May 30, cash	650.00
June 30, cash	550.00
Aug. 31, cash	71.69
Oct. 31, cash	250.00
Nov. 30, cash	$200.00
Dec. 31, cash	1,750.00
1909.	
Jan. 30, cash	1,125.00
Feb. 27, cash	1,125.00
Mar. 31, cash	250.00
	7,871.69

Jas. A. Emery, N. C. I. Defense.

1909.	
Mar. 23, cash	$250.00
Mar. 29, cash	625.00
Apr. 12, cash	347.40
Apr. 12, cash	616.00
May 1, cash	625.00
May 6, cash	502.00
May 24, salary	833.33
May 24, cash	700.00
June 28, cash	615.00
July 30, cash	612.50
Sept. 10, cash	288.25
Sept. 10, salary	833.33
Oct. 14, cash	156.00
Oct. 14, salary	833.33
Oct. 30, salary	833.33
Oct. 30, cash	235.00
Nov. 29, cash	1,212.24
Dec. 24, cash	1,000.00
Dec. 31, salary	833.33
1910.	
Jan. 11, salary	833.33
Feb. 11, cash	1,000.00
Feb. 28, salary	833.33
Mar. 28, cash	1,000.00
Mar. 31, cash	833.33
Apr. 22, cash	1,000.00
May 3, cash	833.33
May 3, cash	408.75
May 31, cash	1,000.00
May 31, cash	833.33
June 30, cash	833.33
July 12, cash	392.53
Aug. 1, cash	833.33
Sept. 7, cash	833.33
Oct. 4, cash	833.33
Nov. 25, cash	833.33
Dec. 5, cash	833.33
Dec. 5, cash	500.00
Dec. 31, cash	833.33
1911.	
Jan. 10, cash	500.00
Feb. 1, cash	833.33
Feb. 9, cash	500.00
Mar. 1, cash	833.33
Mar. 7, cash	500.00
Mar. 30, cash	$833.33
May 1, cash	833.33
May 4, cash	500.00
June 2, cash	833.33
June 2, cash	815.17
July 5, cash	833.33
July 5, cash	645.65
Aug. 1, cash	833.33
Aug. 1, cash	500.00
Sept. 5, cash	833.33
Sept. 5, cash	500.00
Sept. 5, cash	63.18
Sept. 15, cash	500.00
Oct. 3, cash	833.33
Oct. 31, cash	1,000.00
Nov. 6, cash	500.00
Dec. 1, cash	1,000.00
1912.	
Jan. 2, salary	1,000.00
Jan. 2, cash	500.00
Feb. 1, cash	753.33
Feb. 1, salary	1,000.00
Mar. 1, salary	1,000.00
Mar. 1, cash	500.00
Mar. 5, cash	178.98
Apr. 1, cash	1,000.00
Apr. 1, cash	500.00
Apr. 2, cash	350.60
May 2, cash	1,000.00
May 2, cash	500.00
May 2, cash	269.09
June 3, cash	1,000.00
June 3, cash	500.00
June 4, cash	250.79
June 4, cash	500.00
June 29, cash	1,000.00
June 29, cash	500.00
July 8, cash	438.77
July 31, cash	1,000.00
July 31, cash	610.77
Sept. 30, cash	1,000.00
Oct. 9, cash	588.35
Oct. 30, cash	500.00
Nov. 1, cash	905.98
Nov. 1, cash	1,000.00
Dec. 3, cash	1,000.00
Dec. 3, cash	653.72
Dec. 31, cash	1,000.00
Dec. 31, cash	500.00

1913.	
Jan. 4, cash	$228.32
Feb. 4, cash	1,000.00
Feb. 4, cash	680.69
Mar. 1, cash	1,000.00
Mar. 1, cash	707.07
Mar. 31, cash	500.00
Mar. 31, cash	1,000.00
Apr. 2, cash	446.23
May 1, cash	1,000.00
May 1, cash	500.00
May 2, cash	248.70
June 2, cash	1,000.00
June 2, cash	858.34
July 1, cash	1,000.00
July 1, cash	500.00
Total	74,440.98

Paid to Emery by—	
N. A. Mfrs	$7,871.69
N. C. I. Defense	74,440.98
	82,312.67
1912.	
Aug. 27, by N. A. Mfrs	1,000.00
Aug. 27, for N. C. I	500.00
	83,812.67
1909.	
July 22	1,666.67
1911.	
Apr. 14	500.00
Total paid by N. A. M. and N. C. I. D	85,979.34

Mr. FRAWLEY. One is marked as showing money paid by the National Association of Manufacturers, and the other as showing money paid by the National Council for Industrial Defense.

Senator WALSH. What is the statement which I have just had marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 5"?

Mr. FRAWLEY. As indicated at the top of the page, that is money paid to James A. Emery by the National Association of Manufacturers, between January, 1908, and March 31, 1909; and, beginning under the heading "James A. Emery, National Council for Industrial Denfense," is the money that was paid to him by the National Council for Industrial Defense. At the end of the last page of Frawley Exhibit No. 5 I have a summarized statement of all the money paid to Emery.

Senator WALSH. Apparently various sums were paid to him by the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir; with the exception of one check that was given to him after he began being paid by the National Council for Industrial Defense.

Senator WALSH. How long does he appear to have been paid by the National Association of Manufacturers?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Beginning January 31, 1908, which was the first check I have any record of.

Senator WALSH. And the last one was when?

Mr. FRAWLEY. March 31, 1909. His first payment by the National Council for Industrial Defense was March 23, 1909, $250, and March 29, $625. In other words, on the 31st of March he was paid one check by the National Association of Manufacturers after he began receiving payments from the National Council for Industrial Defense.

Senator WALSH. Did you find anything peculiar or unusual about these books, or was there anything obscure or uncertain in them?

Mr. FRAWLEY. This set of books which they have had since 1906 has been complete to anyone who understood it and who had the vouchers at hand. But I did not have the vouchers, and to me the books were not as complete as they would have been if I had had the vouchers, and to anyone who had not had experience with books or had not done work with them, they would not be complete. Before that time, they were not complete.

Senator WALSH. That is, even since 1906, without the assistance of some one who was familiar with the books and knew what the entries signified, it would have been difficult to understand the entries?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes, sir; it would have been difficult for me, and I think for almost anyone. For the time prior to the time in 1906 when they installed this system, which I think is surely incomplete, I had some statements rendered by the auditors when they would audit their books.

Senator WALSH. I was going to ask about that. Was their system ever criticized by any of the auditors?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I have before me one communication dated New York, May 10, 1906. If you do not object, I will read that.

Senator WALSH. Read only so much of it as embodies any criticism.

Mr. FRAWLEY. It is a short statement, and I should like to read it all.

Senator WALSH. We will offer this in evidence, and in place of the original you will supply for the record a copy, which will be marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 6, Copy." You may read it.

Mr. FRAWLEY. It reads as follows:

FRAWLEY EXHIBIT No. 6.

[Copy.]

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS,
170 Broadway, New York City.

DEAR SIRS: Agreeably to your request, we have examined the cash records of your association for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1906.

The results of this examination are presented, attached hereto, in an exhibit termed "Summarized statement of receipts and disbursements for the year ended March 31, 1906."

We certify that the results in total are correct and that the classifications of the receipts and disbursements are in agreement with the adopted methods of the association.

Your attention is directed to the fact that the record of revenue due the association is incomplete and that a large proportion of the disbursements are not supported by proper vouchers.

There has been no change in the methods of accounting since our report of April 20, 1905, covering the year ended March 31, 1905.

That definite and accurate statements of condition may be drawn from the books at any time, we recommend the prompt adoption of a betterment of methods in a system which will give intelligent and complete results.

Very truly, yours,

THE AUDIT CO. OF NEW YORK,
E. T. PERINE, *General Manager.*
R.

NEW YORK, *May 10, 1906.*

Senator WALSH. Is there anything further of the same character?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Here is some correspondence about that report which I have just read. It is short. Do you want that read into the record?

Senator WALSH. No.

Mr. FRAWLEY. Here is another report dated New York, April 20, 1905, and addressed to the "National Association of Manufacturers, 170 Broadway, New York."

Senator WALSH. That is the same one, is it not?

Mr. FRAWLEY. No; the other one was dated in 1906. This is the one prior to that.

Senator WALSH. We will offer this in evidence, and you will supply a copy of it, the copy to be marked "Frawley Exhibit No. 7—Copy." You may read this.

Mr. FRAWLEY. It reads as follows:

FRAWLEY EXHIBIT No. 7.

[Copy.]

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS,
170 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIRS: Agreeably to your request we have examined the cash records of your association for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1905.

As a result of such examination we beg to present, attached hereto, the following summarized statement of receipts and disbursements for the year ending March 31, 1905, showing the classification as distributed on the books.

We certify that the results in total are correct, and that disbursements have been made in accordance with the regularly adopted plan of the association.

We recommend the installation of a more complete file of vouchers and the addition to the books now in use of a controlling ledger.

It would be far more easy to verify the distribution of expenditures or the amounts due your association at any given date, were the present records dispensed with, according to the foregoing suggestion.

Very truly, yours,

THE AUDIT CO. OF NEW YORK.
E. T. PERINE, *General Manager.*

NEW YORK, *April 20, 1905.*

Senator WALSH. Have there been any criticisms offered since 1906 that you have observed?

Mr. FRAWLEY. There have been none since the installation of the new system.

Senator WALSH. Have you been able to get from the books provided to you a list of the associations comprising the National Council for Industrial Defense?

Mr. FRAWLEY. I thought this bunch of papers here [indicating] was the membership. I am indicating these contributions received here, as shown in the weekly reports. However, it has been explained here this morning that these are not the names of the members.

Senator WALSH. Those are not the members, but the contributors?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes. I have seen in the files a little statement showing such organizations as the Employers' Association, or Chamber of Commerce, or Business Men's League, and so forth; different titles like that, just on a blank form which they had.

Mr. MCCARTER. I will say for the information of the committee that there is in the files, and that I personally have seen it, a large package of cards, like a card index, each card containing the name of a member, and containing the warrant to Mr. Emery to appear as its representative, as has been stated, and as appears in the testimony before this committee. That is a catalogue or list of the members of the National Council for Industrial Defense. Can you not find that, Mr. Frawley?

Mr. FRAWLEY. Yes; I presented that, but until this morning I did not know that that was the list.

Senator WALSH. I wish, Mr. Frawley, that you would prepare from these cards a list of the members of the National Council for Industrial Defense and prepare from the weekly reports a list of the contributors to the funds.

Mr. MCCARTER. Before that is complied with, Mr. Chairman and Senator Walsh, I should like to make this request: We have shown you that list of the contributors to the National Council for Industrial Defense. The amounts of money contributed are there shown, and we have no possible objection to those amounts being made a part of your report and being incorporated in the record. Of course, the evidence as to the disposition of the money that was received from that source is before you. We deem it a matter of very great importance that the names of contributors be not made public. There are a number of reasons why that is so, the principal one being, as it is hardly necessary for me to say, that the antagonism that exists between the movement embodied in this National Council for Industrial Defense and the labor movement embodied in the American Federation of Labor is a very serious antagonism. It is not my purpose to go into the merits of that controversy one way or the other, but it is a controversy, a condition and not a theory, that confronts us.

We should deem it a very unfortunate and unhappy thing, indeed almost a catastrophe, if the component parts—in a way financial backing—of the National Council for Industrial Defense should become known to our friends the enemy. We feel that, and I say that with all sincerity. We apprehend and we believe that it would result in harm to these people.

If it would conduce to any benefit from any standpoint—I do not care how detrimental it might be to our interests—it would be a different matter. But do the names of the gentlemen who have contributed to the support of that movement in any way add to or assist in the conclusion that you may reach? They have not been participants in it. It has been through an organization that the movement has been carried on. The agency has been here.

We most urgently present this request. This is one reason why I have stayed over until this time. Anticipating that possibly this suggestion would be made, I have remained over to urge, with all my vigor, that you consider fully before you do make those names public. I imagine, gentlemen of the committee, that if we had resisted giving you that list you would have found it difficult, under the resolution under which you are acting, to procure it; or, assuming the resolution under which you are acting was broad enough to cover transactions that did not appertain to matters now pending before the Senate, you would have found it equally difficult. But we have not undertaken to stand upon technicalities. We have given you everything we have, and any benefit or result that can come from what we have given you you may use; but we do most respectfully urge that you do not take this information, confidential in character, and disclose it publicly.

You will remember that at the very outset, when Mr. Bird was examined by Senator Reed early in the history of this investigation, he hesitated to give you this information; but acting under my advice, he did give it to you, and we did not

stand on any ceremony about it. I appeal to you gentlemen as lawyers. I believe you realize that if we had made issue, it is very doubtful indeed if you could have obtained these papers from us; but we did not want to take that position.

How will it in any way help in the matter that you are investigating at this time to publish the names of the gentlemen throughout this country who have contributed $100 or $50 or $500, or some of them, as I have noticed this morning in looking at the list for the first time, as high as $1,000, for this purpose?

This is all done by this organization. You have the names of the people who are the embodiment of the organization. You have the membership; we have no desire to keep it back. But the bone and sinew, namely the contributors, we feel you gentleman ought to preserve as a confidential communication. I do hope you will take this suggestion in the spirit in which it is offered, and that you will observe our request in this regard. It is a very serious matter for us, and I feel sure that you gentlemen, lawyers and fair men, public officials, will not, under the guise of an investigation which has been conducted for the discovering of the existence of a lobby, unconsciously, perhaps, take advantage of the situation, and display to the world this piece of private information which does not seem to me to have any bearing whatever upon the subject which you are engaged in investigating.

These are my views, and I most earnestly hope you will consider them.

Senator WALSH. We will take your request under consideration, Mr. McCarter.

Mr. MCCARTER. Thank you.

Senator WALSH. We will have it considered by the committee in executive session. Speaking for myself, however, I see no reason at all why publicity should not be given to this branch of the testimony. The National Council for Industrial Defense is simply a loose kind of a voluntary association of various associations or organizations. Some of its funds come from those organizations. Other funds come from contributions of individuals and corporations that are anxious to forward its work. That work in two branches of its activity, at least so far as we are concerned, is decidedly of public interest. The one is the influencing of legislation here and the other is the carrying of elections. Various statutes have been passed in the States, as well as by Congress, evidencing a public demand that the world shall know who puts up the money to carry elections. It does not help much if we know that the National Council for Industrial Defense contributed $3,500 to an election in the sixth New Jersey district in 1910, for instance, unless we know who are the members of the National Council for Industrial Defense who made the contribution that thus went into that district, and who were the individuals who made up its funds. Likewise, the same is true with reference to legislative work. The National Council for Industrial Defense is a rather intangible being here. It had Mr. Emery in its employ. Whether its work is good or bad, he is simply the agent and representative of those who contributed the money. So I can see no reason why, in an effort to find out who constitute a lobby, we should not go to the bottom of it and find out who are the persons who provide the money with which the work of endeavoring to influence legislation is carried on.

The CHAIRMAN. I infer from your speech, Mr. McCarter, that you think it might work injury to some of these contributors by reason of the fact that there is another lobby here?

Mr. MCCARTER. No. I referred to no lobby.

The CHAIRMAN. You spoke of "the enemy."

Mr. MCCARTER. I mean in this respect, Mr. Chairman: Our people really believe—and they are sincere about this—that if the American Federation of Labor——

Senator WALSH. Pardon me. I appreciate the suggestion you make and the entire force of it. Everybody recognizes that the American Federation of Labor is in a spirit of antagonism here, as are all its constituent members, and these gentlemen who have contributed to this fund do not care to incur the enmity either of the national organization or of its local constituents.

Mr. MCCARTER. That is the very thing.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to know how it could work harm.

Mr. MCCARTER. Suppose they should boycott us?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think they would do it?

Mr. MCCARTER. We really feel so, Mr. Chairman. If we did not feel so, we would not make this suggestion.

It perhaps sounds puerile to you, but it is not, and I am not going into the merits of the question; I am not going to make an antilabor speech here. We will all admit that both have their rights, and both perhaps have their wrongs. To disclose those names to the public in that way we feel would probably bring about an onslaught that would fall upon these people and do them harm. If by it you were going to gain anything in your results, we would not be raising that question; but we have been frank with you and have given this information to you when perhaps we were not obliged to do so. So far as the election expenses go, I suppose you are not concerned in that matter. You have a perfect right to go into it, but I imagine you are not, under this resolution, concerned with the question of who has contributed to this or that election. You are here more interested in the lobby question. Let us assume that you have found us guilty of lobbying. Let us take the worst view possible, and let us assume that you excoriate us in your report. Let us assume the worst. Will it add anything to the excoriation, will it improve or detract one whit from the situation, that the names of 500 members composing an organization, scattered throughout this country, are blazoned to the world? It is not so much that, Mr. Chairman. There are undoubtedly thousands of people who, we feel—and I think honestly feel and with some reason—are awaiting an opportunity to find out who their chief enemy has been——

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see if I understand this correctly. The contributors are individuals rather than organizations?

Mr. MCCARTER. They are either individuals or corporations. I have been over this list since I sat here this morning, this being the first time I have ever seen it.

The CHAIRMAN. It would not affect any individuals, would it?

Mr. MCCARTER. If John Jones is in business——

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose I am a stockholder in some corporation, would it affect me?

Mr. MCCARTER. It is not that, Mr. Chairman. It is the man who is in business in his individual name or as a corporation.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not the individual unless it is the business man?

Mr. MCCARTER. No; it is a business that may be carried on under the name of Lee S. Overman, or it may be "The Lee S. Overman Co." That is what I mean by an individual. Sometimes it is a gentleman doing business in his own name or in a company's name.

The CHAIRMAN. It makes up the same business?

Mr. MCCARTER. It is a going business concern.

I hope I have your confidence, whatever else you may think of it, and I will say here, with all sincerity upon my part, that that is what we believe. We may be wrong, but do not make us take the risk unless it is absolutely necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take that under consideration.

Mr. FRAWLEY. There is no objection to making up a list of the people who belong to the organization, is there?

Mr. MCCARTER. Oh, no. What I have been speaking about is incorporating in this record the names of the contributors which appear in these papers which you have before you.

Senator WALSH. I want to ask Mr. Bird two or three more questions, Mr. Chairman.

APPENDIX D.

The following telegrams were exchanged between the committee and Mr. Fairchild:

ONEONTA, N. Y., 20.

Hon. FINIS J. GARRETT,
Care House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Did not see Mulhall's testimony before your committee relative to myself until last evening. His statements are rankly unjust and unwarranted. I personally had no membership in National Association of Manufacturers. Mr. Bundy, the general manager of my company, had a membership for one year only, in 1908. I never was approached by Mulhall and asked to vote for or against any bill in which National Association of Manufacturers was or was not interested. If I had been I should have ordered him from my office. I employed him one day only in 1906 and one day in 1910 to get private information. In 1912 I paid him $200 at Guardian Trust Co., New York City, to get information from Republicans reported to be financing my opponent. I expected this two hundred would be ample for his services and expenses. I found later, to my surprise, that he had been in my district in my absence and was claiming to manage my campaign. I promptly asked him what his total expenses and expenditures were and he told me $500. Both my friends and myself considered it a hold-up, but paid him and told him to get out of the district. He lies when he says I told him not to legally report this expenditure. His whole statement is a tissue of falsehood and misrepresentation. Although ill at my home here, I will come to Washington at once and testify if not too late.

G. W. FAIRCHILD.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1913.

Hon. G. W. FAIRCHILD, *Oneonta, N. Y.:*

The committee closed its hearings Friday night and so announced. We are surprised that you have just seen the evidence given some time ago. Will as a courtesy to you give you a hearing to-morrow at 10.30 a. m., if you can come. Wire answer.

FINIS J. GARRETT, *Chairman.*

(Official business.)

ONEONTA, N. Y., *September 22, 1913.*

Hon. FINIS J. GARRETT,
309 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington:

Have been confined to bed by illness for several days. Will come to Washington at earliest possible moment. Hope it will not be too late to testify.

G. W. FAIRCHILD.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1913.

Hon. GEO. W. FAIRCHILD, *Oneonta, N. Y.:*

No meeting of committee since receipt of your telegram of to-day, and hence no opportunity to present it to members. Know that all members will deeply regret your illness. The desire has been and is to show you and all others every possible courtesy, but am sure you will realize the impossibility of holding hearings open indefinitely after the full opportunity which you had for weeks of appearing. We can not delay work on report to await your com-

ing, but should you appear before report is ready to file will try to get you a hearing. In the meantime will make your telegrams public and will ask that they be made a part of the record, in order that to the extent of our ability, under the conditions existing, your viewpoint may be fairly presented.

FINIS J. GARRETT, *Chairman.*

(Official business.)

(21 W DU 36 Blue.)

ONEONTA, *September 23, 1913.*

Hon. FINIS J. GARRETT,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Your telegram received. Am grateful for courtesy of committee. Still confined to my bed. Would committee accept my sworn denial of Mulhall charges in view of fact that I can not get to Washington by reason of illness?

G. W. FAIRCHILD.
1054 A.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 23, 1913.*

Hon. GEORGE W. FAIRCHILD,
Oneonta, N. Y.

Telegram of this morning received. There being no meeting of the committee to-day, am unable to submit to it question of accepting a sworn statement from you as evidence; but if you care to send one, will present it at first meeting after its receipt and submit then the question of acceping it.

FINIS J. GARRETT, *Chairman.*

(Official business.)

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of Otsego, ss:

Geo. W. Fairchild, being duly sworn, states that on the 24th day of September, 1913, he wrote a letter to Hon. Finis J. Garrett, chairman of House Lobby Committee, Washington, D. C., in relation to the testimony of one Mulhall before said committee, and that a copy of said letter is hereto annexed, is marked "A," and is hereby, in all things, made a part of this affidavit. That deponent dictated said letter to his stenographer, and read the same before signing, and that the statements contained therein and each and every one of the same are true of his own knowledge.

GEO. W. FAIRCHILD.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of September, 1913.

[SEAL.] W. L. KELLOGG,
Notary Public.

"A."

ONEONTA, N. Y., *September 24, 1913.*

Hon. FINIS J. GARRETT,
Chairman House Lobby Committee, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I owe your committee an apology. I should have appeared in answer to Mulhall's charges while you were in active session. I did not do so because I had not taken Mulhall seriously, and because I supposed the statement I had already made to your committee would be sufficient. I find, however, in looking over Mulhall's complete testimony, which was called to my attention for the first time on the evening of September 19, that he has made statements about me that I can not afford to let go unchallenged or undenied. It is one thing to be conscious of not having done wrong; it is another to make the public, not knowing either party, know the truth.

I desire to reiterate the statement made by me at my hearing before your committee—that I was never a member of the National Association of Manufacturers; that I was never in conference with the association nor any of its members relative to legislation; that I was never in Mr. Emery's house, and never attended but one dinner given by Mr. Emery, that a small informal one at the New Willard Hotel.

In 1906 I first met Mulhall. He came to Oneonta, having been sent there not by the National Association of Manufacturers, but, as I have ascertained since I testified before, by the national congressional committee. I had asked the committee, to whom that year I contributed $500, for some one to do detective work for me. Mulhall was sent. He came to Oneonta, found me ill in bed, got certain information for me which was of no importance in my campaign, but which was what I wanted, and left that afternoon for New York. I subsequently complimented him on his work. In my campaign of 1908 I did not need Mulhall. In my preliminary campaign of 1910 I had a lively contest for renomination. I again wanted certain information from my opponents and sent for Mulhall. At that time he remained in my district one day.

In my campaign of 1912 I was told that my Democratic opponent was being financed by Republicans who had always been bitterly opposed to me. I sent for Mulhall, who was not at that time connected with the National Association of Manufacturers, and he met me at the Guardian Trust Co., New York City. I handed him $200, told him to go to Albany and then into Otsego, Broome, and Chenango Counties and to see altogether four men and report to me later. As I have already stated in a telegram to your committee, this was all I wanted Mulhall to do. I was obliged to be out of my district most of the time during the month of October. On my return from an extended absence I found that Mulhall had been to my home city of Oneonta, registering at the principal hoted as "M. M. Mulhall," and also registering a woman with him as "Miss Mulhall." They occupied adjoining rooms in the hotel and had been traveling about the county in an auto for which they paid $25 per day. I located Mulhall as soon as possible in Binghamton. I asked him what authority he had for the work he was doing, and he said he "supposed" I wanted him to do it. I asked him what expenses he had incurred. He said he had two workers with him, one of whom I assumed was his woman friend; that he had agreed to pay them $100 each and expenses, and that he had also paid $200 to some one in Utica to prevent literature relative to my record on labor votes coming into the district—something that I cared absolutely nothing about. Investigation never disclosed, and we made careful inquiries, that he had any workers with him. I did not believe that he had paid $200 to any labor organization in Utica, and yet after careful consideration of the matter, myself and friends, we decided that it was better to pay him and let him go. I did not suggest to him that he need not report the money as campaign expenditure. The matter was gone over carefully by men of broad political experience and good judgment and their unanimous decision was that the money given to Mulhall under the circumstances had no legitimate place in my campaign expenses.

Mulhall's entire testimony before your committee as to his relations with me in the past are absolutely without the slightest foundation. I make a quotation from his testimony:

"Mr. WILLIS. Did Mr. Fairchild hold frequent conferences with yourself and other high officials of the National Association of Manufacturers?

"Mr. MULHALL. As a rule I used to meet Mr. Fairchild when he was in the city here whenever I wanted to see him on the administration. I would go to see him at his hotel and wait for him to come downstairs. He was pretty regular; he used to come down about 9 o'clock."

The inference to be drawn from this statement is that Mulhall was in the habit of seeing me either at the New Willard Hotel, where I lived, or elsewhere relative to matters pertaining to the National Association of Manufacturers. There is no truth in his statement. He never came to the New Willard in his life to see me by appointment. He was never in my room in the New Willard, and he never had any conference with me relative to the National Association of Manufacturers at the New Willard. While I knew him and if I met him in the lobby would speak to him, I did not like him and had absolutely nothing to do with him. His entire testimony relative to relations with me is a fabrication pure and simple. There is no truth in it and no semblance of truth. Apparently he was trying for his personal advantage to make the National Asociation of Manufacturers believe that he had some active connection with men of standing.

His statement and the statement of McMichael that I gave them 1,000 of my franks are untrue. Never since I have been in Congress have I authorized anyone to use any of my franks nor have I given any of them away. There is no Member of the House who has been more scrupulous in his treatment of both his legislative and telegraphic franks than I.

I do not recall that Mulhall was ever in my office in the House Office Building but two or three times in his life. The last time he called was to tell me that he was "down and out;" that he had had a great deal of trouble in his family, and he wanted to know if I would not see Mr. Kirby, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, and ask him to employ him again. I subsequently met Mr. Kirby at the New Willard Hotel and perfunctorily told him what Mulhall wanted. Mr. Kirby replied that Mulhall was absolutely undependable, and under no circumstances could the association give him work. I subsequently met Mulhall and told him that it was not necessary to tell him what Kirby had said about him, but I was satisfied that there was no chance of his getting back again with the National Association of Manufacturers. His remark was, "I have thousands of letters in my possession, and I will make it hot for those fellows."

Very truly, yours, G. W. FAIRCHILD.

"APPENDIX E."

The affidavit referred to on page 2754 is as follows:

STATE OF MAINE, *County of Kennebec, ss:*

I, Fred W. Wight, of Augusta, Kennebec County, Me., on oath depose and say, that I am a resident of Augusta, Me.; that I moved from Rockland, where I had always resided up to that time, to Augusta, Me., on September 1, 1913, having been on August 12, 1913, appointed treasurer of the Augusta Hospital, at Augusta, Me.; that during the campaign of 1906, when Hon. Charles E. Littlefield was a candidate for reelection to Congress at a regular State election, at which were elected a governor, a legislature, and various county officers, I was then residing at Rockland, Me., and was the chairman and acted as treasurer of the second district Republican congressional committee; that as such I had the entire charge of the finances of said campaign; that with a few minor exceptions, when sums were paid direct to Mr. Littlefield and by him in turn paid to me, all of the contributions for the campaign were made directly to me; that I kept my account as treasurer in the Rockland National Bank; that the certified copy of my account already filed with the committee showing the receipt from July 31 to September 11, 1906, of $20,661, is a true statement of all the sums that were received by me for use in said campaign; that my attention has been called to the following statement of Mr. Mulhall:

"That I told him that I had all the money that I wanted and that I had $60,000 for campaign purposes."

I never told Mr. Mulhall that I had received $60,000 for use in the campaign, and never talked with him about the funds I had received for that purpose. I never gave to him or to anyone to be delivered to him $3,000, or any sum for use in said campaign. I never paid Dr. C. L. Crockett $500 or any sum for making a speech in that campaign. I never told Mr. Mulhall that we had 135 or any number of men locked up on election day so drunk that they couldn't vote, and no such incident occurred. I did not have charge of his activities, and if he had 23 or any number of men in a clubroom so drunk that they couldn't vote, I did not know it, nor never heard of it. I did not use or authorize the use of any liquor with voters in that campaign. Such portion of the $20,661 as was not used and disbursed by me was distributed to the various committeemen for use in the campaign.

FRED W. WIGHT.

Sworn to before me this the 24th day of September, 1913.

STATE OF MAINE, *County of Kennebec, ss:*

Personally appeared before me, this 24th day of September, 1913, Fred W. Wight, of this city, whom I know to be a credible person, and made oath under due form of law to the truth of the foregoing statement subscribed to by him.

MANNING S. CAMPBELL,
Notary Public, Augusta, Me.

INDEX.

Abrahams, Louis: 752.
Accident-Prevention Relief: 167.
Adair, John A. M. Representative in Congress from the eighth Indiana district, 451, 946, 947, 970.
Adams, C. G.: 308.
Adams, Emmett L.: 2661; communication to Ralph D. Cole, 2660.
Adams Express Co.: 855.
Addams, Jane: 83.
Admiralty law (H. R. 15812): 123.
Agricultural Yearbook, United States: 1484, 1492.
Aldrich, A.: 311.
Aldrich, Nelson W., former United States Senator from Rhode Island: 16, 208, 295, 297, 326, 327; communications from Marshall Cushing, 1338, 1372, 1852, 1925, 1944, 2076, 2279, 2572.
Alexander, D. S., former Representative in Congress from New York: 203, 369.
Allen, Alfred G., Representative in Congress from the second Ohio district: 61, 1011, 1012, 1018.
Allen, Amos L., former Representative in Congress from Maine: 1848, 2026, 2028, 2314, 2677, 2678, 2742, 2786, 2787, 2792.
Allen, Andrew J.: 1896.
Allen, Hugh A.: 304.
Amalgamated Sugar Co.: 2238.
American Association of Flint and Lime Glass Manufacturers: 309.
American Brewing Co., Indianapolis, Ind.: 1909, 1910, 1913.
American Car Co., Chicago, Ill.: 1604.
American Car Foundry Co.: 1127, 1141.
American Economic Society: 219.
American Federationist: 2149, 2262, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2283, 2285, 2286, 2505, 2507, 2513, 2515, 2527, 2529; list of union men elected to the Sixty-third Congress, 2285, 2286, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293.
American Federation of Labor: 18, 105, 111, 208, 229, 230, 232, 234, 246, 469, 615, 618, 619, 889, 1098, 1111, 1112, 1170, 1240, 1344, 1810, 1858, 1889, 1899, 1977, 2013, 2022, 2074, 2095, 2137, 2138, 2146, 2165, 2169, 2183, 2184, 2189, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2204, 2240, 2241, 2243, 2259, 2262, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2275, 2277, 2279, 2282, 2284, 2286, 2288, 2290, 2293, 2294, 2345; legislative committee, 2346; 2360, 2362, 2379, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2395, 2396, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2412, 2418, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423; receipts and disbursements from 1881 to 1912, 2428 to 2442, inclusive, and 2443 to 2461, inclusive, 2466, 2467; campaign expenses in 1910, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469; 2472, 2473, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2488, 2505, 2507, 2508; legislative committee reports from 1898 to 1913, 2508, 2509; 2513, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2534, 2552; receipts and disbursements for the year ending September 30, 1912, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2553; 2559, 2560, 2569, 2572, 2573, 2580, 2581, 2617, 2689, 2691, 2704, 2707, 2712, 2806, 2865, 2869, 2930, 2931.

American flag: 1914.
American Hardware Corporation, New Britain, Conn.: 1096, 1405.
American Industries: 259, 268, 2357, 2859.
American Injector Co.: 92, 2339.
American Lithograph Co.: 2920.
American National Bank, Washington, D. C.: 870.
American Sugar Refining Co.: 2237.
American Tobacco Co.: 1972, 1975, 2223, 2338.
American Trade Index: 2183.
American Woolen Trust: 2228.
Ames, Adelbert, former Representative in Congress from Massachusetts: 2891.
Ames, Charles: 939.
Ames, Everett: 309.
Anderson, Carl C., former Representative in Congress from Ohio: 2287, 2515.
Angell, Frank: 304.
Anthracite Coal Strike Commission: 2241.
Anti-Boycott Association of America: 121, 122, 326, 2209, 2406, 2410, 2510; constitution of: 2510, 2511, 2512; 2546, 2769.
Anti-injunction bills (H. R. 21100, 23635): 85, 88.
Antipilotage bill: 82, 346, 368, 395, 396, 397.
Antitrust amendment to Sundry Civil Bill: 2361.
Anti-Trust League: 718, 2059.
Appendix A: 2809; extract in parallel columns of New York World and Chicago Tribune articles of June 29, 1913, referring to Representative McDermott, 2809 to 2817, inclusive.
Appendix B: 2818; testimony of F. C. Schwedtman before Senate Lobby Committee, 2819 to 2908, inclusive.
Appendix C: 2909; testimony of David L. Frawley before Senate Lobby Committee, 2909 to 2932, inclusive.
Appendix D: 2833; letters and telegrams exchanged between the committee and Representative Fairchild, 2933 to 2935, inclusive.
Appendix E: 2936; affidavit of Fred W. Wight concerning campaign expenses in the Littlefield campaign of 1906.
Arkansas City Commercial Club, Arkansas City, Ark.: 305.
Arnold, Lynn J.: 1826, 1829, 1831, 1833.
Arnold, Olney: 1925.
Arnold, William A.: 835.
Arp, Edwin L.: 219.
Ashbrook, W. A., Representative in Congress from the Seventeenth Ohio district: 674.
Assman, W. F.: 301.
Association of Hat Manufacturers, Orange, N. J.: 2921.
Associated Press: 125, 126, 128, 211, 2157, 2184.
Atkinson, J. A.: 307.
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, Atlanta, Ga.: 244.
Atlantic Coast Deeper Waterways Association: 250.
Atwood, Benj. S.: 305.
Audit Co., New York: 2929.
Austin, A. S.: 304.
Austin, Calvin: 2742, 2745.

Babcock, J. W., former Representative in Congress from Wisconsin: 319.
Babcock, W. M.: 306.
Backus, Alexander: 309.
Bacon, Augustus O., Senator from Georgia: 82, 2361.
Bacon-Bartlett bill: 2243, 2286.
Baer, George F.: 1249.
Bagg, E. N.: 306.
Baggs, Frank M.: 309.
Bailey, Edward S.: 685.
Bailey, E. S.: 811.
Baillie, Thomas G.: 240; communication from C. E. Townsend, 240, 241; communication from James A. Emery, 242.
Baker, Fred L.: 304.
Bakewell, Paul: 223; communication from Richard Bartholdt, 223, 224.
Ball, Frederick L.: 303.

Ballard & Ballard: 2742, 2777, 2778.
Baltimore Builders' Exchange: 2064.
Baltimore Federation of Labor: 2275.
Baltimore Metal Trade Association: 306.
Bancroft, W. T.: 307.
Banking Trust, the: 1239, 1972.
Bannon, Henry T., former Representative in Congress from Ohio: 15, 312, 1021, 1023, 1025, 1026, 1242, 1249, 2178, 2179, 2277, 2287, 2297, 2299, 2501.
Barker, Harry L.: 639, 1436, 1437, 1441, 1443, 1444; testimony of, 1447 to 1453, inclusive; 1462.
Barnes, J.: 2261.
Barnes, W. B.: 308.
Barnhart Bros. & Spindler: 47; communication to National Association of Manufacturers, 47; communication to R. O. Moon, 49.
Barry, Richard: 11, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1341, 1954, 1955, 2002, 2003, 2004.
Barry, Thomas: 2373.
Barry, W. D.: 1179.
Bartholdt, Richard, Representative in Congress from the tenth Missouri district: 211, 212, 213, 223, 225; communication to P. Bakewell, 223, 224; communication from F. C. Schwedtman, 226; communication to Representative Stafford, 277, 278; 277, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 368, 370, 396, 398, 416, 1012, 1018, 1019, 1256, 1261, 1348, 2026, 2200, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2680, 2706, 2707, 2763, 2846, 2865, 2873.
Bartlett, A. C.: 1132, 1318.
Bartlett, A. C., & Co.: 1604.
Bartlett, Charles L., Representative in Congress from the sixth Georgia district: 84, 164.
Barton, A. T.: 307.
Bassett, Arthur F.: 306.
Bassford, Wallace: 1729.
Batchelder, M. J.: 2773.
Bates, ——, politician in the thirty-fourth congressional district of New York (the Fairchild district): 1835, 1836.
Bathrick, Ellsworth R., Representative in Congress from the nineteenth Ohio district: 1039, 1047.
Battle, J. G.: 309.
Battle Creek Industrial Association, Battle Creek, Mich.: 306.
Battle, George Gordon: 274, 1927, 1928, 1930.
Bayard, James: 1829, 1831.
Bayonne Improvement Society: 2071.
Beall, Jack, Representative in Congress from the fifth Texas district: 2610.
Becker, ——, campaign worker in the thirty-fourth congressional district of New York (the Fairchild district): 1797, 1798, 1799, 1826.
Bede, J. Adam, former Representative in Congress from Minnesota: 2277, 2293.
Beef Trust, the: 1246.
Belden, George K.: 306.
Bell, J. W.: 304.
Bell, Thomas M., Representative in Congress from the ninth Georgia district: 1710, 1711, 1712, 1730.
Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore, Md.: 158, 159.
Beloit Iron Works, Beloit, Wis.: 311.
Bennett, R. M.: 839, 912, 913.
Bennett, William S., former Representative in Congress from New York: 158, 630, 1256, 1484, 1491, 1497, 1498, 1827, 1841, 1874.
Benton, B. P.: 2656; communication to Ralph D. Cole, 2656.
Berger, Victor L., former Representative in Congress from Wisconsin: 2287, 2552.
Berwick, James: 306.
Bethlehem Steel Works, Bethlehem, Pa.: 2307.
Beveridge, Albert J., former Senator from Indiana: 164, 166, 2279; communications to J. W. Van Cleave, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282; communications from Van Cleave, 2280, 2281; 2353, 2382, 2568, 2569, 2603, 2616, 2617, 2690, 2705, 2828; correspondence with J. W. Van Cleave, 2829, 2830, 2831.
Beverly Board of Trade, Beverly, Mass.: 305.
Bickman, Charles G.: 324.

Bird, J. Philip, general manager of the National Association of Manufacturers: 31, 33; communication to M. M. Mulhall, 53; 86, 140; communication from Mulhall, 140; 160, 163, 193, 202, 207, 248, 249, 251, 252, 254, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 271, 273, 274, 275, 301, 312, 323, 325, 330, 331, 339, 340, 344, 357; communication from Mulhall, 357; 358, 359, 379, 430, 441, 444, 445, 451, 454, 455, 456, 460, 530, 531, 533, 618, 650, 652, 988, 989, 993, 1002, 1003, 1028, 1094, 1097, 1101, 1105, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1173, 1238, 1239, 1250, 1251, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1261, 1268, 1269, 1271, 1291, 1300, 1304, 1305, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1337, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1438, 1452, 1463, 1470; testimony of, 1470 to 1473; 1580, 1581, 1582, 1616, 1665, 1667, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1682, 1765, 1781, 1785, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1811, 1812, 1815, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1847, 1866, 1868, 1874, 1894, 1897, 1907, 1914, 1915, 1926, 1927, 1932, 1933, 1963, 1965, 1973, 1974, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2032; testimony of, 2035 to 2135, inclusive; communication from Mulhall, 2040, 2041, 2042; communication to Mulhall, 2042, 2043; communication to James A. Emery, 2044; communication to John Kirby, jr., 2043, 2044; communications to Mulhall, 2047, 2051, 2052, 2054; communication to Kirby, jr., 2054, 2055; communication to J. W. Van Cleave, 2068; 2072, 2079; communication to Emery, 2079, 2080; 2085, 2086, 2089, 2091, 2092, 2094; communications to Mulhall, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2099, 2122; 2151, 2152, 2154, 2156, 2168, 2169, 2185, 2219, 2222; communication from Kirby, jr., 2222, 2223; 2230, 2235, 2238, 2258, 2259, 2330, 2340; communication from Emery, 2340, 2341; 2374, 2375, 2378, 2380, 2388, 2486, 2560, 2664, 2717, 2719, 2720; communication to Mulhall, 2720; 2721, 2772, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2801, 2802, 2844, 2845, 2903, 2906, 2908, 2910, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2930, 2931, 2932.
Bird, Mrs. Sarah: 357, 2071.
Birdsall, Ben P., former Representative in Congress from Iowa: 2291.
Birdsell, J. C.: 1243.
Bishop, William: 804, 835, 858, 871, 923, 928.
Black, Francis F.: 306.
Black, Herman: 1938.
Blair, Henry W., former Senator from New Hampshire: 2508.
Blake, E. J.: 307.
Blakney, Miss: 613, 614, 1215, 1638.
Bliss, E. J.: 2742.
Board of Trade of Baltimore (Md.): 306.
Board of Trade of Camden (N. J.): 337.
Board of Trade of Jersey City (N. J.): 307.
Boyd, F. M.: 310.
Boetcker, William J. H.: 85, 309.
Boiler Makers' Union, Indianapolis, Ind.: 1812, 1814, 2271, 2906, 2907.
Bonner, J. C.: 334.
Bonney, Nelson P.: 308.
Booth, Ed.: 1034, 1079.
Borah, William E., Senator from Idaho: 82, 203, 2506, 2617, 2878.
Boston Typothetæ: 305.
Boudinot, George S., secretary National Association of Manufacturers: 16, 53; communication to James A. Emery, 47; communication to National Council for Industrial Defense, 51, 52, 53; communication from Emery, 59; communication to Emery, 59; communication from Emery, 60; communication from A. B. Farquhar, 105, 219, 248, 265, 266, 267, 308, 331, 337, 339, 1013, 1110, 1173, 1811, 1933, 1937; communication from Mulhall, 2041; communication to Emery, 2041, 2046, 2052, 2053, 2055, 2063, 2097, 2103, 2109, 2122, 2124, 2128, 2229, 2230, 2670, 2671, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2906.
Bourne, Jonathan, jr., former Senator from Oregon: 2262.
Boutell, Henry S., former Representative in Congress from Illinois: 1847.
Bowers, M.: 1127, 1140.
Bowman, C. C., former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania: 1869, 2610
Bowyer, F. C.: 304.
Boyd, J. Harrington: 220; communication from F. C. Schwedtman, 220; communication to Schwedtman, 220, 221.
Boykin, F. M.: 306.
Boyle, George S.: 309.
Brandeis, Louis: 474.
Brantley, William C., former Representative in Congress from Georgia: 165, 217, 237, 2166, 2196, 2610.

Brayton, Charles R.: 1925.
Breiner, C. M.: 308.
Brennan, J. L.: 307.
Brennan, W. H.: 307.
Brentingham, S. C.: 305.
Brewers' Association: 506.
Brewster-Greene, M. E.: 304.
Briddell, W. S.: 306.
Bridgeport Manufacturers' Association, Bridgeport, Conn.: 304.
Bridge Workers' Union: 2156.
Briggs, O. P.: 238.
Bristow, Joseph L., Senator from Kansas: 2840.
Broad Silk Manufacturers' Association of Paterson (N. J.): 307.
Brooks, J. J.: 2670.
Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders of America: 2661.
Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators: 2471.
Brown, Frank S.: 306.
Brown, J. W.: 306.
Brown-Ketcham Iron Works: 305.
Brown, W. C.: 324.
Browne & Sharpe Manufacturing Co.: 2776.
Brownell, Atherton: 2854; communication to F. C. Schwedtman, 2855; 2856, 2857, 2858.
Brownwell, Dr., political worker in Maine: 1860.
Browning, W. J., Representative in Congress from the first New Jersey district: 421, 1590.
Broles, Arnold: 43.
Brumm, Charles N., former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania: 2290.
Bryan Transportation Co.: 2755.
Bryan, William J., former Representative in Congress from Nebraska: 112, 2598, 2599, 2877.
Bryce, Joseph: 91, 93, 111, 112.
Buchanan, Frank, Representative in Congress from the seventh Illinois district: 93, 94, 95, 96, 228, 449, 751, 1001, 1309, 1310, 1387, 1610, 1611, 2083, 2105, 2156, 2255, 2257, 2295, 2383, 2501, 2502, 2555, 2556.
Buchanan, R. H.: 307.
Buck Stove & Range case: 121, 194, 2409, 2462.
Buck Stove & Range Co.: 2518.
Buffalo Foundrymen's Association: 308.
Buffalo Metal Trade Association: 308.
Builders' Exchange of Baltimore (Md.): 306, 1019, 1846.
Builders' Exchange of Buffalo (N. Y.): 308.
Builders' Exchange of Cleveland (Ohio): 309.
Builders' Exchange of Pittsburgh (Pa.): 310.
Builders' Managers' Association of Chicago (Ill.): 304.
Building Trades Employers' Association of New York City: 308.
Bulkley, Morgan C., former Representative in Congress from Connecticut: 2361.
Bulkley, Robert J., Representative in Congress from the twenty-first Ohio district: 2610.
Bullard, A. H.: 42.
Bullard, E. P., jr.: 304.
Bunn, O. L.: 310.
Bureau of Mines: 2398.
Burgess, George F., Representative in Congress from the ninth Texas district: 2610.
Burke, George: 2127.
Burke, James F., Representative in Congress from the thirty-first Pennsylvania district: 16, 24, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 377, 378, 380, 381, 1201, 1261, 1710.
Burke, W. J., jr.: 303.
Burkhart, E. E.: 107.
Burleigh, Edwin C., former Representative in Congress from Maine: 2742.
Burlingame, Charles: 1519.
Burnett, John L., Representative in Congress from the seventh Alabama district: 17, 982, 1373.
Burnham Henry E., former Senator from New Hampshire: 2361.
Burns, William: 467, 470, 471, 617, 1045, 1587, 1588, 1589, 2525.

Burnstine, Abraham: 492, 499; testimony of, 543 to 592, inclusive; 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 599, 600, 602, 646, 660, 661, 663, 664, 665, 669, 670, 671, 678, 680, 684, 691, 692, 693, 696, 701, 702, 704, 705, 706, 707, 711, 722, 729, 731, 732, 734, 735, 739, 741, 746, 747, 752, 756, 759, 769, 772, 773, 783, 784, 788, 789, 791, 794, 796, 798, 800, 801, 802, 803, 809, 824, 825, 828, 830, 832, 833, 835, 845, 849, 851, 855, 859, 861, 950, 962, 965, 1010, 1042, 1043, 1057, 1058, 1063, 1430, 1594, 1595.
Burrows, Julius C., former Representative in Congress from Michigan: 2361.
Burton, H. R., former Representative in Congress from Delaware: 2293.
Burton, Theodore E., former Representative in Congress from Ohio: 2277, 2361.
Business Men's Association of Green Bay (Wis.): 311.
Business Men's Association of Ithaca (N. Y.): 308.
Business Men's Association of Norwich (N. Y.): 308.
Business Men's Association of Saratoga (N. Y.): 308.
Business Men's League of Helena (Ark.): 303.
Business Men's League of Rock Springs (Wyo.): 311.
Butler, Nicholas Murray: 81, 92, 188.
Butler, Thomas S., Representative in Congress from the seventh Pennsylvania district: 88.
Buxton, Mrs. Ida M.: 450, 1300, 1301, 1303, 1310, 1312, 1313, 1769, 1771, 1772, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1963, 1964, 1966, 2097.

Calder, William M., Representative in Congress from the sixth New York district: 16, 22, 23, 25, 34, 37, 62, 88, 381, 382, 383, 385, 387, 395.
Calderhead, William A., former Representative in Congress from Kansas: 16, 23, 27, 62, 1847, 2796.
Calhoun, C. C.: 942, 1074, 1206.
Calvert, president of the Philadelphia Typographical Union: 2275.
Campau, Francis D.: 306.
Campbell, James E.: 308.
Campbell, S. W.: 305.
Canadian Locomotive Works: 207.
Candler, Ezkiel S., jr., Representative in Congress from the first Mississippi district: 2610.
Cannon, Clarence: 954.
Cannon, Joseph G., former Representative in Congress from Illinois: 16, 17, 82, 88, 135, 280, 237, 350, 383, 385, 449, 981, 1235, 1391, 1707, 1722, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1847, 1879, 1880, 1935, 2022, 2023, 2174, 2198, 2217, 2280, 2288, 2390, 2391, 2393, 2415, 2519, 2520, 2541, 2562, 2563, 2571, 2609, 2616, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2674, 2675, 2689, 2704, 2715, 2763, 2789, 2808, 2850.
Cantwell, Edward J.: 2661; communication to R. D. Cole, 2661.
Capron, A. B., former Representative in Congress from Rhode Island: 1925.
Carey, Thomas: 1567.
Carlton, Prof., of Ann Harbor: 219.
Carlisle, F. W.: 306.
Carmody, J. D.: 598.
Carnegie Steel Co.: 2228.
Carpenter, Eward W.: 244; communication from James A. Emery, 244.
Carpenter, Fred W.: 2370.
Carr, George: 1531.
Carr Manufacturing Co., Chicago, Ill.: 1142, 1143.
Carry, Edward: 1141, 1142.
Carter, C. B.: 310.
Carter, Charles D., Representative in Congress from the Fourth Oklahoma district: 2610.
Carter, Thomas H., former Senator from Montana: 2361.
Cary, William J., Representative in Congress from the Fourth Wisconsin district: 751, 1001, 1192, 1387, 1531, 1533, 1537, 1538, 1543, 1794, 1796, 2084, 2118, 2285, 2287, 2506, 2515.
Casey, John J.: 2286.
Cassell, John J.: 305.
Casson, Henry, former Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives: 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 352.
Catlin, Theron E., former Representative in Congress from Missouri: 88.
Caulfield, H. M., former Representative in Congress from Missouri: 1371.
Causy, W. W.: 43.
Cay, Wm. Jenkins: 1150.
Central Labor Council, District of Columbia: 895.
Central Labor Union of Atlantic City (N. J.): 2505.

Central Labor Union, District of Columbia: 889.
Central Labor Union of Philadelphia (Pa.): 325, 2969.
Central Labor Union of Washington (D. C.): 962, 2487, 2488, 2493.
Century Syndicate: 2854, 2855, 2908.
Chamberlain, H. S.: Communication from James A. Emery, 63; communication to Emery, 63, 64; 2339, 2368.
Chamber of Commerce of the United States: 105, 106.
Champaign County (Ohio) delegation: 2653.
Champion Iron Co.: 2652.
Chandler, Capt.: 1075.
Chapman, John A.: 155, 304, 1150, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1653.
Chase, Charles P.: 306.
Chase, Irving H.: 2742.
Chattanooga Manufacturers' Association: 310.
Chavannes, F. S.: 306.
Cheney Bigelow Wire Works: 2339.
Cheney Bros. (Inc.): 2339.
Cheney, Howell: 2339.
Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.: 1175.
Chesterton, Mr.: 204.
Chew, Nolan L.: 969; testimony of, 969 to 975, inclusive; 835, 1125.
Chicago Brass Manufacturers' Association: 305, 1530, 1547.
Chicago Clearing House Association: 1530, 1547.
Chicago Employers' Association: 305.
Chicago Examiner, Chicago, Ill.: 94.
Chicago Mutual Lyceum Bureau, Chicago, Ill.: 2604.
Chicago Tribune, Chicago, Ill.: 151, 154, 157, 158, 1230, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1288, 1289, 1303, 1337, 1339, 1394, 1533, 1625, 1687, 2575, 2576.
Chicago World's Fair: 303.
Childs, Frederick W.: 984, 1370, 1371, 1374, 2267, 2268, 2609.
Choate, Charles F.: 474.
Cigar Makers' International Union: 2261.
Cincinnati Boot & Shoe Manufacturers' Association: 309.
Cincinnati Employers' Association: 113.
Citizens' Alliance of Beloit (Wis.): 311.
Citizens' Alliance of Denver (Colo.): 182.
Citizens' Alliance of Fremont (Ohio): 309.
Citizens' Alliance of Grand Rapids (Mich.): 306.
Citizens' Alliance of Houston (Tex.): 310.
Citizens' Alliance of Minneapolis (Minn.): 306.
Citizens' Alliance of Peoria (Ill.): 305.
Citizens' Alliance of Saginaw (Mich.): 306.
Citizens' Industrial Association of America: 118, 131, 132, 138, 159, 160, 243, 250, 1841, 1871, 2146, 2240, 2241, 2246, 2256, 2295, 2299, 2303, 2385, 2386, 2597, 2599, 2833, 2834, 2839, 2840, 2856, 2857, 2870, 2882, 2902.
Citizens' Industrial Association of St. Louis (Mo.): 307, 360, 2902.
Citizens' Industrial Association of Toledo (Ohio): 309.
Citizens' National Bank, Baltimore (Md.): 1501.
City Club of St. Louis (Mo.): 83.
Civic Federation: 18, 204, 205.
Clapp, Moses E., Senator from Minnesota: 78, 2361.
Clark, Champ, Speaker of the House of Representatives: 17, 474, 476, 480, 481, 953, 981, 1087, 1364, 1596, 1685, 1705, 1708, 1714, 1722, 1729, 1730, 1732, 1733, 2027, 2273, 2277, 2610, 2613, 2689; communication to Samuel Gompers, 2689; 2705, 2853.
Clark, Clarence D., Senator from Wyoming: 179, 187, 2361.
Clark, Edgar E.: 2241.
Clark, James, jr.: 2742, 2778.
Clark, Langdon B.: 308.
Clark, M. H.: 310.
Clayton, Henry D., Representative in Congress from the third Alabama district: 60, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 141.
Clayton anti-injunction bill: 232, 236, 244, 2364.
Clenny, J. E.: 1141, 1317, 1318, 1326, 1532, 1614.
Cleveland, Grover, former President of the United States: 2851.
Cleveland Hardware Association: 1936, 1937.
Cleveland, S. D. W.: 308.
Clifton, C. E., & Co.: 836, 837.
Clissold, H. R.: 310.

Clopton, A. J.: 1368.
Clothiers' Board of Trade of Baltimore (Md.): 306.
Cobb, C. W. S.: 2742, 2744.
Cobb, John C.: 2571, 2574, 2599.
Cobb, W. T.: 1952, 1953, 2164, 2743, 2750.
Cochran, W. L.: 2918.
Cochrane, Robert K.: 310.
Coffin, Henry W.: 837.
Cole, John J.: 2667, 2669.
Cole, Ralph D., former Representative in Congress from Ohio: 15, 303, 1255, 1256, 1825, 1847, 1852, 2026; testimony of, 2657 to 2676, inclusive; delegates to congressional convention in which he was a candidate for Congress, 2657, 2658, 2659; communications from Dr. N. L. McLachlan, 2656; from R. B. Cook, 2656; from H. B. Perham, 2656; from C. F. Sayer, 2656; from Emmett L. Adams, 2660; from Ed. J. Cantwell, 2661; from James S. Sherman, introducing M. M. Mulhall, 2667; 2686.
Colorado Manufacturers' Association: 304.
Colorado & Wyoming Lumber Dealers' Association: 304.
Colpoys, John B.: 890, 1722, 1723, 2487, 2488; communication from American Federation of Labor, 2490; 2552.
Columbus (Ohio) Industrial Alliance: 309.
Columbus (Ohio) Manufacturers' Association: 304.
Commercial Club of Fort Dodge (Iowa): 305.
Commercial Club of Las Vegas (N. Mex.): 307.
Commercial Club of Montgomery (Ala.): 303.
Commercial Club of Spokane (Wash.): 310.
Commercial Discount Co.: 838.
Commercial National Bank, Washington, D. C.: 490, 644.
Commercial Telegraphers' Union: 2541.
Conner, James P., former Representative in Congress from Iowa: 2680.
Conover, Mr., Chicago manufacturer: 1316, 1531.
Contempt of court (H. R. 1035, 3646, 12175, 13838, 13892, 18410): 120.
Continental-Commercial National Bank, Chicago, Ill.: 1499, 1500, 1502, 1644, 1650, 1651, 1654.
Contracting Bricklayers' Association: 309.
Conway, E. S.: 1131, 1135, 1139.
Cook, R. B.: 2660; communication to Ralph D. Cole, 2660.
Cooley, F. S.: 251, 254. 255, 269, 2920.
Coombs, George S.: 307.
Cooper. Henry Allen, Representative in Congress from the first Wisconsin district: 17, 23, 24, 35, 981, 1369.
Coppins, George T.: 42.
Corbert, W. H.: 309.
Corn Exchange National Bank, Chicago, Ill.: 1502.
Corning, J. W. L.: 307.
Cortelyou, George B.: 476.
Cornwall, Samuel: 952, 953, 955, 956, 958, 959.
Costello, John: 770, 772, 773, 812, 882, 883, 884, 885, 887, 897, 934, 1059, 1060, 1064.
Costello, Walter: 1179.
Cotton, Joseph B.: 133.
Cotton Manufacturers' Association of Fall River (Mass.): 305.
Couden, Rev. Henry N.: 1707, 1708, 1713, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1724, 1731.
Coudrey, Harry M., former Representative in Congress from Missouri: 15, 1102, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1255, 1292, 1299, 1335, 1390, 1847, 2797, 2798, 2800, 2883, 2884, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2895, 2896, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903.
Courier Gazette Publishing Co., Rockland, Me.: 2735.
Covington, J. Harry, Representative in Congress from the first Maryland district: 439, 515, 1011, 1012, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1021, 1348, 1349, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1959, 1960, 1961, 2001, 2027, 2110, 2314, 2697, 2787.
Cowles, W. B.: 280, 341, 1248, 2820, 2821.
Cox, Alfred E.: 1906, 1907, 2743, 2747, 2748, 2755, 2774.
Cox, James M., former Representative in Congress from Ohio: 363, 1375, 1376, 1377, 2200.
Cramp Shipbuilding Co.: 2307.
Crandall, Emile P.: 1697; testimony of, 1697 to 1705, inclusive; 1707, 1708, 1710, 1711, 1714, 1715, 1718, 1724, 1727, 1728, 1738.
Crane, Mr., National Association of Manufacturers, bookkeeper: 2909, 2910, 2911, 2915, 2916, 2918, 2920, 2922.
Crane, Murray, former Senator from Massachusetts: 6, 1251, 2361, 2471.

Crane, Robert: 1756, 1758, 1759.
Crawford, Coe I., Senator from South Dakota: 2361.
Crim, John W. H., counsel for M. M. Mulhall: 321.
Crittenden, A. M.: 307.
Crockett, G. Langtry, Dr.: 1753, 1793, 1859, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1902, 1903, 1906, 2009, 2010; communication from M. M. Mulhall, 2010; 2730, 2739, 2740.
Crompton-Thayer Loom Co.: 2742.
Cross, Boone: 310.
Crow, Wilmer: 310.
Crumpacker, Edwin D., former Representative in Congress from Indiana: 2570.
Cullen, Joseph P.: 944, 955, 966, 967, 974.
Cullom, Shelby M., former Senator from Illinois: 2361.
Cummins, Albert S., Senator from Iowa: 78, 2747.
Currier, William M.: 306.
Curtis, Charles, former Senator from Kansas: 946, 1039, 1040, 1047, 1051, 1052, 1064.
Cushing, Marshall, former secretary National Association of Manufacturers: 16, 17, 44, 261, 262, 269, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296; communication to N. W. Aldrich, 296; 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 320, 321, 323, 326, 327, 328, 331, 332, 333, 336, 337, 343, 344, 349, 355, 356, 357, 362, 374, 375, 388, 389, 391, 392, 393, 394, 1013, 1080, 1092, 1173, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1247, 1248, 1256, 1279, 1346, 1374, 1497, 1498, 1801, 1802, 1805, 1807, 1826, 1828, 1855, 1860, 1862, 1863, 1870, 1883, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1913, 1914, 1921, 1942, 1967, 1969, 1970, 1979, 1982, 2138, 2139, 2170, 2201, 2203, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2216, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2704, 2705, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2734, 2736, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2760, 2768, 2771; correspondence with C. E. Littlefield, 2771 to 2778, inclusive.
Cushman-Hollis Co.: 2774.

Daley, Harriet G., Miss: 1174; testimony of, 1174 to 1177, inclusive; 1716, 1717, 1724.
Dalzell, John, former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania: 16, 88 179, 187, 2360, 2570.
Danbury Hatters' strike: 121, 321, 616, 1248, 2512.
Danforth, H. G., Representative in Congress from the thirty-ninth New York district: 2610.
Davenport, Daniel: 64, 65, 122; communications from James A. Emery, 62, 63, 67, 68; communications to Emery, 67, 68; 189, 207, 326, 1991, 2029, 2030, 2346, 2347, 2406, 2408, 2409; exhibit, 2510, 2511, 2512; 2512, 2513, 2514, 2680, 2681, 2769.
Davis Chair Co., Marysville, Ohio: 2652.
Davis, Charles R., Representative in Congress from the third Minnesota district: 237.
Davis, Cornelius: 837.
Davis, Henry E., counsel for George D. Horning: 547, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 562, 590, 594, 662, 663, 675, 679, 689, 691, 696, 699, 700, 703, 709, 710, 711, 718, 736; statement by, concerning deafness of client, 748; 754, 755, 758, 770, 771, 772, 776, 777, 778, 868, 873, 885, 894, 895, 896, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 923, 933, 934; statement by, 937; 956, 1035; testimony of, 1035 to 1073, inclusive.
Davis, John W., former Representative in Congress from West Virginia: 2679.
Dawes, Charles: 2569.
Dayton Chamber of Commerce, Dayton, Ohio: Communication to President Taft, 107; 309.
Dayton Employers' Association, Dayton, Ohio: 309.
Dayton Manufacturing Co., Dayton, Ohio: 2239.
Deal, Horace M.: 324.
Dean, Edward H.: 42.
Deane, J. Henry: 308.
Dearborn Drug & Chemical Co., Chicago, Ill.: 1132, 1316.
De Armond, David A., former Representative in Congress from Missouri: 2287.
Debs, Eugene: 2313, 2599.
Decker, Percy W.: 308.
De Czesnak, Mr.: 2053.
Defenbaugh, E. W.: 305.
De Graff & Co.: 838, 839, 913.
Democratic campaign committee: 845.
Democratic campaign fund: 720, 721, 744, 745, 869, 904.
Democratic congressional committee: 340, 1899.
Denby, Edwin, former Representative in Congress from Michigan: 16, 237.

De Nedrey, Samuel: 1890, 2538, 2551.
Dennison, George A.: 242; communication from J. A. Emery: 242, 243.
Dent, S. H., jr., Representative in Congress from the second Alabama district: 225.
Department of Labor: 187, 188.
Denver national Democratic committee: 187, 188.
Derouse, Louis F.: 307.
Devendorf, H. E.: 355, 1834.
Devereux, N. F.: 308.
Dick, Charles, former Senator from Ohio: 226, 359, 2361, 2798.
Diederich, George C.: 307.
Diekema, Garrett J., former Representative in Congress from Michigan: 16, 350.
Dies, Martin, Representative in Congress from the second Texas district: 1208, 2166.
Dietrich, E. R. (Chicago politician who carried the John A. McDermott money to Representative McDermott): 1641, 1642, 1743, 1748, 1749, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1759, 1760.
Dillingham, William P., Senator from Vermont: 947, 1038, 1039, 1041, 1048, 1049, 1051, 1052.
Dingley, Nelson, jr., former Representative in Congress from Maine: 2687.
District Loan Co.: 839.
District of Columbia Commissioners: 907.
Dixon, Joseph M., former Senator from Montana: 2361.
Dodds, F. H., former Representative in Congress from Michigan: 88.
"Dog House" resolution at Fritz Reuter's: 479, 480.
Dolan, Thomas: 2803.
Dolliver, Jonathan P., former Senator from Iowa: 2797, 2852.
Donehoue, James: 1237, 1238, 1763, 1854, 1860, 1862, 1888, 1891, 1893, 1902, 1953, 2724, 2749, 2776, 2777.
Dooley, John: 1330, 1598.
Douglas, John, Shoe Co.: 61.
Downs, N. Carroll: 288, 289, 290, 291, 294, 321, 322.
Draper, E. D.: 307, 2741, 2742; communication from Littlefield, 2741, 2742; 2744.
Draper, George A.: 42.
Draymen's Association of Minneapolis (Minn.): 306.
Drew, Walter: 83, 308, 2406, 2530, 2849.
Driscoll, Daniel A., Representative in Congress from the forty-second New York district: 1674.
Driscoll, Michael E., former Representative in Congress from New York: 16, 38, 355.
Drovers Deposit National Bank, Chicago, Ill.: 1548.
Dumaine, F. C.: 2742.
Duncan, James: 2417.
Dunlap, H. L.: 10.
Dunn, E. T.: 2663.
Dunn, R. G. & Co.: 247, 261, 266.
Dunne, Peter F.: 1545.
Dunne, William H.: 308.
DuPont Henry A., Senator from Delaware: 226, 2361.
Durand, Elliott: 18.
Durban, T. E.: 244; communication from James A. Emery, 244.
Dwight, John W., former Representative in Congress from New York: 16, 428, 442, 464, 519, 520, 542, 1032, 1034, 1078, 1085, 1101, 1246, 1272, 1371, 1391, 1793, 1794, 1812, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1847, 1853, 1873, 1874, 1888, 2027, 2028, 2089, 2090, 2118, 2151, 2323, 2358, 2359, 2390.
Dyer, L. C., Representative in Congress from the twelfth Missouri district: 495, 507, 508, 545, 546, 550, 551, 554, 555, 565, 574, 578, 582, 875, 876, 881, 882, 907, 922, 942, 945, 946, 947, 962, 970, 978, 1004, 1016, 1065, 1125, 1207.

Earhart, G. W.: 305.
Earnshaw, B. B.: 304.
Easby-Smith, James S., counsel for Representative McDermott: 10, 40, 46, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 625, 626, 629, 1435; testimony of, 1436 to 1446, inclusive; 1447, 1448, 1450, 1451, 1457, 1459, 1464.
Eastern Machinery Co.: 2239.
Eberhardt, Fred L.: 309.
Education and Labor, Committee on: 236, 286, 287, 328, 329, 342, 351, 362, 364.
Edwards, B. T.: 840.
Eddy, Edgar: 1132, 1142, 1541.
Eight-hour bills: 361, 2427.
Electrical Contractors' Association of Texas: 310.
Eliot, Prof.: 204.

Elliott, Percival W.: 306.
Ellis, Carlyle: 2857.
Ellis, Wade H.: 175, 176, 177.
Ellis, William Marshall: 304.
Elwood, Herbert: 841.
Ely, William R.: 837.
Emerson-Brantingham Co.: 2239.
Emerson, Dudley: 324.
Emery, James A., counsel for National Council for Industrial Defense: 2, 16, 30, 31, 33, 37, 46; communications to George S. Boudinot, 50, 51, 52, 54, 58; communications from Boudinot, 53, 58, 60; communications to H. S. Chamberlain, 63, 64; communications to and from Daniel Davenport, 66, 67, 68; communications to John Kirby, jr., 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 90, 91, 102, 104, 107, 114, 115; communications from Kirby, jr., 85, 100, 111; 88; communication from D. M. Parry, 115; communications from C. W. Post, 116, 117, 119, 120; 122; communications from R. O. Moon, 121, 123, 131; communications to Moon, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131; communications from M. M. Mulhall, 132, 136, 137, 139, 140; communications to Mulhall, 140, 142; 137, 138; testimony of, 159 to 245, inclusive; 174, 181, 188, 193, 194, 195; communications to F. C. Schwedtman, 172, 183, 189, 190, 193, 196, 199, 201, 210, 225; communications from Schwedtman, 177, 180, 181, 183, 184, 190, 192, 197, 201, 203, 218; communications from H. R. Towne, 228, 229, 230, 231; communications to Towne, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232; communications to and from John W. Weeks, 234, 235; communications to A. V. Williams, 235, 236, 237, 239; communications from Williams, 237, 238, 239; communication from Thomas G. Baillie, 242; communication from George A. Dennison, 242; communication from W. G. Cooper, 244; communication to T. E. Durban, 244; communication to E. W. Carpenter, 245; communication to A. C. Stratford, 245; communication to E. H. Naylor, 245; 256, 270, 299, 300, 302, 311, 312, 330, 340, 342, 355, 359, 371, 379, 387, 414, 415, 419, 425, 436, 445, 449, 472, 618; correction in record, 937, 938, 939; 986, 987, 989, 990, 991, 993, 1011, 1012, 1014, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1027, 1028, 1080, 1082, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1095, 1098, 1100, 1105, 1108, 1109, 1111, 1114, 1115, 1117, 1118, 1126, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1148, 1170, 1173, 1238, 1239, 1242, 1245, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1254, 1261, 1268, 1272, 1273, 1279, 1280, 1304, 1308, 1312, 1314, 1315, 1339, 1367, 1368, 1398, 1403, 1517, 1562, 1661; testimony of, 1661 to 1669, inclusive; 1765, 1781, 1800, 1811, 1841, 1842, 1849, 1880, 1881, 1883, 1907, 1911, 1920, 1926, 1927, 1932, 1938, 1939, 1942, 1944, 1958, 1963, 1972, 1976, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2038; communication from George S. Boudinot, 2041, 2042; communication from J. Philip Bird, 2044, 2045; 2055, 2057, 2065, 2069, 2072, 2078, 2079, 2080; 2084, 2086, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2105; communication to John Kirby, jr., 2118, 2119; 2131, 2134, 2135, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2146, 2149, 2154, 2156, 2167, 2169, 2172, 2175, 2176, 2181, 2185, 2191, 2194, 2200, 2212, 2215, 2233, 2235; statement by, 2235 to 2262, inclusive; 2264, 2265; testimony of, 2271 to 2335, inclusive; 2341; communication to J. Philip Bird, 2340, 2341; communication to M. M. Mulhall, 2369; communication from Mulhall, 2370; 2406, 2462, 2482, 2486, 2506, 2513, 2530, 2568, 2569 2578, 2597, 2598, 2614, 2620, 2626, 2627, 2629, 2630, 2637, 2638, 2642, 2645. 2647 2650, 2652, 2653, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2668, 2672, 2674, 2675, 2677, 2712, 2765, 2768, 2788, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2805; communication to John Kirby, jr., 2805, 2806.
Employers' Association of Alliance (Ohio): 309.
Employers' Association of Boston (Mass.): 308.
Employers' Association of Buffalo (N. Y.): 308.
Employers' Association of Chicago (Ill.): 1031. 1037, 1661, 1662, 2873.
Employers' Association of Cleveland (Ohio): 309.
Employers' Association of Columbus (Ind.): 305.
Employers' Association of Detroit (Mich.): 306.
Employers' Association of Indianapolis (Ind.): 305.
Employers' Association of Kansas City (Mo.): 307.
Employers' Association of Marion (Ohio): 309.
Employers' Association of Minnesota: 235, 307.
Employers' Association of Niagara Falls (N. Y.): 308.
Employers' Association of Oregon: 309.
Employers' Association of Portsmouth (Ohio): 309.
Employers' Association of Quincy (Ill.): 309.
Employers' Association of Springfield (Mass.): 306.
Employers' Association of Utica (N. Y.): 308.
Employers' Association of Vermont: 310.

Employers' Association of Wilkes-Barre and Wyoming Valley: 309.
Employers' Council of Marion (Ind.): 305.
Employers' League of Auburn (N. Y.): 308.
Employers' Liability Association: 166.
Employers' Liability Commission of Ohio: 59, 220, 221, 222.
Engel's Buffet: 1677.
Engle, Lawrence D.: 837.
Erie Builders' Exchange, Erie, Pa.: 309.
Erie Business Men's Exchange, Erie, Pa.: 309.
Estes, Clarence E., assistant cashier Merchants' Loan & Trust Co., Chicago, Ill.: 1603, 1642; testimony of, 1642 to 1654, inclusive.
Eustis, H. E.: 306.
Evans, Daniel: 309.
Ewart, E. A.: 2881, 2883.
Ewell, James L., former editor Export American Industries: 85; testimony of, 247 to 276, inclusive.
Export American Industries: 253, 258, 265, 267, 268, 275.

Fairbanks, Charles W., former Vice President of the United States: 2415.
Fairchild, George W., Representative in Congress from the thirty-fourth New York district: 5, 6, 7, 16, 28, 88, 244, 245, 375, 383, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 435, 436, 437, 438, 442, 464, 468, 979, 1079, 1084, 1101, 1251, 1272, 1273, 1299, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1834, 1836, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1844, 2033, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2151, 2318, 2319, 2328, 2664, 2799, 2933; correspondence with House Lobby Committee, Appendix D, 2934.
Faison, Dr.: 1793.
Farum, Prof., of Yale: 219.
Farnsworth, Daniel F.: 311.
Farquhar, A. B.: 42, 91, 92; communication from W. D. Washington, 73; communications to Washington, 74, 91, 92; communication to George S. Boudinot, 105; 2379.
Farr, John R., Representative in Congress from the tenth Pennsylvania district: 2285, 2287.
Farrell, J. W.: 1519, 1924, 1925, 1929, 2133, 2134, 2742.
Farrer, Frank N.: 308.
Fassett, J. Sloat, former Representative in Congress from New York: 16, 520, 1101, 1297, 1334, 1335, 1342, 1391, 1809, 1853.
Faulkner, Charles J., former Senator from West Virginia: 2772.
Federal Employers' Liability Commission: 2354.
Federal Loan & Investment Co.: 841, 970.
Federation of Liquor Dealers of the District of Columbia: 1178, 1194, 1198, 1202.
Feeney, J. L.: 2471.
Feist, Joseph J.: 308.
Felheim, Lyman: 309.
Ferguson, Charles W.: 2604, 2606, 2607, 2853.
Fernandez, Luois ("Count"): 472, 473, 474, 995, 996, 1006, 1008, 1220, 1281, 1286, 1510.
Ferracute Machine Co.: 2339.
Fidelity Loan & Trust Co.: 841.
Fiegel, G. C.: 1505.
Finley, David E., Representative in Congress from the fifth South Carolina district: 942.
Finley, William T.: 2888, 2889.
Finnell, Bush: 304.
First National Bank, Auburn, Me.: 1651.
Fish, J. C.: 309.
Fisher, C : 309.
Fisher, Meyer: 1179.
Fisher & Norris: 60; communication to James E. Watson, 60.
Fitts, W. L.: 304.
Fitzgerald, John J., Representative in Congress from the seventh New York district: 542, 2515, 2519.
Fitzgerald rules amendment: 1573.
Fitzpatrick, J. J.: 2515.
Fleharty, attorney at law: 528, 529, 530, 610, 611, 624, 637, 1440; testimony of, 1453 to 1468, inclusive.
Fleischman, Julius N.: 324.

Fleming, George A.: 307, 409, 489, 532, 1130, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1141, 1144, 1145, 1148, 1149, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1234, 1246, 1247, 1317, 1319, 1320, 1419, 1453; testimony of, 1518 to 1563, inclusive; 1570, 1602, 1615, 1625, 1629, 1652, 1684.
Flint, Frank P., former Senator from California: 2361.
Floyd, John C., Representative in Congress from the third Arkansas district: 1012, 1846.
Focht, Benjamin K., former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania: 2610.
Foote, Allen R.: 107; communication to John Kirby, jr., 108, 111; 166.
Foraker, Joseph B., former Senator from Ohio: 16, 315, 326, 1275, 1338, 1352, 1682, 1881, 1904, 1905, 1919, 2668, 2851, 2852, 2904.
Fork and Knife Club of Kansas City: 195.
Fordney, James W., Representative in Congress from the eighth Michigan district: 86, 88, 116, 2510.
Forness, Arthur: 305.
Fort, J. Franklin: 1244, 1253, 1254, 2023, 2782, 2783.
Fort Worth Board of Trade, Fort Worth, Tex.: 310.
Fosdick, P. C.: 309.
Foss, George E., former Representative in Congress from Illinois: 1693.
Foster, C. C.: 1234, 1996, 2385, 2386, 2505, 2887.
Foster, D. J., former Representative in Congress from Vermont: 16, 2610.
Foster, E. W.: 310.
Foster, George H.: 1567.
Foster, W. A.: 943, 948, 949, 965, 1072, 1073, 1205, 1217.
Foulke, W. B.: 305.
Founders & Employers' Association: 304.
Fountain, Miss.: 1473, 1478.
Fowler, Charles N., former Representative in Congress from New Jersey: 16, 2763.
Fox River Valley Manufacturers' Association of Aurora (Ill.): 305.
Frankel, Philip D.: 309.
Frankfort (Ky.) Business Men's Club: 305.
Frank, I. W.: 2339.
Franks, congressional: 178, 179.
Frawley, David L.: 2235; exhibit of Mulhall account with National Association of Manufacturers, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2808.
Fremont (Nebr.) Commercial Club: 307.
French, H. W.: 304.
Fries, Rudolph: 308.
Frye, William P., former Senator from Maine: 2361.
Fuller, W. O., jr.: 2689, 2735, 2736.
Fullington, Ed.: 2667.
Fulton, H. K.: 597, 598, 752, 834, 837, 882, 883.
Furuseth, Andrew: 84, 2508, 2509, 2689, 2768.

Gaddis, Eugene E.: 837, 838.
Gaines, Charles: 78.
Gallagher, Thos.: 1387.
Gallagher, Thomas D., Representative in Congress from the eighth Illinois district, 1001.
Gallinger, Jacob H., Senator from New Hampshire: 16, 851, 1047, 1051, 2361.
Gamble, R. J., former Senator from South Dakota: 2361.
Gardner, Augustus P., Representative in Congress from the sixth Massachusetts district: 981, 1369, 1370, 1391, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2613.
Gardner, H. G.: 310.
Gardner, John, representative of the brewers: 1918, 1932, 1935, 1938, 1941, 1985, 1986, 1992, 2015, 2021, 2026.
Gardner, John J., former Representative in Congress from New Jersey: 88, 329, 342, 424, 425, 437, 442, 450, 464, 465, 535, 984, 1011, 1079, 1101, 1253, 1254, 1261, 1262, 1272, 1311, 1348, 1354, 1366, 1373, 1398, 1753, 1833, 1846, 1852, 1868, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1904, 1905, 1908, 1909, 1919, 1920, 1932, 1977, 1983, 1991, 1997, 1998, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2027, 2033, 2061, 2123, 2151, 2152, 2155, 2220, 2297, 2298, 2305, 2306, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2314, 2316, 2317, 2400, 2486, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2555, 2565, 2619, 2620, 2626, 2676, 2677, 2768, 2770, 2771; testimony of, 2779 to 2808, inclusive.
Gardner, R. W.: 308.
Garfield, James R., former Secretary of the Interior: 172.
Gates, John W.: 2627.
Gary, James A., former Postmaster General: 16.

George, Henry, jr., Representative in Congress from the twenty-first New York district: 1870.
Georgia Industrial Association: 304, 2358.
German-American Typographia: 2498, 2499.
Gephart, Robert E.: 310.
Gibbons, Cardinal: 2841, 2855.
Gibson, George: 1034, 1079.
Giles, J. E.: 2523.
Gill, John, jr., former Representative in Congress from Maryland: 1001, 1033, 1388, 1390, 1391, 1840, 1841, 1847, 1864, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1901, 1960, 2151, 2152, 2155, 2220, 2387.
Gillett, Fred H., Representative in Congress from the second Massachusetts district: 2291.
Gillett, George M.: 238.
Gillett, James N., former Representative in Congress from California: 2561.
Glenn, John M.: 57, 93, 96, 97, 98, 1129, 1141.
Glenny, J. A.: 2034.
Godchaux, Charles: 2742.
Goebel, Otto: 308.
Goldberg, Isaac: 308, 1405, 1408, 1409.
Gompers, Samuel, president American Federation of Labor: 18, 36, 58, 82, 105, 106, 112, 113, 121, 124, 141, 198, 203, 234, 468, 469, 482, 537, 616, 1000, 1032, 1033, 1098, 1099, 1165, 1240, 1244, 1245, 1264, 1290, 1298, 1427, 1430, 1588, 1589, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1675, 1678, 1793, 1856, 1858, 1888, 1889, 1899, 1977, 1991, 1997, 2009, 2010, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2089, 2091, 2118, 2121, 2202, 2203, 2260, 2261; circular letter to Senators and Representatives, 2272; 2274, 2275, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2283, 2290, 2294, 2345, 2346, 2361, 2362; testimony of, 2395 to 2463, inclusive; bill of grievances, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2467; testimony of, 2467 to 2533, inclusive; 2536, 2550, 2567, 2568, 2617, 2618, 2679, 2689, 2690, 2708, 2710, 2714, 2715, 2737, 2742, 2751, 2759, 2769, 2770, 2800, 2855.
Goodrich, Mr., Indiana political worker in the Watson campaign: 1873, 1896.
Gordon, Alexander: 324, 374, 375, 392, 393.
Gordon, Robert B., Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives: 695.
Gore, Rogers: 943, 1075, 1206.
Gore, Thomas P., Senator from Oklahoma: 2361.
Gorman, Frank: 1536, 1558.
Gorss, John E.: 308.
Gould, Mrs. J. M.: 1310, 1311, 1767, 1768, 1778, 1782, 1783, 1785, 1963.
Government Printing Office: 191, 433.
Cowdy, Capt.: 1911.
Cowdy, John K.: 2743.
Graham, James M., Representative in Congress from the Twenty-first Illinois district: 2610.
Gray, George, United States circuit court judge: 189.
Gray, W. I.: 307.
Greene, William S., Representative in Congress from the fifteenth Massachusetts district: 17, 981, 1369, 2613.
Greensboro (N. C.) Chamber of Commerce: 309.
Griffin, B.: 310.
Gros, Leon: 310.
Grosvenor bill: 2759.
Grosvenor, Charles H., former Representative in Congress from Ohio: 2759.
Guard, R. L.: 2523.
Guardian Trust Co. of New York: 1834.
Guild, Curtis: 1240, 1241, 1244, 2574.

Hacket, Charles: 319.
Hadley, Gov. (former governor of Missouri): 83.
Hahn, Fred A.: 841.
Haines, W. T.: 16.
Halden, Odin: 133.
Hale, Eugene, former Senator from Maine: 2269, 2361, 2362, 2743, 2745.
Hale, Mrs. Eugene: 2743.
Hall, B. F.: 304.
Hall, Elmer S.: 311.
Halstead, Albert: 329.
Hamilton & Hamilton, jr.: 2775.
Hamilton, M. Grant: 2345, 2424, 2506, 2523, 2538, 2540, 2551.

Hamilton, T. J.: 310.
Hamlin, Courtney W., Representative in Congress from the seventh Missouri district: 2610.
Hammond, Frank: 307.
Hammond, Winfield S., Representative in Congress from the second Minnesota district: 1704.
Hanch, C. C.: 44, 1894, 1896, 1897, 2038, 2119, 2343, 2566, 2887.
Hancock County (Ohio) Delegation: 2654.
Hand, James: 2127.
Hanley, J. Frank, former governor of Indiana: 2742, 2743.
Hanna, Marcus A., former Senator from Ohio: 2652.
Hannon, Charles A.: 2742.
Hano, Michael: 838.
Hanrahan, E. C.: 186, 187.
Hanscom, C. R.: 2742.
Hanson, J. T.: 307.
Harding, John E., former Representative in Congress from Ohio: 2156.
Harding, Charles: 416.
Harper, George B.: 308.
Harriman, Charles A.: 1763, 1856, 1863, 1864, 1887, 1888, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1902, 1903, 1953, 2010, 2275, 2758.
Harris, E. H.: 308.
Harris, John E.: 2742.
Harris, Robert O., former Representative in Congress from Massachusetts: 88.
Hart, William: 696, 697, 700, 712, 758, 789, 853, 854, 881, 932, 933, 1040, 1053, 1057, 1061, 1062, 1063.
Hartford County Employers' Association: 2064.
Hartnitz, Mr., Indianapolis brewer: 1910.
Hartwicke, A. H. G.: 308.
Harvester Trust: 1131, 1247.
Harvey, Charles M.: 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860.
Harvey, Hugh F.: 1178; testimony of, 1178 to 1201, inclusive; 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1630, 1631, 1636, 1638, 1680, 1681, 1687, 1689, 1690, 1763.
Haskins, Kittredge, former Representative in Congress from Vermont: 15, 137, 984, 1258, 2293, 2676, 2861, 2862.
Hathaway, C. M.: 305.
Haugen, Gilbert N., Representative in Congress from the fifth Iowa district: 18, 369, 981, 1369, 1370, 2608.
Havens, Munson: 107.
Hawley, R. B.: 2742, 2745.
Hawley, Willis C., Representative in Congress from the first Oregon district: 1012, 2026.
Hayes, Dennis A.: 2419.
Hazel-Atlas Glass Co.: 46; communication from secretary of the National Association of Manufacturers, 46.
Healy, B. C.: 305.
Hearst's Magazine: 1275, 1276, 1278, 1341.
Hearst publications: 94.
Hearst, William R., former Representative in Congress from New York: 1887, 1954, 2679.
Heer, F. J.: 220.
Heer, F. J., Printing Co.: 220.
Herr, R. H.: 220.
Heidrake, Charles: 304.
Heidenheimer, Isaac: 658; testimony of, 658 to 681, inclusive, and 779 to 791, inclusive; 791, 792, 793, 794, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 823, 825, 829, 830, 845, 849, 859, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 885, 886, 890, 891, 948, 965, 1010, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1057, 1058, 1062, 1063.
Heidenheimer, I. & B.: 546, 551, 552, 556, 560, 571, 572, 574, 577, 579, 582, 583, 584, 585, 587, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603.
Heiserman, E.: 730.
Heistand, H. O. S.: 324.
Helvering, G. T., Representative in Congress from the fifth Kansas district: 2258.
Hemenway, H. H.: 304.

Hemenway, James A., former Senator from Indiana: 16, 1910, 1911, 2616.
Henderson, Prof.: 219.
Hendrick, J. Thilman: 856.
Henry, E. Stephens, former Representative in Congress from Connecticut: 88.
Henry, George: 2778; communication from F. W. Wight, 2776, 2777.
Hensley, Walter L., Representative in Congress from the thirteenth Missouri district: 2501, 2502, 2503, 2555, 2556.
Hepburn act: 2512.
Hepburn-Warner bill: 205, 2367.
Hepburn, William P., former Representative in Congress from Iowa: 177.
Herrick, Myron T., former governor of Ohio: 16, 324, 2652, 2667, 2673.
Hersey, Ira C.: 306.
Heyburn, Weldon B., former Senator from Idaho: 118, 2089, 2118, 2359, 2506.
Hifeel, Anton C.: 1753, 1754.
Higgins, Edwin W., former Representative in Congress from Connecticut: 44, 88.
Hill, C. H.: 305.
Hill, Ebenezer J., former Representative in Congress from Connecticut: 88.
Hill, William H., jr.: 1742, 1835, 2745.
Hilliard, L. H.: 309.
Hillis, George H.: 305.
Hinckle, L. C.: 305.
Hinds, Asher C., Representative in Congress from the first Maine district: 2563.
Hines, Edward: 17, 149, 1166, 1945, 1948, 2873.
Hines, Joseph: 308.
Hinshaw, Edwin H., former Representative in Congress from Nebraska: 16, 23, 37, 60, 383, 385, 395.
Hitchcock, Frank H., former Postmaster General: 174
Hoban, Thomas F.: 307.
Hochschild, Kohn & Co.: 1146, 1499, 1503, 1650, 1796.
Hoggetts, F. C.: 310.
Hoile, James T.: 308.
Holder, Arthur: 2282, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2360, 2424, 2498, 2504, 2506, 2515, 2523, 2540, 2555.
Holland, William H.: 1245.
Home Loan Co.: 970, 974.
Holmes, R. J.: 309.
Holmes, William J.: 308.
Hoope, W. W.: 307, 2667.
Hopkins, Miss: 1041.
Hoppin, Bushrod: 1695.
Horning, George D.: 490, 491, 492, 494, 496, 497, 498, 504, 506, 545, 548, 549, 550, 552, 553, 555, 556, 557, 559, 560, 561, 563, 565, 571, 572, 574, 577, 579, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 631, 633, 634, 642, 644, 645, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 669, 670, 671, 672, 675, 678, 679, 680, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 735, 736, 737, 739, 740, 741, 742, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748; testimony of, 748 to 778, inclusive; 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 790; testimony of, 791 to 937, inclusive; 965, 967, 972, 973, 975, 978, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1040, 1042, 1043, 1045, 1054, 1055, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1067, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1074, 1076, 1077, 1207, 1413, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1434, 1435, 1482, 1496, 1554, 1562, 1576, 1583, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1599, 1606 1617, 1638, 1640, 1641, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1686, 1687, 1689, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1760, 1761.
Horning, J. L.: 304.
Horning, Mrs. George D.: 876, 1575, 1576, 1583, 1584.
Hotchkiss, G. W.: 305.
House Committee on Banking and Currency: 2763.
House Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor: 422, 446, 452, 543, 1424, 1698, 1699, 1706, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1720, 1726, 1732, 1735, 1737, 1768, 2688, 2764.
House Committee on the Judiciary: 205, 233, 236, 239, 286, 287, 288, 316, 328, 349, 350, 384, 385, 397, 466, 471, 476, 1013, 1021; committee membership in the Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, Fifty-eighth, Fifty-ninth, Sixtieth, Sixty-first, and Sixty-second Congresses, 1024, 1025; 1242, 1620, 1883, 2036, 2177, 2202, 2317, 2325, 2364, 2401, 2403, 2412, 2413, 2556, 2562, 2688, 2691, 2704, 2709, 2760, 2761, 2880.

House Committee on Labor: 471, 475, 476, 1013, 1254, 1353, 1574, 1575, 1882, 1887, 1960, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2032, 2035, 2176, 2179, 2302, 2305, 2306, 2313, 2314, 2324, 2498, 2502, 2503, 2556, 2576, 2769, 2780, 2786, 2792, 2794, 2796, 2797.
House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries: 368, 383, 384, 385, 395, 2688, 2689.
House Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads: 2780, 2806.
House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service: 2364, 2763.
Household Loan Co.: 841.
Houston (Tex.) Manufacturers' Association: 310.
Howard, Charles W.: 310.
Howell, Charles C.: 308.
Howells, George: 2017, 2020.
Howes, A. M.: 309.
Hoyt, S. W.: 304.
Hubbard, N. E.: 306.
Hubbard, Wales: 2742.
Huber, William D.: 2417.
Hughes, Charles E., former governor of New York: 1809.
Hughes, Charles J., former Senator from Colorado: 237.
Hughes, D. M., Representative in Congress from the twelfth Georgia district: 225.
Hughes eight-hour amendment: 539, 1438, 1445, 1446, 1448, 1449, 1513, 1575, 1692, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2355, 2361.
Hughes labor bill: 141 (H. R. 12419, 12533).
Hughes, Steward M.: 306.
Hughes, William, former Representative in Congress from New Jersey: 18, 58, 118, 141, 211, 214, 215, 263, 264, 270, 289, 301, 417, 426, 428, 429, 430, 449, 515, 519, 520, 521; testimony of, 538 to 543, inclusive; 1028, 1030, 1032, 1034, 1246, 1255, 1309, 1315, 1342, 1343, 1376, 1377, 1384, 1402, 1403, 1438, 1448, 1454, 1574, 1575, 1794, 1805, 1809, 1836, 1852, 1896, 1897, 1913, 1968, 1985, 1987, 1988, 2033, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2081, 2089, 2098, 2117, 2118, 2121, 2128, 2220, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2335, 2361, 2371, 2419, 2420, 2487, 2515, 2539, 2547, 2558, 2786.
Hugo, George B.: 306.
Hull, Cordell, Representative in Congress from the fourth Tennessee district: 2610.
Hull, John A. T., former Representative in Congress from Iowa: 2227.
Humphrey, William E., Representative in Congress from the first Washington district: 88.
Humphreys, Benjamin G., Representative in Congress from the third Mississippi district: 2610.
Hunt, A. J.: 308.
Hunt, John T., former Representative in Congress from Missouri: 2277, 2679, 2689.
Hunter, Henry G.: 308.
Hurley, William L.: 307.
"Hymns": 1008, 1281, 1286.

Illinois Lumber Dealers' Association: 305.
Illinois Manufacturers' Association: 93, 94, 98, 1141.
Imperial Hotel: 312.
Indianapolis Employers' Union: 2339.
Industrial Commission: 88, 103, 104, 2780.
Industrial Workers of the World: 2137, 2480.
Insinger, R.: 310.
International Association of Machinists: 2025, 2823.
International Association of Master House Builders and Decorators: 306.
International Harvester Co.: 1601.
International Structural Iron Workers' Union: 94.
International Time Recording Co.: 1797, 1798.
Ireland, Charles W.: 309.
Ireland, Coe S.: 2655; communication and affidavit by, 2655.
Irvine, Allen A.: 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 608, 609, 625, 641, 743, 1437, 1440, 1442; testimony of, 1479 to 1498, inclusive.
Isele, C. H.: 305.
Ivers, L. F.: 306.

Jackson, George M.: 1491.
Jackson, John W.: 304.
Jacob, Henry B.: 309.
Jacobs, Mr.: 1691.

James, Charles C.: 324.
James, Ollie M., former Representative in Congress from Kentucky: 354, 355, 957, 1075, 1206, 1260.
Janesville (Wis.) Manufacturers' Association: 311.
Jansen, H. A.: 305.
Jarvis, Charles M.: 44, 440, 1096, 1097, 1395, 1396, 1405, 1425, 1580, 1672, 1863, 1791, 2046, 2088, 2119, 2180, 2339.
Jenkins, John J., former Representative in Congress from Wisconsin: 15, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 149, 315, 316, 338, 352, 353, 985, 1251, 1530, 1645, 1852, 1944, 1946, 1947, 1948, 2148, 2152, 2277, 2287, 2292, 2295, 2296, 2707, 2822, 2824, 2846, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2880.
Jenkinson, Richard C.: 42.
Jewell, Mr.: 96, 99.
Job, Fred W.: 305, 1321, 1608, 1629, 1661, 1662, 1664, 1665, 2034, 2872.
Johnson, Ben, Representative in Congress from the fourth Kentucky district: 493, 571, 582, 683, 684, 742, 743, 851, 880, 882, 921, 922, 941 (testimony of, 941 to 968, inclusive, 975 to 976, inclusive, and 1074 to 1078, inclusive); 1074, 1205, 1207.
Johnson, E. H.: 305.
Johnson, John A., former governor of Minnesota: 189, 1523, 1572.
Johnson, W. B.: 953.
Johnson, William H.: 2025.
Johnson, W. R.: 307.
Jones, A. L.: 308.
Jones Bros.: 2742.
Jones, Wesley L., Senator from Washington: 1179.
Jones-Works bill: 1180, 1184, 1607.
Jordan, A. D.: 304.
Judson, William V., lieutenant colonel, United States Army: 949, 1076.

Kahn, Julius, Representative in Congress from the fourth California district: 225, 751.
Kansas City Team Owners' Association: 307.
Kansas City Master Plumbers' Association: 307.
Kansas State Retail Merchants' Association: 305.
Kase, Alva F.: 864, 871, 873, 923.
Kean, John, former Senator from New Jersey: 2361.
Keating, Edward, a Representative at Large in Congress from Colorado: 2285.
Keefe, Daniel J.: 2417.
Keeley, James: 1394.
Keliher, John A., former Representative in Congress from Massachusetts: 88.
Keliher, W. J.: 1181.
Kelly, J.: 2523.
Kelly, J. Fred.: 841, 842.
Kendall, August: 311.
Kendall, Charles: 311.
Kendall, Kuy J. S.: 309.
Kendall, N. E., former Representative in Congress from Iowa: 995, 1030, 1375, 2343, 2360.
Kendrick, Edward A.: 308.
Kendrick, J. C.: 310.
Kennedy, Rev. Father: 17, 1250.
Kennedy, Paul: 2422.
Kenyon, J. Miller: 685.
Kenyon-Webb bill: 1757.
Ketcham, John L.: 305.
Kidd, Frank A.: 2553.
Kilgore, Constantine B., former Representative in Congress from Texas: 2519.
Kimball, Edward B.: 778, 1065, 2110.
Kimball, Miss: 1216, 1219, 1570, 1638.
Kimball Piano Co.: 1131, 1132, 1135, 1139, 1604.
Kincheloe, James M.: 842.
King, Charles A.: 305.
Kinney, J. C.: 310.

Kirby, John, jr.: 16, 32, 33, 42, 68, 69, 71, 76; communication to W. D. Washington, 76, 77; 79; communications from James A. Emery, 79 to 115, inclusive; 88, 91; communications to Secretary Nagel, Department of Commerce and Labor, 91, 92, 93; communications to Emery, 93 to 115, inclusive; 95, 96, 97; communications to President Taft, 101 to 108, inclusive; 122, 203; communications from F. C. Schwedtman, 204, 219, 221; 207, 210, 217, 219, 220, 237, 256, 260, 266, 308, 309, 330, 363, 379, 411, 423, 424, 425, 427, 430, 438, 514, 595, 985, 1011, 1019, 1028, 1094, 1111, 1112, 1172, 1173, 1245, 1249, 1256, 1272, 1291, 1348, 1374, 1399, 1609, 1780, 1782, 1807, 1821, 1825, 1826, 1836, 1837, 1844, 1846, 1847, 1858, 1866, 1871, 1894, 1901, 1907, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1962, 1982, 1993, 1994, 1998, 1999, 2005, 2015, 2017, 2020, 2025, 2031, 2037, 2039, 2040; communication to M. M. Mulhall, 2047; communication from Mulhall, 2047; communication to J. Philip Bird, 2055; 2056, 2057, 2065, 2069, 2070, 2086, 2089, 2091, 2102, 2103, 2109, 2110, 2117; communication from Emery, 2118, 2119; 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2145; testimony of, 2145 to 2201, inclusive; 2162; communication to Bird, 2222; 2223, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2258, 2312, 2315; communication from Emery, 2343; 2366, 2370, 2374, 2389, 2394, 2408, 2506, 2560, 2561, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2681, 2717, 2787, 2795, 2805; communication to Emery, 2805; 2849, 2851, 2853, 2878, 2901, 2914.
Kirby, Mrs. John, jr.: 359.
Kirby, John, a reporter for the New York World: 153.
Klaasse, Mrs. Irene M. (Miss Mason): 1767; testimony of, 1767 to 1790, inclusive; 1790, 1792, 1863, 1964, 1965, 1966.
Klauber, Mr., New York World reporter: 152, 153.
Knox County Law Library Association: 2739.
Knox, Philander C., former Senator from Pennsylvania: 371, 372.
Konig, George, former Representative in Congress from Maryland: 372, 440.
Korbly, Charles A., Representative in Congress from the seventh Indiana district: 411.
Kries, Harry: 306.
Krock, Arthur: 957.
Krohn, Irwin M.: 309.
Küstermann, Gustav: 268.

Labor combinations, exemption of, from prosecution: 107, 108.
Lachmund, Paul: 311.
Lafean, Daniel F., former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania: 88.
La Follette, Robert M., Senator from Wisconsin: 80, 1252, 2161.
Landis, Charles B., former Representative in Congress from Indiana: 2131, 2211, 2212, 2214, 2215, 2597, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2853, 2854.
Lamar, David: 1875; statement by, 1916, 1917; 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952.
Lansdale, R. V.: 1499; testimony of, 1499 to 1505, inclusive.
Laskey, Mr.: 710.
Laughlin, Lawrence: 92.
Lawler, Oscar: 2319.
Lawrence, George P., former Representative in Congress from Massachusetts: 88.
Lawyers' Title Insurance Co.: 1436, 1447.
Leach, Robert M.: 306.
League of Remedial Loan Cos.: 970, 971, 972, 973.
Le Beume, L. T.: 307.
Lee, Edward: 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393.
Lee, Robert E., Representative in Congress from the twelfth Pennsylvania district: 2285.
Lemkuhl, A. T.: 1401, 1408.
Lennon, John B.: 2417.
Lenroot, Irvine L., Representative in Congress from the eleventh Wisconsin district: 981, 1252, 1369, 1370, 1948, 1978, 2608, 2610, 2613.
Leon Godchaux (Ltd.): 2237.
Leonard, B.: 944, 971, 974.
Lever, Asbury F., Representative in Congress from the seventh South Carolina district: 2610.
Lewis, Clarence B.: 838.
Lewis, David J., Representative in Congress from the sixth Maryland district: 439, 440, 1352, 2285, 2383, 2498, 2501, 2502, 2551, 2555, 2556.
Lewis, J. Hamilton, Senator from Illinois: 448, 950.
Lewis, Harrison H., editor American Industries: 80, 256, 259, 275.
Lewis, Vivian M.: 1255, 1881, 1882, 1905, 1920, 2783, 2784, 2803.
Lewis, William B.: 838.
Lewiston Journal: 1238.
Libby, McNeal & Libby: 1548.
Lilley, George L., former Representative in Congress from Connecticut: 2291.

Lincoln, G. G.: 1208.
Lincoln, Mr., of New York World: 609, 627, 628, 1263.
Lincoln League of Indiana: 2280, 2469, 2829.
Lincoln National Bank, Washington, D. C.: 870.
Lindbergh, C. A., Representative in Congress from the sixth Minnesota district: 2610
Link Belt Co. of Chicago: 93, 1141, 1142, 1318, 1326, 1527, 1528.
Linthicum, J. Charles, Representative in Congress from the fourth Maryland district: 440, 1351.
Littauer, Lucius N., former Representative in Congress from New York: 2746.
Liquor Dealers' Association: 1183, 1909.
Liquor Dealers' Association of Chicago: 1143.
Littlefield, Charles E., former Representative in Congress from Maine: 16, 82, 124, 182, 183, 185, 190, 193, 197, 198, 199, 216, 242; communication from J. W. Van Cleave, 188, 189; communication to Van Cleave, 184; communications to M. M. Mulhall, 216, 242, 262, 270, 280, 281, 295, 297, 301, 315, 321, 331, 332, 346, 347, 351, 373, 381, 383, 384, 385, 395, 398, 460, 461, 474, 1084, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1852, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1859, 1860, 1862, 1863, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1905, 1922, 1939, 1952, 1969, 1977, 2039, 2040, 2056, 2076, 2081, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2148, 2275, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2294, 2295, 2412, 2413, 2443, 2477, 2493, 2513, 2514, 2522, 2548, 2687; testimony of, 2689 to 2779, inclusive; minority House Report 1522, part 2, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session, from Judiciary Committee, limiting the meaning of the word "conspiracy," accompanying House bill 11060, 2691 to 2704, inclusive; communication to A. S. Draper, copy of which was sent to other campaign contributors, 2741, 2742; communication to Marshall Cushing, 2771; communication from Cushing, 2771, 2772, 2789, 2807, 2821, 2822, 2824, 2879, 2880, 2883, 2907, 2908; Appendix E, 2936.
Littlefield liquor bill: 348.
Littlepage, Thomas P.: 17, 2262; testimony of, 2262 to 2271, inclusive, 2800.
Livery Undertakers' Mutual Association: 307.
Lloyd bill: 2364, 2370.
Lloyd, James T., Representative in Congress from the first Missouri district: 80, 323, 345, 441, 449, 478, 1097, 1099, 1100, 1165, 1309, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1693, 1711, 1713, 1720, 1721, 2610.
Lloyd, Hiram: 2895.
Lobeck, C. O., Representative in Congress from the second Nebraska district: 2610.
Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of: 2403.
Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of: 2403.
Lodge, Henry Cabot, Senator from Massachusetts: 6, 16, 1251, 2454, 2571.
Lodge, William: 2181.
Long, C. C.: 301.
Longworth, Nicholas, former Representative in Congress from Ohio: 2570.
Loom Fixers' Union: 2082, 2906, 2907.
Lorimer, William, former Senator from Illinois: 17, 1089, 1166.
Loring, Harrison, jr.: 2745, 2755.
Los Angeles (Cal.) Merchants & Manufacturers' Association: 304.
Lothrop, Mr., counsel for Santa Fe Railroad Co.: 65.
Loudenslager, Henry C., former Representative in Congress from New Jersey: 1255, 2652, 2672.
Louderbough, Harry: 307.
Louisville Courier-Journal: 957.
Louisville Evening Post: 957.
Lovering, William C., former Representative in Congress from Massachusetts: 979.
Lowe, D. E. & Co.: 2339, 2578.
Low, Seth: 205.
Lucas, W. J.: 307.
Ludlow, Mr., district commissioner: 1036.
Ludwigh Nissen & Co.: 2339.
Ludy, Ed.: 2673.
Lumber Trust: 1252.
Lyman, Robert H.: 1565.
Lynn (Mass.) Shoe Manufacturers' Association: 306.
Lyon-Healy, Chicago, Ill.: 1140.

MacIntyre, John: 17, 297, 1247.
McAlpin Hotel, New York: 153.
McCahan, W. J., Sugar Refining Co.: 2238.
McCall, Samuel W., former Representative in Congress from Massachusetts: 2277.
McCardle, Mr., campaign worker for Watson: 2565.

McCarroll, William: 42.
McCarter, Robert H., counsel for National Association of Manufacturers: 3, 39, 270, 271, 272, 273, 1341, 2061; statement by, 2061, 2062, 2337.
McCarty, James S.: 2772.
McCarty, Thomas F.: 308.
McClave, W. C.: 1255.
McCleary, James T., former Representative in Congress from Minnesota: 2881.
McComas, Louis E., former Senator from Maryland: 18, 280, 283, 284, 285, 286, 289, 290, 291, 318, 323, 331, 1236, 1253, 1851, 1852, 1865, 1868, 1914, 1929, 1978, 2274.
McCombs, William F.: 778.
McCormick, Fred.: 1559, 1560.
McCormick, Harold F.: 32, 154, 155, 457, 458, 459, 1002, 1131, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1152, 1159, 1161, 1247, 1316, 1318, 1319, 1328, 1330, 1362, 1499, 1503, 1508, 1529, 1530, 1532, 1538, 1559, 1601, 1602, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1643, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1650.
McConway & Turley Co.: 2339.
McCoy, Walter I., Representative in Congress from the ninth New Jersey district: 102, 103.
McCreary, George D., former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania: 88.
McCullough, William H.: 309.
McDermott, Clarence: 856.
McDermott, James T., Representative in Congress from the fourth Illinois district: 10, 15, 32, 40, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 421, 422, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 440, 441, 443, 444, 446, 447, 451, 452, 453, 454, 457, 458, 459, 465, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 501, 502, 503, 504, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 526, 528, 529, 531, 532, 534, 536, 537, 539, 540, 553, 563, 565, 566, 568, 569, 577, 578, 581, 592, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 617, 618, 619, 620, 624, 626, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 672, 673, 674, 675, 680, 683, 684, 692, 696, 697, 723, 743, 761, 762, 763, 764, 767, 768, 773, 774, 775, 802, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 825, 826, 855, 856, 857, 877, 878, 879, 889, 896, 897, 899, 909, 910, 911, 912, 930, 933, 934, 936, 937, 963, 964, 979, 980, 981, 982, 985, 989, 991, 995, 997, 998, 999, 1000, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1018, 1078, 1079, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1092, 1096, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1107, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1115, 1117, 1118, 1120, 1121, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1131, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1174, 1175, 1177; telephone account rendered by Miss Daley, 1177; 1186, 1187, 1191, 1194, 1196, 1197, 1200, 1204, 1213, 1217, 1218, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1244, 1257, 1261, 1273, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319; statement of campaign accounts rendered to Clerk of the House for 1912, 1322, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326; 1327, 1330, 1337, 1338, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1347, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1370, 1371, 1374, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1382, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1402, 1404, 1406, 1407, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1458, 1460, 1461, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1483, 1486, 1487, 1489, 1495, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1548, 1550, 1551, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1558, 1561, 1562, 1565; testimony of, 1565 to 1642, inclusive; 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1662, 1653, 1663, 1668; testimony of, 1671 to 1693, inclusive; 1671, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1698, 1701, 1703, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1715, 1716, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1727, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1737, 1738; testimony of, 1738 to 1739, inclusive; 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1754, 1755, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1762, 1763, 1766, 1767, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1784, 1785, 1787, 1788; testimony of, 1790 to 1793, inclusive; 1796, 1843, 1850, 1865, 1941, 1955, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1983, 1990, 1991, 2000, 2005, 2013, 2015, 2021, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2151, 2211, 2285, 2287, 2382, 2484, 2485, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2519, 2522, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2541, 2542, 2548, 2550, 2553, 2554, 2807.
McDermott, Mrs. James T.: 976, 977, 1234, 1247, 1449, 1518, 1524, 1527, 1539, 1548, 1549, 1793.

McDermott, John A. (brewers' association): 482, 491, 497, 498, 504, 506, 546, 634, 635, 651, 652, 653, 697, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 769, 815, 816, 878, 879, 913, 914, 930, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1143, 1144, 1148, 1168, 1318, 1402, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1440, 1441, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1449, 1450, 1453, 1454, 1456, 1457, 1459, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1522, 1523, 1572, 1573, 1592, 1593, 1600, 1617, 1627, 1638, 1639, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1678, 1679, 1682; testimony of, 1741 to 1767, inclusive; 1791, 1792, 1793, 1915, 1932, 1934, 1935, 1941, 1983, 1984.
McDonald, Mr., Washington labor representative: 1041.
McDonald, J. W.: 1953.
McDonnell, James: 2847, 2848.
McDonnell, John: 305.
McDougall, J. T.: 816.
McDowell, Alexander: 1590.
McEnery, Samuel D., former Representative in Congress from Louisiana: 2361.
McFadden, John: 304.
McFarland, Henry B.: 685, 863.
McFarland, J. Horace: 310.
McGan, L. E., former Representative in Congress from Illinois: 2494.
McGillicuddy, Daniel J., Representative in Congress from the second Maine district: 297, 1852, 1859, 1860, 1887, 1890, 2039, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2414, 2751.
McGinnis, John: 305.
McGown, Hugh: 1872.
McGregor, president of the Union Iron Workers of San Francisco: 2287.
McGuire, Charles: 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 927, 929.
McGuire, Bird S., Representative in Congress from the first Oklahoma district: 1638.
McInerney, Michael: 1135, 1143, 1168, 1246, 1288, 1337, 1524, 1527, 1539, 1548, 1549, 1567, 1568, 1648.
McIsaac, H. C.: 309.
McKellar, Kenneth D., Representative in Congress from the tenth Tennessee district: 225.
McKennion, H. E.: 2848.
McKenzie, John C., former Representative in Congress from Illinois: 88.
McKinley, William, former President of the United States: 279, 282, 324, 329, 330, 346, 1529, 1597, 1605, 1980, 2151, 2299, 2652, 2726, 2727, 2821, 2882.
McKinley, William B., former Representative in Congress from Illinois: 16, 88.
McKinney, D. W.: 309.
McKnight, Edward: 2742, 2782.
McLachlan, Dr. N. L.: 2653; communication to Ralph D. Cole, 2654.
McLaughlin, George: 2767, 2768.
McLean, John R.: 1040, 1062.
McMichael, Carrie N.: 610, 611.
McMichael, Isaac H., former chief page of the House of Representatives: 15, 338; testimony of, 402 to 499, inclusive; testimony of, 501 to 538, inclusive; 541, 552, 564, 565, 568, 569, 575, 581; testimony of, 608 to 658, inclusive; 651, 666, 667, 668, 674, 761, 762, 763, 764, 768, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 828, 874, 875, 878, 908, 909, 930, 931, 934, 937, 979, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 991, 993, 997, 998, 1000, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1032, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1094, 1095, 1099, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1105, 1109, 1111, 1112, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1122, 1127, 1128, 1130, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1153, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1160, 1161, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1214, 1217, 1219, 1220, 1222, 1223, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1246, 1247, 1263, 1264, 1273, 1281, 1284, 1285, 1287, 1291, 1293, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1299, 1306, 1307, 1311, 1328, 1330, 1339, 1343, 1346, 1349, 1354, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1369, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1382, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1396, 1400, 1401; testimony of, 1401 to 1418, inclusive; 1418, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1425, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1431, 1434, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1450, 1451, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1471, 1474, 1475, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1484, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1491, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1505, 1568, 1569, 1571, 1574, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1590, 1591, 1596, 1598, 1599, 1602, 1603, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1620, 1621, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1639, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1704, 1707, 1709, 1715, 1716, 1726, 1738, 1744, 1745, 1749, 1750, 1760, 1768, 1769, 1771, 1772, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1783, 1784, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1797, 1847, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1939, 1943, 1958, 1959, 1963, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2015, 2035, 2057, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2109, 2110, 2119, 2141, 2200, 2320, 2322, 2326, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2336, 2342, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2516, 2543, 2619, 2622, 2623, 2627, 2628, 2635, 2637, 2642, 2643, 2648, 2787, 2788.

McMichael, L. E.: 610.
McMichael, Nellie: 611.
McMillan, George B.: 309.
McNamara Bros.: 438, 439, 468, 471, 1094, 1095, 1589.
McNamara case: 94, 98.
McNamara, John J.: 94.
McQuillan, A. D.: 305.
McRea, H. C.: 133, 134, 136, 137.
McRogers, C. B.: 305.

Mackey, Thomas M.: 835.
MacVeagh, Franklin: 2340.
Madden, Martin B., Representative in Congress from the first Illinois district: 88, 1638, 2005, 2033, 2034.
Madison, Edmund H., former Representative in Congress from Kansas: 127, 970, 2026, 2028, 2118, 2122, 2166, 2317, 2318, 2323, 2334, 2786, 2787, 2789, 2793.
Maher, James P., Representative in Congress from the fifth New York district: 2285, 2287.
Maine State Federation of Labor: 2413.
Malby, George R., former Representative in Congress from New York: 88, 353, 2287, 2318, 2706.
Mallory & Co.: 2742.
Manatee Board of Trade (Palmetto, Fla.): 304.
Manly, George C.: 182, 186.
Mann, Charles: 1410.
Mann, James R., Representative in Congress from the second Illinois district: 81, 480, 481, 540, 1087, 1410, 1462, 1463, 1693, 1714, 2034, 2343, 2360, 2706, 2806.
Manning, D. F.: 2523.
Manington, D. H.: 2653, 2669, 2673.
Mannington, railway commissioner of Ohio: 175, 177.
Manufacturers' Association of Belleville (Ill.): 305.
Manufacturers' Association of Chicago: 1126, 1129, 1132.
Manufacturers' Association of Indiana: 305.
Manufacturers' Association of Missouri: 307.
Manufacturers' Association of New Jersey: 2114.
Manufacturers' Association of New York: 210, 308.
Manufacturers' Association of the Northwest: 309.
Manufacturers' Association of Ohio: 185, 186.
Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia: 310.
Manufacturers' Association of Pittsburgh: 309.
Manufacturers & Merchants' Association of Kansas City (Mo.): 307.
Manufacturers & Producers' Association of Knoxville (Tenn.): 310.
Manufacturers' Club of Cincinnati: 309.
Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia: 243.
Manufacturers' Magazine of New York: 45, 46.
Marble Cutters' Union: 2679.
Margeson, G. F.: 306.
Marshall, A. G.: 308, 359, 2200.
Marshall Field & Co.: 1132, 1139.
Marshall, Thomas R., Vice President of the United States: 1889. 1911, 1912, 2615.
Marston, W. H.: 304.
Maritime Law Association: 123.
Martin, Henry B.: 2058 (statement by: 2058, 2059, 2060).
Martin, John F.: 311.
Martin, Thomas S., Senator from Virginia: 1039, 1051, 1052.
Martindale, Samuel S.: 310.
Mason, Irene F.: 423, 445, 1101, 1108, 1113, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1619, 1637.
Mason, Stephen C.: 2341.
Massachusetts Association of Heating & Ventilating Engineers & Contractors: 306.
Master Bakers' Club of Kansas City (Mo.): 307.
Master Bakers' Exchange of Syracuse (N. Y.): 308.
Master Builders' Association of Allegheny (Pa.): 310.
Master Builders' Exchange of York (Pa.): 310.
Master Expressmen's Association of Springfield (Mass.): 306.
Master Painters' Association of Denver (Colo.): 304.
Master Painters & Decorators' Association of Utica (N. Y.): 308.

Master Steel Metal Workers' Association of Minneapolis (Minn.): 307.
Masters, J. S.: 804, 843, 857, 871, 872, 923, 928.
Maxwell, J. H.: 220.
Maxwell, J. M.: 1913, 1914, 2000.
Maxwell, Perriton: 1275, 1277, 1341.
Maynard, Harry L., former Representative in Congress from Virginia: 17, 1373.
Marx, Carl: 2474.
Meese, Constant: 2339.
Meese & Gottfield Co.: 2339.
Mellon, George A.: 307.
Memphis Industrial League: 310.
Mercantile Loan Co.: 970.
Merchants' Association of Boston (Mass.): 2571.
Merchants' Association of Catskill (N. Y.): 308.
Merchants' Association of New York: 229.
Merchants' Loan & Trust Co., Chicago, Ill.: 457; communication concerning McCormick check: 457, 458; 1146, 1499, 1500, 1503, 1530, 1642, 1644, 1645.
Merchants & Mechanics' Savings Bank, Washington, D. C.: 747, 1401, 1408.
Merchant Marine and Fisheries, House Committee on: 349.
Merchants' National Bank, Baltimore, Md.: 1338, 1647.
Merchant Tailors' National Exchange: 310.
Merchant Tailors' National Protective Association: 307.
Merriman, C. W.: 311.
Merritt, C. H.: 122.
Merritt, Schuyler: 231.
Merriwether, Mr., New York newspaper man cited by Easby-Smith: 656, 657, 1408, 1409.
Merton, W. H.: 308.
Meserve, Rev. H. C.: 17, 1250.
Mesta, George.: 309.
Metal Trades Association of New York: 308.
Metal Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia: 310.
Metcalf, F. H.: 92, 2742.
Miles, H. E.: 17, 150, 180; communication from F. C. Schwedtman, 163; communication to Schwedtman, 160, 162, 171, 172; 333, 340, 1193, 1341, 1344, 1780, 1782, 1820, 1844, 1962, 1973, 1974, 1997, 2280, 2281, 2339, 2574, 2599, 2600, 2601; communications to J. W. Van Cleave, to John Kirby, jr., to H. R. Towne, and to J. C. Cobb, 2599, 2600; 2881, 2828, 2895.
Millard, Mr.: 348.
Miller, Clarence B., Representative in Congress from the eighth Minnesota district: 188.
Miller, J. A.: 2656.
Milliken, Edward.: 2742.
Minnerancher, F. C.: 42.
Miners' Union of Pennsylvania: 2907.
Missouri Edison Co.: 2834.
Missouri Red Book: 224.
Mitchell, John: 18, 83, 121, 203, 616, 1240, 1878, 2462, 2509, 2878
Mitchell, S. P.: 308.
Mizzell, Ed.: 1344, 1345.
Moffet, John A.: 2345, 2424, 2506, 2522, 2540.
Moon injunction bill: 238, 239, 1027, 1028, 1377, 1380, 2341, 2798.
Moon, John A., Representative in Congress from the third Tennessee district: 63, 64, 80, 235.
Moon, Reuben O., former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania: 47, 49, 50, 86, 93; communications from James A. Emery, 123, 125, 126; communications to James A. Emery, 123, 125, 126; 217, 243, 426, 1378, 1842, 2093, 2364, 2798.
Moore, J. Hampton, Representative in Congress from the third Pennsylvania district: 88, 353, 2005, 2032, 2034.
Moore, Edward B.: 358, 359.
Moore, Hugh C.: 310.
Moore, Opha: 127.
Moore, Walter B.: 309.
Monat, P. J.: 311.
Monday Evening Club: 753, 907, 1041.
Montantus, P. E.: 309.
Montgomery (Ala.) Commercial Club: 303.
Morawitz, Victor: 205, 1977.

Morganthau, Henry: 778, 880, 1059, 2417.
Morrison, Frank, secretary American Federation of Labor: 18, 121, 616, 1096, 1240, 2345, 2417, 2423, 2470, 2475, 2476, 2493, 2522, 2525, 2534; testimony of, 2534 to 2558, inclusive; 2550.
Morse, E. A., former Representative in Congress from Wisconsin: 1370, 1372, 2608.
Moss, Mr.: 759, 760, 766, 898.
Mouser, G. E.: former Representative in Congress from Ohio: 383, 385, 395.
Mudd, Sidney E., former Representative in Congress from Maryland: 174, 280, 1236, 1820, 1844, 1978.
Muirheid, Walter G.: 307.
Mulhall-McDermott Chicago campaign list: 636, 637, 641.
Mulhall, Martin M.: 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 51, 53; communication from J. Philip Bird, 53; 131, 133; communication to F. C. Schwedtman, 133; 137; communication from Schwedtman, 138; 139; communications to James A. Emery, 132, 136, 139; communications from Emery, 140, 141, 142; statement by, 143, 144; testimony of, 145, 146, 147, 148; 150, 151, 152, 153, 154; communication from John A. Chapman, agent, inclosing McCormick check, 155; receipt to McCormick for same, 155; 156, 157, 158, 173; communications to Schwedtman, 173, 174, 175; 201, 202, 207, 208, 213, 216, 264, 265, 270; testimony of, 278 to 365, inclusive; communication to J. Philip Bird, 357; 409, 410, 414, 415, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 435, 437, 438, 441, 446, 447, 448, 449, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 472, 473, 475, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 485, 486, 488, 501, 502, 503, 505, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 529, 533, 534, 535, 537, 541, 542, 608, 609, 610, 611, 613, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 627, 636, 637, 639, 645, 646, 655, 679; testimony of, 979 to 1026, inclusive; testimony of, 1027 to 1034, inclusive; testimony of, 1078 to 1123, inclusive; testimony of, 1125 to 1174, inclusive; 1214, 1215, 1217, 1219, 1223, 1227, 1342; testimony of, 1343 to 1400, inclusive; 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1425, 1427, 1428, 1435, 1439, 1441, 1442, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1458, 1462, 1463, 1465, 1468, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1480, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1497, 1498, 1503, 1506, 1509, 1510, 1516, 1522, 1523, 1527, 1545, 1548, 1557, 1558, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1571, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1596, 1598, 1599, 1601, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1615, 1619, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1668, 1669, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1678, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1690, 1691, 1695, 1696, 1701, 1709, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1731, 1747, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786; testimony of, 1851 to 1874; 1877 to 1916; 1919 to 1954; 1954 to 2005, inclusive; contract with the Press Publishing Co., 1954; testimony of, 2009 to 2135, inclusive; communication to Dr. G. L. Crockett, 2010; communication from W. B. Wilson, 2012; 2018, 2037, 2039, 2040; communication to J. P. Bird, 2040, 2041; from Bird, 2043, 2047; to Bird, 2049; communication to John Kirby, jr., 2047; from Kirby, 2046; communication from Bird, 2051, 2052, 2054; 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2065, 2067, 2070, 2071, 2074, 2075, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2094, 2096; communication from Bird, 2099, 2100; 2100, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2113, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2120, 2121; communication from Bird, 2122; 2122, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2140, 2141, 2145, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2160, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2178, 2185, 2197, 2198, 2202, 2205, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2233, 2234; Mulhall's expense totals, in account with the National Association of Manufacturers, 2113, 2114; 2235, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2252, 2262, 2263, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2270, 2275, 2296, 2297, 2299, 2305, 2306, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2313, 2314, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2325, 2326, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2336; communication from James A. Emery, 2369; to Emery, 2370; 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2395, 2421, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2505, 2514, 2516, 2517, 2522, 2524, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2561, 2563, 2566, 2569, 2573, 2576, 2602; Watson "blacklist," 2608, 2609; 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2632, 2634, 2635, 2636 2637, 2638, 2640, 2642, 2644, 2645, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2656, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2686, 2707, 2711, 2712, 2717, 2718, 2719; communication from Bird, 2720; 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2744, 2748; communication from C. E. Littlefield, 2749; 2749, 2750, 2753, 2758, 2759, 2765, 2766;

communication to Littlefield, 2766, 2767; communication from Littlefield, 2767; 2768, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2787, 2788, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2795; communication from John Kirby, jr., and J. P. Bird, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825; communication from F. C. Schwedtman, 2835; 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2845, 2846, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2852, 2860, 2862, 2863, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893; expense account with National Association of Manufacturers, in connection with the Watson campaign of 1908, 2893, 2894; 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901; 2902, 2906, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2918, 2920, 2922, 2924, 2925.
Mulhall, Lula K.: 263, 264, 265, 270, 1236, 1820, 1844, 1978.
Mullen, C. T.: 305.
Mundheim, Samuel: 1250.
Murdock, Victor, Representative in Congress from the eighth Kansas district: 2608.
Murphy, A. P., former Representative in Congress from Missouri: 2515.
Murphy, Charles: 1938.
Murphy, J. J.: 440.
Murphy, J. M.: 1096, 1097, 1395, 1396, 1404, 1423, 1671, 1672, 1683, 1692, 1697.
Murphy, John: 1404, 1471, 1473, 1474, 1496, 1578, 1580, 1581, 1582.
Murphy-McDermott aeroplane: 413, 440.
Murphy, Timothy: 422, 447, 448, 487, 488, 642, 643, 1031, 1220, 1264, 1404, 1634.
Murphy, H. C.: 309.

Nafziger, R. T.: 307.
Nagel, Charles, former Secretary of Commerce and Labor: 91, 2800, 2801.
Nashville (Tenn.) Board of Trade: 310.
National Anti-Saloon League: 1757, 1758, 1762.
National Association of Agricultural Implement Manufacturers: 2249.
National Association of Box Manufacturers: 305.
National Association of Hosiery Manufacturers: 310.
National Association of Manufacturers: 4, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 29, 30, 31, 35, 40, 41; incorporation charter of and amendment thereto, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45; 46; communication from Barnhart Bros. & Spindler, 47; 49, 72, 73, 80, 95, 106, 112, 114, 118, 121, 122, 124, 134, 137, 149, 152, 153, 156, 157, 159, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 172, 173, 176, 184, 185, 193, 197, 203, 205, 209, 213, 214, 224, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257, 259, 261, 265, 268, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 285, 287, 292, 298, 302, 303, 311, 312, 318, 319, 320, 322, 325, 326, 327, 330, 331, 335, 341, 342, 344, 345, 346, 353, 356, 357, 361, 362, 365, 372, 374, 375, 377, 378, 379, 380, 385, 386, 387, 391, 393, 395, 396, 397, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 422, 443, 444, 454, 460, 468, 470, 479, 481, 486, 505, 536, 537, 613, 617, 618, 640, 646, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 988, 998, 999, 1000, 1001, 1007, 1010, 1012, 1014, 1015, 1018, 1026, 1028, 1085, 1091, 1097, 1100, 1105, 1108, 1111, 1116, 1122, 1126, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1168, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1275, 1278, 1283, 1291, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1353, 1366, 1372, 1373, 1390, 1438, 1470, 1476, 1477, 1545, 1574, 1575, 1580, 1587, 1588, 1598, 1601, 1615, 1619, 1669, 1674, 1695, 1747, 1761, 1764, 1765, 1768, 1779, 1781, 1792, 1793, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1810, 1812, 1813, 1815, 1817, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1824, 1825, 1827, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1837, 1843, 1930, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1942, 1953, 1954, 1956, 1969, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1976, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2004, 2005, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015, 2017, 2018, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2029, 2033, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2046, 2057, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2068, 2075, 2085, 2094, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2103, 2106, 2107, 2111, 2114, 2128, 2130, 2131, 2134, 2136, 2141, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2150, 2152, 2153, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2175, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2189, 2193, 2196, 2198, 2199, 2201, 2207, 2213, 2216, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2244, 2245, 2248, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2256, 2281, 2294, 2295, 2297, 2300, 2301, 2309, 2311, 2319, 2324, 2325, 2327, 2338, 2340, 2350, 2353, 2356, 2357, 2365, 2377, 2378, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2385, 2386, 2402, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2409, 2414, 2419, 2422, 2462, 2481, 2500, 2501, 2510, 2520, 2521, 2528, 2541, 2549, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2573; handbook for 1907, 2578, 2579 to 2596, inclusive; 2597, 2598, 2599, 2606, 2619, 2622, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2659, 2663, 2664, 2671, 2672, 2675, 2681, 2704, 2711, 2717, 2719, 2720, 2723, 2724, 2728, 2729, 2732, 2740, 2744, 2755, 2756, 2758, 2765, 2770, 2771, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2795, 2803, 2804, 2807, 2819, 2824, 2826, 2827; handbook for 1907, 2827, 2828; 2829, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2840, 2843, 2844, 2849, 2850, 2853, 2854, 2856, 2857, 2867, 2868, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2889, 2898, 2899, 2902, 2909, 2911, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2925, 2928, 2929.
National Association of Master Bakers: 310.

National Association of Shoe Wholesalers: 305.
National Association of Stove Manufacturers: 185, 186.
National Bank of Washington, Washington, D. C.: 568.
National Brewers' Association: 1129, 1130, 1131, 1522, 2873, 2874.
National Business Congress: 258.
National Clay Machinery Association: 309.
National Confectioners' Association: 307.
National Council for Industrial Defense: 18, 31, 40, 95, 97, 118, 121, 122, 149, 150, 165, 171, 185, 194, 209, 249, 252, 253, 267, 275, 302, 303, 311, 312, 322, 326, 342, 357, 361, 1091, 1114, 1171, 1172, 1239, 1309, 1382, 1391, 1864, 1932, 1941, 1968, 1972, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2057, 2064, 2066, 2067, 2073, 2079, 2080, 2084, 2088, 2089, 2098, 2104, 2107, 2136, 2137, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2171, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2182, 2183, 2192, 2194, 2196, 2219, 2225, 2226, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2240, 2245; organization of, 2245, 2246; 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2255, 2260, 2264, 2265, 2295, 2296, 2313, 2327, 2345, 2347, 2356, 2359, 2365, 2377, 2380, 2402, 2405, 2407, 2510, 2599, 2682; list of associations embraced, 2683, 2686; 2825, 2826, 2832, 2833, 2843, 2849, 2853, 2867, 2889, 2890, 2903, 2904, 2909, 2911, 2913, 2915, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2928, 2930, 2931.
National Electric Lamp Association: 309.
National Electrical Contractors' Association: 307.
National Erectors' Association: 94, 2407.
National Exchange Bank of Baltimore (Md.): 1500, 1501, 1503, 1650, 1651, 1654.
National Founders' Association: 182, 238.
National Foundry Co. of Chicago: 1139.
National Grange: 2772.
National Hardware Association: 250, 252.
National Liquor Dealers' Association: 1182.
National Lithographers' Association: 2337.
National Lock Washer Co.: 102.
National Machine Tool Builders' Association: 309.
National Manufacturers' Co.: 18, 249, 254, 267, 269, 275, 276, 2916.
National Marine Bank of Baltimore (Md.): 1401, 1408.
National Merchants' Marine Congress: 256, 265.
National Metal Trades: 1248.
National Metal Trades' Association: 244, 341, 342, 1825, 1886.
National Metropolitan Bank of Washington, Washington, D. C.: 747, 1186, 1401, 1408.
National Monetary Commission: 1926.
National Packing Co.: 1548.
National Slack Cooperage Manufacturers' Association: 306.
National Socialist Press: 78.
National Society to Promote Industrial Education: 203.
National Sugar Refining Co.: 2920.
National Tariff Association: 55, 56, 2173, 2574, 2829.
National Typothetæ of America: 17, 298, 1247.
Naylor, Emmet Hayne: 245; communication to James A. Emery, 245.
Neal, Henry, messenger to the Speaker of the House of Representatives: 338, 418, 420, 463, 464, 622, 624, 986, 987, 988, 990, 2072, 2200, 2321, 2334, 2394, 2618, testimony of, 2618 to 2631, inclusive; 2640, 2641.
Neill, Charles P.: 2878.
Nelson, J. C.: 838.
Nelson, John M., Representative in Congress from the third Wisconsin district: 1370, 1372, 2608, 2770, 2771, 2807.
Nelson, Knute, Senator from Minnesota: 205, 237, 2361, 2666.
Nelson, W. H.: 305.
Nevin, A. Parker: 122, 1173, 1250, 2046, 2057, 2156, 2340, 2341, 2844.
New England Navigation Co.: 2742.
New England Stove Manufacturers' Association: 306.
New Jersey Manufacturers' Association: 206.
Newlands, Francis G., Senator from Nevada: 1039, 1051, 2361.
News Publishing Co.: 45.
New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.: 150, 152, 261.
New York American: 657, 1277, 1409.
New York Globe: 2262, 2291; editorial on political ideas of Samuel Gompers, 2291, 2292.
New York Herald: 1225.
New York Tribune: 2772.
New York Shipbuilding Co.: 1905.

New York Sun: 112.
New York World: Testimony of Louis Seibold, 148 to 158, inclusive; 275, 279, 323, 336, 344, 345, 354, 373, 377, 526, 1023, 1086, 1118, 1162, 1165, 1235, 1238, 1244, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1304, 1305, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1382, 1409, 1466, 1467, 1493, 1504, 1505, 1563, 1581, 1611, 1631, 1678, 1857, 1870, 1917, 1930, 1939, 1954, 1957, 1958, 1972, 1973, 2002, 2003, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2023, 2032, 2161, 2178, 2201, 2234, 2239, 2264, 2319, 2336, 2352, 2373, 2515, 2575, 2640, 2650, 2735, 2767, 2770, 2780, 2784.
Nichols, Thomas D., former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania: 18, 1012, 1255, 1372, 1373, 1794, 1796, 1809, 2123, 2515.
Nichols, Miss: 1570.
Niles, Judge: 2015, 2019.
Nissen, L.: 42, 72.
Nissen, Ludwig: 1826, 1836.
Nockels, E. N.: 2346.
Norris, George W., Senator from Nebraska: 2681.
North American Review: 2857.
Northern New York Paper & Pulp Manufacturers' Association: 308.
Note Brokers' Association: 833.
Noxon, Frank W.: 310.
Nunamaker, Frank: 17, 84, 2325, 2334.
Nye, Frank M., former Representative in Congress from Minnesota: 88, 235.
Nye, R. L.: 324.

O'Brien, Patrick: 1243.
O'Brien, Paul: 1519, 1558, 1559.
O'Connell, James: 2345, 2346, 2475, 2476, 2536.
O'Connell, John, former Representative in Congress from Massachusetts: 16.
Ohio Business Men's Organizations: 109, 110.
Ohio Manufacturers' Association: 2181, 2193.
Ohio State Board of Commerce: 107, 108, 109.
Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce: 224.
Olcott, J. Van Vechten, former Representative in Congress from New York: 2568, 2569.
Oliver, George T., Senator from Pennsylvania: 2361.
Oliver, Joseph D.: 1241, 1243.
Orbello, F. P.: 1468; testimony of, 1468 to 1470, inclusive.
Organized Labor: 2408.
Orr, J. K.: 305.
O'Shaunessy, George F., Representative in Congress from the first Rhode Island district: 953.
Overman, Lee S., Senator from North Carolina: 336, 1075, 1368.
Overstreet, Jesse, former Representative in Congress from Indiana: 16, 1858.
Owen, Robert L., Senator from Oklahoma: 2361.
Oxford (Pa.) Board of Trade: 310.
Oyster, James F.: 943.

Paddock, O. P.: 310.
Page, Carroll S., Senator from Vermont: 2361, 2529.
Page, F. H.: 306.
Page, Walter H.: 2825, 2859.
Painter, Clyde R.: 2663; affidavit by, 2663.
Palmer, A. Mitchell, Representative in Congress from the twenty-sixth Pennsylvania district: 194, 195, 2291, 2904. 2905.
Palmer, Henry W., former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania: 2291.
Palmer, J. S.: 306.
Palo Alto (Cal.) Citizen's Alliance: 304.
Parker, Alton B.: 1887.
Parker, Harry, messenger to Ways and Means Committee: 338, 410, 418, 420, 421, 473, 564, 622, 624, 986, 987, 988, 990, 993, 1942, 1945, 1946, 2072, 2200, 2321, 2322, 2334, 2394, 2623, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2629; testimony of, 2631 to 2650, inclusive.
Parker, R. W.: 280, 322.
Parsons, Herbert, former Representative in Congress from New York: 18, 981, 1369.
Parsons. H. C.: 309.
Parry, David M.: 17, 42, 299, 325, 330, 351, 1173, 1243, 1245, 1267, 1269, 1270, 1609, 1812, 1871, 1872, 1890, 1894, 1897, 1899, 1909, 1910, 1913, 1915, 1979, 1995, 1998, 2040, 2046, 2047, 2136, 2139; testimony of, 2201 to 2223, inclusive; 2210, 2212, 2339, 2386, 2406, 2528, 2561, 2682, 2710, 2851, 2887, 2888.

Parry Manufacturing Co.: 115, 351, 1909, 1994.
Parry, Prof., of Ann Arbor: 219.
Parten, Henry W.: 306.
Parter, James C.: 308.
Passwaters, J. H.: 310.
Pastoriza, J. J.: 310.
Patch, Fred R.: 310.
Paterson Evening News: 2127.
Paterson, Andrew: 308.
Patten, Thomas G., Representative in Congress from the eighteenth New York district: 225.
Patton, Charles E., Representative in Congress from the twenty-first Pennsylvania district: 1638.
Paullin, Enos: 44, 2339.
Pawnbrokers' Association: 833.
Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act: 1244, 2157.
Payne, Sereno E., Representative in Congress from the thirty-sixth New York district: 170, 187, 419, 1257; communication from J. W. Van Cleave, 2158, 2159; communications to Van Cleave, 2184; 2279, 2280, 2470, 2618, 2829.
Paynter, Thomas H., former Senator from Kentucky: 947.
Payson, Louis E., former Representative in Congress from Illinois: 2496, 2497, 2548, 2679, 2680, 2790.
Pearre bill: 2381, 2567, 2760, 2761.
Pearre, George A., former Representative in Congress from Maryland: 18, 164, 168, 948, 1021, 1023, 1024, 1026, 1373, 1865, 1868, 1883, 2243, 2297, 2298, 2551, 2562.
Pease, Alton P.: 306.
Peddicord, E. H.: 306.
Peeks & Smith: 221.
Penniman, Yates: 1408.
Perce, James D.: 2346.
Percy, Le Roy, former Senator from Mississippi: 2361.
Perham, H. B.: 2660; communication to Ralph D. Cole, 2660.
Perkins, George D., Senator from California: 2361.
Perrin, Solon L.: 133, 135, 137.
Peters, I. F.: 310.
Peterson, P. A.: 305.
Phelps, E. J.: 305.
Philadelphia Public Ledger: 126.
Philadelphia Typothetae: 1249.
Phillips, Thomas W., former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania: 2555, 2769.
Photographers' Association of Texas: 310.
Pidgeon, Jose J.: 43, 45.
Pierce, John: 2743.
Pietz, Mr., Chicago manufacturer: 1141, 1142, 1527, 1531, 1537.
Piez, Charles: 78, 93.
Pittsburgh Typothetae: 310.
Platt, Thomas C., former Senator from New York: 346, 2883.
Pomerene, Atlee, Senator from Ohio: 971, 1039, 1041, 1051.
Pope, George, president of the N. A. M.: 16, 32, 331, 1271, 1274, 1994, 2036, 2062, 2338.
Pope Manufacturing Co.: 2239.
Porter, Felix F.: 78, 251, 252, 253, 254, 265, 269, 1094, 1173, 1239, 1853, 1874, 2067, 2223; testimony of, 2223 to 2234, inclusive; 2903, 2914, 2920.
Porter, Frank F.: 322.
Porter, Herbert G.: 305.
Post, C. W.: 115, 116, 117, 131; communication to Emery, 116, 117, 118; 159; communication from F. C. Schwedtman, 159, 160; 173, 271, 937, 938, 1173, 2381, 2849.
Post, George: 308.
Postal savings bank bill: 425.
Postum Cereal Co.: 1173.
Powell, C. B.: 304.
Powell, L. T.: 310.
Powers, Llewellyn, former Representative in Congress from Maine: 2742.
Pratt, G. L.: 309.
Pratt, H. M.: 305.
Prentiss, H. G.: 402.

Prescott, J. P.: 307.
Press Publishing Co.: 151, 2003.
Price, A. F.: 309.
Price, A. J.: 310.
Price, Carl: 2656; communication to Ralph D. Cole, 2656.
Price, V. L.: 243, communication to James A. Emery, 243.
Printers' Board of Trade of New England: 306.
Proctor, Redfield, former Senator from Vermont: 280, 1235.
Protective Tariff Association of Baltimore: 174.
Provident Loan Co.: 970, 971.
Prudential Loan Society of Philadelphia: 834, 842.
Pullman Car Co.: 1133, 1142.
Pyle, Joel T.: 943.

Quay, Matthew S., former Senator from Pennsylvania: 346, 1980, 2151, 2299, 2375, 2726, 2821, 2883.
Quint, J. H.: 2742.

Racine Sattley Co.: 162, 2339, 2834.
Railroad Trust: 1239, 1972, 1975, 1976
Railway Conductors, Order of: 2241, 2403.
Railway Mail Association: 234.
Railway Mail Service: 232, 234, 345.
Railway Trainmen, Brotherhood of: 2403.
Rainey, Edward J.: 982, 985, 1567, 1568, 1571, 1610.
Rainey, Henry T., Representative in Congress from the twentieth Illinois district: 649, 656, 980, 1011, 1012, 1018, 1280, 1381, 1848, 2025, 2308, 2317, 2676; testimony of 2676 to 2681, inclusive; 2786, 2792, 2794.
Ralston, Jackson H., counsel for American Federation of Labor: 168, 246, 615, 620, 1163, 2015, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2198, 2480, 2484, 2486.
Rambo, Joseph: 310.
Ramsey, John: 308.
Randall, Samuel J., former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania: 2618.
Randolph, C. F.: 184.
Rapp, O. S.: 309.
Rauh, Leopold: 309.
Raymond, W. B.: 307.
Raymer, William B.: 685.
Ready, Marion: 83.
Redfield, William C., former Representative in Congress from New York: 231, 2327.
Reed, Clifford: 2469.
Reed, Thomas B., former Speaker of the House of Representatives: 624, 2494, 2519, 2779, 2780, 2785, 2786.
Rees, R. R., former Representative in Congress from Kansas: 1870, 2610, 2611.
Reeves, Marshall T.: 305.
Reid, Stuart: 2538, 2551.
Regan, Samuel, former cashier of the Hotel Fritz Reuter: 432, 608, 641, 642, 643, 1265, 1266, 1358, 1402, 1444.
Reliance Loan & Trust Co.: 834.
Reilly, Thomas L., Representative in Congress from the third Connecticut district: 612, 613, 649, 1406, 1407, 1870, 2610.
Reilly Repair & Supply Co.: 2742.
Reinhard, Samuel E.: 306.
Remington, Charles H.: 308.
Republican congressional committee: 319, 340, 1809.
Retail Clerks' Union: 2082, 2377.
Retail Clerks' Union of Philadelphia (Pa.): 1814, 2906, 2909.
Retail Liquor Dealers' Association: 1606.
Reuter's, Fritz: 404, 418, 422, 430, 431, 432, 433, 458, 459, 461, 463, 472, 473, 479, 483, 486, 488, 501, 517, 522, 524, 566, 620, 646, 995, 998, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1007, 1023, 1029, 1087, 1090, 1130, 1214, 1215, 1219, 1284, 1286, 1289, 1337, 1357, 1359, 1361, 1367, 1385, 1402, 1403, 1410, 1412, 1416, 1434, 1458, 1461, 1468, 1485, 1486, 1494, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1544, 1573, 1577, 1587, 1614, 1625, 1627, 1675, 1684, 1689.
Reynolds, George: 1519, 1520, 1576.
Rickey, J. W.: 2848.
Ridge, John J.: 296, 297.

Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.: 870.
Ripley, Daniel C.: 42, 309.
Ritchie, W. E.: 305.
Roach, James E.: 2346, 2508.
Roane Iron Co.: 2339.
Robb, Thomas: 304.
Robbins, T. P.: 1936, 1937.
Roberts, Edward A.: 309.
Roberts, E. E., Representative in Congress from the State of Nevada at large: 2285, 2287.
Roberts, Spencer: 952, 954.
Robertson, Mr., New Jersey State senator: 1905, 1919.
Robertson, A. O.: 310.
Robinson, H. C.: 2741, 2754.
Robinson, Lee: 951.
Rockefeller, John D.: 32, 154, 1247.
Rockford (Ill.) Manufacturers' & Shippers' Association: 305.
Rockland National Bank, Rockland, Me.: 2741; cashier's sworn statement, showing campaign contributions to Littlefield's 1906 campaign: 2741, 2754.
Rodenberg, William A., former Representative in Congress from Illinois: 1103, 1109, 1169, 1171, 2851, 2852.
Roebling Sons Co., John A.: 1974, 1975, 2784.
Ronan, James: 1519.
Roosevelt, Theodore, former President of the United States: 163, 180, 198, 1242, 2135, 2241, 2415, 2851, 2852.
Root, C. R.: 304.
Root, Elihu, Senator from New York: 72, 180, 1251.
Root, Oliver B.: 2888, 2890.
Rorke, Joseph: 2025.
Rose, H. A.: 305.
Rote, Frances, Miss: 1216, 1219, 1426, 1427, 1585, 1590, 1591.
Rothermel, John H., Representative in Congress from the thirteenth Pennsylvania district: 421, 422, 423, 424, 491, 493, 498, 511, 546, 751, 1103, 1109, 1169, 1230, 1584, 1618, 1638, 1704, 1706, 1707, 1711, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1724, 1725, 1728, 1729, 1731; testimony of, 1731 to 1738, inclusive.
Rulon, John C.: 307.
Runyan, Justin A.: 307.
Russell, O. O.: 304.
Ryan, Mr., president National Erectors' Association: 94.
Ryan, P. J.: 890, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 902, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 926, 927, 928, 950, 962, 964, 965, 966, 976, 1043, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1064, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1143, 2552.
Ryan, William H., former Representative in Congress from New York: 16.

Sabine, C. H.: 308.
Saint John, Mr. (Chicago insurance man): 1141, 1143, 1321, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1531, 1537, 1540, 1683.
St. Louis Association of Master Plumbers: 307.
St. Louis Furniture Board of Trade: 307.
St. Louis Globe-Democrat: 2903.
St. Louis Mirror: 83.
St. Louis Republican: 80.
Sandford, L. A.: 307.
San Diego (Cal.) Citizens' Alliance: 304.
San Francisco Citizens' Alliance: 304.
Santa Ana (Cal.) Merchants and Manufacturers' Association: 304.
Sawyer, Horace W.: 306.
Sayle, Walter D.: 309.
Sayer, C. F.: 2660; communication to Ralph D. Cole, 2660.
Sayward, William H.: 305, 2742.
Sayward, Mr.: 72.
Scandinavian, The: 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873.
Scates, I. H.: 306, 1846.
Schef, Joseph C.: 1910, 2616.
Schopen, Walter E., Hotel Sherman, Chicago: 1561, 1562; testimony of, 1654 to 1661, inclusive.
Schneider, J. M.: 304.

Schulteis, Herman: 785, 786, 789, 803, 854, 879, 886.
Schwarzchild & Sulzberger: 1142, 1530, 1549, 1550.
Schwedtman, Ferdinand C.: 16, 18, 80, 83, 88, 89, 92, 132, 137, 139; communication to M. M. Mulhall, 137, 138, 150, 157, 166, 169, 170, 171, 174, 175, 176, 180, 181, 187, 189, 211; communication to C. W. Post, 159, 160; communication from H. E. Miles, 160, 162, 171, 172; communication to Miles, 163; communications from James A. Emery, 172, 173, 189, 200, 201, 202, 203; communications to Emery, 201, 223; communication to M. M. Mulhall, 173; communication to John Kirby, jr., 224; communication to Richard Bartholdt, 226, 255, 291, 293, 300, 302, 303, 307, 311, 323, 332, 339, 341, 347, 350, 351, 352, 353, 357, 360, 361, 369, 370, 374, 380, 382, 383, 456, 937, 979, 982, 1092, 1093, 1103, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1238, 1244, 1248, 1249, 1252, 1253, 1293, 1294, 1667, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1797, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1820, 1821, 1840, 1841, 1843, 1844, 1845, 1865, 1867, 1868, 1870, 1871, 1873, 1878, 1880, 1885, 1886, 1894, 1897, 1898, 1900, 1901, 1910, 1912, 1921, 1940, 1946, 1980, 2037, 2038, 2068, 2069, 2119, 2131, 2135, 2164, 2169, 2180, 2182, 2185, 2212, 2214, 2245, 2309, 2339, 2341, 2354, 2355, 2381, 2486, 2561, 2564, 2566, 2573, 2576, 2597, 2598, 2603; communication to J. W. Van Cleave, 2603; 2605, 2606, 2615, 2668, 2672, 2673, 2723, 2727, 2731, 2797, 2800, 2801, 2817; testimony of before Senate committee, 2819 to 2908, inclusive; communication from A. Brownell, 2855, 2918.
Scott, Nathan B., former Senator from West Virginia: 16, 188.
Scott, Mr. (New York congressional campaign of 1906): 390, 391, 392, 393.
Seaman's National Union of America: 2509.
See, Alonzo: 2238.
See, A. B.: 1257.
Seebrock, Edwin L.: 308.
Sefton Manufacturing Co.: 1142, 1317, 1532, 1543,
Seibold, Louis, New York World representative: 10, 11, 62; testimony of, 148 to 158, inclusive; 377, 378, 1056, 1258, 1259, 1304, 1305, 1339, 1340, 1382, 1414, 1465, 1505, 1535, 1563, 1955.
Selby, George D.: 1240, 2389.
Senate Committee on Education and Labor: 2364, 2878.
Senate Judiciary Committee: 168, 179, 191, 197, 268, 2364, 2412.
Sergeant Koucher: 953, 957.
Sewall, Arthur: 2746.
Sewall & Son, Arthur: 2743.
Sewall, Harold: 2746.
Sewall, Samuel: 2746.
Sewer, F. B.: 307.
Shanklin, George M.: 2848, 2886, 2887, 2891.
Shanley, Rev. Father: 17, 1250.
Shannon, E. S.: 310.
Sharpe, Henry D.: 2742, 2773, 2775, 2776.
Shaw, A. H.: 2743.
Shaw, Humphrey S.: 416, 1118, 1365, 1396, 1397, 1418; testimony of, 1418 to 1435, inclusive; 1551, 1570, 1586, 1693; testimony of, 1693 to 1697, inclusive.
Shaw, J. Agnus: 1504, 1505.
Shedd, S. S.: 304.
Sheey, John J.: 304.
Sheffield, W. P., former Representative in Congress from Rhode Island: 1925.
Sherley, Swagar, Representative in Congress from the fifth Kentucky district: 16, 23, 37, 62, 1260, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843; communication from John Kirby, jr., 2166.
Sherman, The Hotel: 1320, 1321.
Sherman Act: 120 (an amendment to H. R. 3058, 16026, 16031, 1840).
Sherman Antitrust Act: 171, 172, 205, 232, 236, 237, 242, 2367, 2412, 2413, 2512, 2518, 2564, 2567.
Sherman, James S., former Vice President of the United States: 15, 72, 79, 82, 91, 137, 189, 280, 317, 318, 337, 346, 351, 355, 372, 381, 384, 396, 397, 1088, 1100, 1131, 1137, 1170, 1235, 1237, 1238, 1241, 1272, 1389, 1529, 1595, 1596, 1620, 1682, 1764, 1810, 1832, 1833, 1872, 1895, 1896, 1996, 2157, 2278, 2328, 2366, 2667; communication to Ralph D. Cole, introducing M. M. Mulhall, 2667; 2672, 2726, 2798, 2821, 2825, 2849, 2851, 2852.
Sherrard, Harry C.: 324.
Sherwood, Isaac R., Representative in Congress from the ninth Ohio district: 2285, 2287, 2515, 2563.
Shipley, Thomas: 310.
Shipping Federation of Canada: 304.

Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast: 304.
Shreve, John G.: 1015, 2795, 2797.
Shultz, J. A.: 307.
Sibley, Joseph C., former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania: 2743, 2746.
Siddons, Fred L.: 615, 618, 619, 753, 1041.
Silesian Posen Building Trades Society: 50.
Silk Weavers' Union: 2109, 2377.
Simmons, Furnifold M., Senator from North Carolina: 2361.
Simmons, W. W.: 310.
Simms, Fred L., chairman Republican State central committee in the campaign of 1908: 1896, 1897.
Simon, Martin: 310.
Simmond, George W.: 310.
Singleton, Mr. (central land office): 680.
Sinnott, Joseph J.: 437, 438.
Sinnott, Joseph R.: 1085.
Sioux City (Iowa) Industrial Association: 305.
Skinner, B. T.: 42.
Smallman, William T.: 806.
Smith, Albert G.: 2742.
Smith, Charles B., Representative in Congress from the forty-first New York district: 2287.
Smith, C. E.: 1519.
Smith, Ellison D., Senator from South Carolina: 2361.
Smith, Fred L.: 969.
Smith, H. S.: 42.
Smith, M. Page: 1405, 1406; testimony of, 1505 to 1517, inclusive; 1597, 1628.
Smith, Samuel W., Representative in Congress from the sixth Michigan district: 659, 750, 871, 941, 966.
Smith, Sylvester C., former Representative in Congress from California: 1012, 2026.
Smith, William Wolf: 2772.
Smyth, Charles H.: 305.
Smoot, Reed, Senator from Utah: 93, 2361.
Snell, Thomas H.: 310.
Snelling, M. (employed by pawnbrokers): 898, 899, 900, 901, 907, 914, 915, 926, 927, 2461.
Society for Savings: 969.
Solan, Frank J.: 1201, 1203, 1204, 1205.
Sonneborn, Sigmund: 306.
South Bend Woolen Co.: 1243.
South, Jerry C.: 1218, 1221, 1226, 1228, 1697, 1698, 1700, 1703; testimony of, 1705 to 1731, inclusive; 1731, 1733, 1734, 1737, 1738.
Southard, James H., former Representative in Congress from Ohio: 2775.
Southwick, George W., former Representative in Congress from New York: 161, 451, 1714, 2798, 2901.
Spaulding, J. J.: 304.
Spear, Ellis: 2742, 2745.
Spear, E. C.: 2339.
Speer, John: 1881, 1882, 1904, 1905.
Speer, Judge: 85, 114.
Speer, William H.: 1253, 1907, 1908, 1919, 2782, 2783.
Spier, William E.: 304.
Spencer, William: 890, 1434, 2535.
Sperry, N. M., former Representative in Congress from Connecticut: 1834.
Spring, Samuel H.: 310.
Springer, Samuel S.: 1993.
Springfield (Mass.) branch of the National Metal Trades' Association: 306.
Stack, Edmund, former Representative in Congress from Illinois: 1510.
Standard Oil Co.: 1239, 1244, 1972, 1973, 1974, 2223, 2337.
Stanley, A. O., Representative in Congress from the second Kentucky district: 2679.
Starr, Mr., pawnbroker: 950.
Starrett, J. M.: 310.
State Brokerage Co.: 843.
State legislatures, congressional measure limiting power of: (H. R. 2174, 4324, 12182, 16027), 120.
Steam Hoisters' Union: 2108.
Stearns, Mr., Central Labor Council: 890.

Stearns, Mr., Washington labor representative: 1041.
Steenerson, Halvor, Representative in Congress from the ninth Minnesota district: 237.
Steel Trust: 1239.
Steele, John R.: 309.
Steinem, Emanuel: 592; testimony of, 592–603, 647, 883.
Stenway & Sons: 2920.
Stelzle, Rev.: 88.
Stephens, John H., Representative in Congress from the thirteenth Texas district: 2610.
Stephens, W. W.: 305.
Stephens, Mr., secretary to former Secretary Nagel, of the Department of Commerce and Labor: 2800.
Stephenson, Isaac, Senator from Wisconsin: 16, 1945, 2361.
Sterling, John A., former Representative in Congress from Illinois: 16, 86, 88, 350, 2291.
Sterne, L. A.: 2523.
Stetson, Francis Lynde: 206, 1976.
Stevens, Frederick C., Representative in Congress from the fourth Minnesota district: 225, 226.
Stevenson, C. B.: 1234.
Stewart, H. L.: 44.
Stewart, Joseph: 1097, 1126.
Stifel, Otto: 1294, 2799, 2900, 2902.
Stillman, Francis H., treasurer of the National Association of Manufacturers: 42, 302, 331, 387, 395, 1093, 2010, 2046, 2058, 2076, 2125, 2126.
Stillwell, Mr.: 248, 251, 266.
Stockyards Savings Bank, Chicago, Ill.: 413, 486.
Stockyards Sun: 1230.
Stoddard, H. L.: 304.
Stone, William J., Senator from Missouri: 2361.
Stowe E. A.: 306.
Stowell & Co.: 2742.
Strader, W. W.: 305.
Strausser, Max.: 308.
Strassel, J. L.: 2742, 2777, 2778.
Strasser, Adolph: 2508, 2509.
Stratford, A. C.: 245 (communication from James A. Emery, 245).
Strictland, R. E. M.: 310.
Struck, J. N.: 2742, 2777, 2778.
Structural Iron Workers' Association: 98.
Stubbs, Theodore K.: 310.
Studebaker, Clement: 1241, 1243, 2565.
Sturgiss, George C., former Representative in Congress from West Virginia: 381, 395.
Sudworth Printing Co.: 686.
Sugar Trust: 1239, 1973.
Sullivan, Claude: 1853.
Sullivan, John: 1583.
Sullivan, Michael W.: 1040, 1053, 1057, 1062, 1063.
Sullivan, Roger: 645, 646, 656, 1163, 1540.
Sullivan, Mr., attorney recommended by Henry E. Davis: 689, 690, 695, 696, 700, 711, 712, 718, 757, 758, 759, 790, 856, 880, 932.
Sulzer, William, former Representative in Congress from New York: 2517, 2529.
Sutherin, C. A.: 307.
Sutherland bill: 2400, 2401, 2402.
Sutherland, George, Senator from Utah: 93, 2402.
Sutorius, A.: 307.
Swasey, J. P., former Representative in Congress from Maine: 2714, 2715, 2724.
Swass, Miss.: 2036.
Swedesboro (N. J.) Board of Trade: 307.
Sweeney, Alex.: 1519.
Sweetser, Henry W.: 306.
Swift & Co.: 406.
Sylvester, Richard: 955, 956.

Taff, Henry F.: 2335; testimony of, 2335, 2336.
Taft, George H.: 307.
Taft, William Howard, former President of the United States: 16, 20, 21, 34, 53, 68, 89, 90; communication from John Kirby, jr., 101, 102; communication from Dayton Chamber of Commerce, 107; 111, 112, 113, 114, 127, 148, 160, 174, 180, 187, 189, 196, 197, 203, 219, 239, 261, 359, 372, 547, 554, 555, 590, 622, 690, 863, 887, 980, 1040, 1041, 1047, 1048, 1088, 1244, 1252, 1389, 1595, 1620, 1683, 1922, 2118, 2164, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2367, 2369, 2370, 2391, 2401, 2472, 2517, 2572, 2575, 2652, 2665, 2669, 2672, 2712, 2786, 2851, 2852.
Talbott, J. F. C., Representative in Congress from the second Maryland district: 439, 440, 515, 1001, 1085, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1836, 1847, 1848.
Tampa (Fla.) Board of Trade: 304.
Tanner, S. B.: 967, 2246; communication from James A. Emery, 2246, 2247.
Tariff Commission: 17, 209, 353, 354, 468, 1244, 2174, 2571, 2572, 2574, 2595, 2599, 2925.
Tavenner, Clyde H., Representative in Congress from the fourteenth Illinois district: 445, 446, 448, 510, 512, 1216, 1218, 1219, 1221, 1225, 1231, 1232, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1705, 1707, 1708, 1710, 1713, 1716, 1718, 1720, 1722, 1725, 1728, 1729, 1731, 1771.
Tawney, James A., former Representative in Congress from Minnesota: 16, 211, 519, 542, 1171, 1342, 1403, 2277, 2343, 2806.
Taylor, Edward L., former Representative in Congress from Ohio: 1012, 2026, 2123, 2662, 2665, 2666, 2667.
Taylor, John N.: 324.
Tazelaer, Jacob: 2345, 2346, 2538, 2551.
Team Owners' Association of America: 310.
Team Owners' Association of Baltimore (Md.): 306.
Teller, Henry M., former Senator from Colorado: 226.
Tharp, W. J.: 1181.
Thom, Alfred P., counsel for Southern Railway: 65.
Thomas, Ernest: 2565.
Thompkins, D. A.: 1844.
Thompson, F. T.: 307.
Thompson, George J.: 1530, 1546, 1547, 1603, 1604, 1628, 1652.
Thompson, George T.: 486, 1147, 1752, 1753, 1754.
Thompson, J. K.: 1507.
Thompson, M. W.: 309.
Thorndyke, H. W.: 2741.
Thornley, Albert J.: 2339.
Thurston, John M., former Senator from Nebraska: 810, 839, 840, 888, 1134, 1135, 1143, 1152, 1180, 1182.
Tilden, Edward: 1246, 1288, 1319, 1338, 1523, 1548, 1550, 1614, 1680.
Tilson, John Q., former Representative in Congress from Connecticut: 231.
Tirrell, Charles Q., former Representative in Congress from Massachusetts: 2291.
Tobacco Board of Trade of Clarksville (Tenn.): 310.
Tobacco Trust: 1239.
Tompkevitch, Mr., candidate for Congress from the fourth Illinois district in 1912: 1567.
Tompkins, D. A.: 42, 257, 1253.
Tompkins, George H.: 305.
Tone, F. J: 308.
Towne, Henry R.: 226; communication from James A. Emery, 228, 229; to Emery, 227, 228, 229; 2383, 2574, 2599.
Towner, Horace M., Representative in Congress from the eighth Iowa district: 1870, 2610.
Townsend, Charles E., former Representative in Congress from Michigan: 117, 174; communication to T. C. Baillie, 240, 241; 1039, 1047, 1051, 1052, 1251.
Tracy, Edward C.: 308.
Tracy, Thomas F.: 2291, 2345, 2346, 2508.
Trade-union Members of the House of Representatives: 2527, 2528.
Traders and Workers' Association: 93.
Traiter, Benj. D.: 308.
Travelers' Protective Association: 307.
Traveling Men's Association: 948.
Tri-City Manufacturers' Association: 305.
Tribby, Charles E., Washington pawnbroker: 492, 499, 551, 654, 674, 680, 976; testimony of, 976 to 979, inclusive.

Trimble, South, Clerk of the House of Representatives: 1726, 1727.
Trix, John: 91, 92, 306, 1257, 2339.
Troy, E. J.: 307.
Tucker, C. C.: 685, 710, 711, 740, 741, 754, 766, 786, 787, 814, 822, 857, 862, 864, 866, 867, 869, 920, 929, 956, 1040, 1044, 1046.
Tucker, Kenyon & Macfarland: 551, 556, 558, 559, 571, 574, 575, 580, 587, 594, 660, 661, 664, 665, 675, 677, 685, 689, 691, 694, 699, 700, 701, 710, 714, 715, 737, 739, 754, 795, 796, 808, 809, 845, 848, 849, 850, 852, 857, 858, 864, 867, 869, 879, 886, 888, 925.
Tucker, Edgar: 2508.
Tukey, G. A.: 305.
Tuller, Charles D.: 304.
Tumulty, Joseph P., Secretary to the President of the United States: 114.
Turner, Robert A.: 2268, 2269.
Tuttle, Right Rev. Daniel F.: 2841.
Typothetæ of Harrisburg (Pa.): 310.

Ulm, N. A.: 304.
Underwood, Oscar W., Representative in Congress from the ninth Alabama district: 68, 69, 70, 71, 480, 481, 990, 1022, 1023, 1260, 1685, 1885, 2031, 2176, 2177, 2187, 2188, 2315, 2316, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2647, 2648, 2649.
Union Club of St. Louis: 307.
Unionizing Federal employees (La Follette and Lloyd bills): 81, 82.
Union League Club of Jersey City: 1253.
Union Stock Yards of Chicago: 1539, 1583.
Union Trust Co.: 457, 490.
United Engineering & Foundry Co.: 2339.
United Gas Improvement Co.: 1976, 2903.
United Mine Workers of America: 18.
United States Brewers' Association: 1741.
United States College of Veterinary Surgeons: 1405.
United States Cook Book: 433, 477.
United States Steel (Corp.): 1974, 2223.
United States Trust Co., Washington, D. C.: 486, 747, 803, 1400, 1401.
United Typothetæ of America: 2237.
Untermeyer, Samuel: 474.

Valentine, Joseph F.: 2417.
Van Aken, C. M.: 306.
Vance, Wilson: 138; communication from M. M. Mulhall, 138.
Van Cleave, J. W., former president of the National Association of Manufacturers: 16, 33, 36, 42, 135, 248, 255, 261, 281, 292, 293, 299, 300, 301, 302, 314, 320, 323, 328, 330, 332, 333, 337, 339, 341, 343, 346, 350, 353, 362, 375, 379, 380, 395, 980, 982, 983, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1173, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1245, 1249, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1256, 1528, 1609, 1780, 1799, 1802, 1806, 1815, 1820, 1844, 1854, 1857, 1860, 1871, 1872, 1881, 1890, 1894, 1895, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1903, 1921, 1941, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1962, 1967, 1970, 1974, 1980, 1981, 1982, 2037, 2038, 2063; communication to J. Philip Bird, 2060; 2069, 2132, 2133, 2136, 2139, 2146, 2153, 2157; communications from S. E. Payne, 2158, 2184, 2185, 2194; communications to Payne, 2158, 2159; 2202, 2206, 2209, 2212, 2245, 2246; communication to S. B. Tanner, 2246, 2247; communication to A. J. Beveridge, 2280, 2281; communication from Beveridge, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282; 2296, 2298, 2300, 2309, 2330, 2367, 2370, 2376, 2382, 2388, 2441, 2462, 2486, 2561, 2564, 2566, 2598, 2599, 2603; communication from F. C. Schwedtman, 2603; 2616, 2723, 2765, 2768, 2803, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2828, 2829; correspondence with A. J. Beveridge, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832; 2836, 2837, 2841, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2862, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2870, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2895, 2918, 2920.
Van Schaick, Rev. John J.: 753, 1041.
Viall, W. A.: 2773.
Vorys, Arthur J.: 174, 2652, 2669, 2673.
Vredenburg, Walter: 2848.
Vreeland, Edward B., former Representative in Congress from New York: 16, 1011, 1012, 1021, 1023, 1025, 1242, 2028, 2288, 2561, 2562, 2786, 2787, 2789, 2793.

Wachter, Frank C., former Representative in Congress from Maryland: 280, 283, 284, 288, 1236, 1978.
Wadsworth, Joseph: 307.
Wagner Electrical Co.: 2835.
Waldorf-Astoria, New York City: 281.
Waldron, George: 282.
Wall, Mr., Chicago money lender: 805, 841, 843, 848, 871, 913, 923, 928, 950.
Walsh, Michael: 1567.
Walsh, William: 375, 378, 1813, 1814, 2021.
Walshe, John M.: 310.
Waltz, Charles F.: 222; communication from F. C. Schwedtman, 222, 223.
Ward, Edward D.: 306.
Ward, Mr.: 1164, 1166.
Ward, K. K.: 1953.
Warde, Charles F.: 310.
Warner, B. H.: 960.
Warner, William, former Senator from Missouri: 217, 218, 2361.
Warner Sugar Refining Co.: 2238.
Warren, Francis E., Senator from Wyoming: 2361.
Warren & Greene: 2920.
Washburne, R. F.: 309.
Washington (D. C.) Association of Building Trades: 304.
Washington Gas Light Co.: 1040.
Washington Herald: 125.
Washington Loan & Trust Co.: 611.
Washington Post: 125, 954, 955.
Washington Star: 125.
Washington Times: 960, 961, 1214, 1224, 1229.
Washington, W. D.: 74, 75, 76; communication to A. B. Farquhar, 73; communication to Farquhar, 74; communication from John Kirby, jr., 76.
Washington (D. C.) Wholesale Grocers' Association: 304.
Watson, James E., former Representative in Congress from Indiana: 157, 158, 207, 208, 209, 280, 337, 348, 351, 354, 357, 369, 371, 372, 376, 378, 380, 381, 384, 385, 386, 450, 460, 461, 981, 983, 984, 985, 997, 1021, 1023, 1024, 1026, 1131, 1235, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1256, 1270, 1273, 1279, 1280, 1369, 1370, 1374, 1375, 1391, 1764, 1802, 1809, 1810, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1841, 1853, 1854, 1869, 1870, 1872, 1873, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1883, 1896, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1902, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1916, 1924, 1932, 1934, 1936, 1939, 1943, 1944, 1995, 1996, 1997, 2026, 2103, 2104, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2153, 2154, 2169, 2194, 2211, 2221, 2269, 2270, 2299, 2306, 2385, 2559; testimony of, 2559 to 2618, inclusive; "knockout" list," 2610, 2611; 2666, 2670, 2796, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2852, 2854, 2860, 2861, 2887, 2889, 2904, 2905, 2906.
Watts, C. F.: 175.
Watts, Mr., Philadelphia money lender: 804, 805, 841, 843, 848, 871, 913, 923, 928.
Ways and Means, House Committee on: 419, 986, 993.
Webb, E. Y., Representative in Congress from the ninth North Carolina district: 16, 21, 22, 37, 1820, 1843, 1844, 1845.
Webster, William M.: 305.
Weeks, John W., former Representative in Congress from Massachusetts: 235; communication from James A. Emery, 235; communication to Emery, 235; 2291.
Weever, George S.: 303.
Wells, Rolla: 1059.
Wento, George, jr.: 2655.
West, Arthur: 1213; testimony of, 1213 to 1234, inclusive; 1365, 1418, 1426, 1569, 1585, 1590, 1591, 1690, 1704, 1708, 1710, 1720, 1727, 1728, 1771.
West, Charles: 78.
West, H. W.: 2742, 2745.
Western Economic Society of Chicago: 232.
Western Georgia Retail Druggists' Association: 304.
Western Paper Box Manufacturers' Association: 305.
Westervelt, Charles E.: 308.
Wetmore, George P., former Senator from Rhode Island: 1925, 2361.
Wharton, Charles S.: 1568, 1597.
Whirl, John J.: 306.
Whitney, Clarence E.: 86.
White, T. D.: 1954.
White, Mr.: 2100, 2101.
Whitman, E.: 305.

Wichita (Kans.) Commercial Club: 305.
Whittet, L. C.: 311.
Wientge, W. S.: 1505.
Wiggin, G. Howe: 2741.
Wight, Fred: 1237, 1238, 1857, 1860, 1862, 1863, 1888, 1889, 2717, 2721, 2739, 2740, 2741; sworn statement by, of the contributions made to the 1906 Littlefield campaign, 2741; 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2752, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757; communication from Marshall Cushing, 2774.
Wight, Pearl: 2743, 2745.
Wilcutts, L. M.: 133.
Wile, Sol.: 2742.
Wiley, Harvey W.: 2268.
Wiley, William, former Representative in Congress from New Jersey: 280, 289.
Wilkinson, Edward: 2742.
Williams, A. V.: 235, 236; communications from James A. Emery, 235, 236, 237, 239; communications to Emery, 236; 307.
Williams, Charles F.: 2162; communication from John Kirby, jr., 2162.
Williams, Henry A.: 174, 175, 177.
Williams, John C.: 2772.
Williams, John E.: 309.
Willis, Frank B., Representative in Congress from the eighth Ohio district: 324; telegraphic correspondence with the adjutant general of Ohio, 324.
Willis, H. E.: 2345.
Wilson, Andrew F.: 308.
Wilson, Clarence R.: 955.
Wilson, E. P.: 309.
Wilson, James, former Secretary of Agriculture: 961.
Wilson, William B., former Representative in Congress from Pennsylvania: 18, 63, 82, 228, 231, 431, 449, 466, 467, 480, 1001, 1090, 1091, 1255, 1309, 1310, 1373, 1387, 1574, 1620, 1621; communication to M. M. Mulhall, 1621, 1622; 1675, 1794, 1796, 1809, 1997, 2005, 2011; communication to M. M. Mulhall, 2012; 2013, 2014, 2015, 2019, 2287, 2289, 2343, 2360, 2383, 2501, 2502, 2515, 2524, 2555, 2557, 2806.
Wilson, W. W., former Representative in Congress from Illinois: 16, 395.
Wilson, Woodrow, President of the United States: Correspondence with John Kirby, jr.: 101, 102, 111, 112; 268, 1255, 1276, 2288.
Wire Trust: 1239, 1972.
Wisconsin Retail Dealers' Association: 311.
Wolf, Ben J.: 309.
Women's Christian Temperance Union of Dayton (Ohio): 359, 362.
Wood, Charles F.: 308.
Wood, George H.: 324.
Wood, W. C.: 476.
Woods, Elliott: 1216.
Wooley, William R.: 957, 958.
Worcester (Mass.) Builders' Exchange: 306.
Workingmen's Protective Association: 250, 279, 282, 284, 285, 313, 324, 376, 1235, 1245, 1810, 1811, 2073, 2076, 2077, 2103, 2105, 2108, 2373, 2379, 2840, 2886, 2897.
Works, John D., Senator from California: 448.
Wright, Daniel T.: 58.

X, Mr.: 1239, 1240, 1241.
X Y Z fund: 2220.

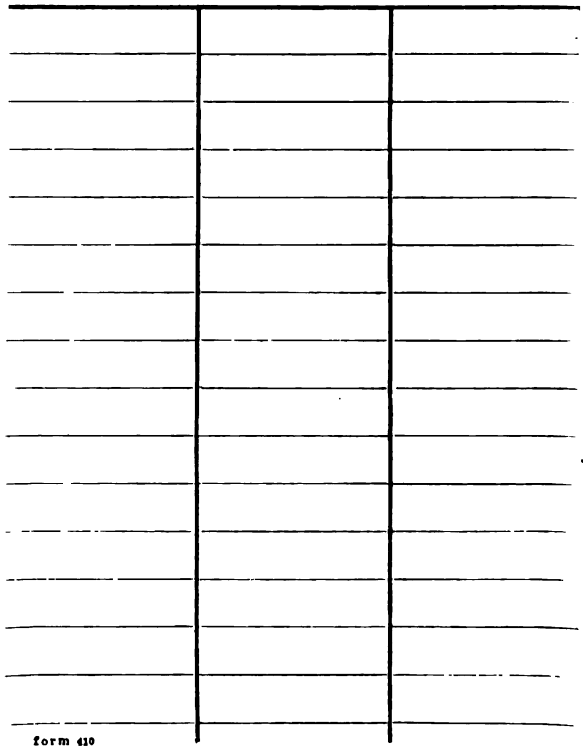
Y, Mr.: 17, 36, 1240, 1241.
Young, James, Representative in Congress from the third Texas district: 1625.
Young, H. O., former Representative in Congress from Michigan: 88.

Zeehandelaar, F. J.: 304.

○

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

This book is under no circumstances to be taken from the Building



form 410